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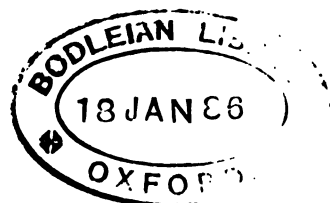
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ERRATA.

Page 5, col. 2, line 18, for "arrested," read "asserted."
Page 94, col. 1, line 28, for "Pampe luna," read "Pampeluna."
Page 99, col. 2, line 1, for "A western," read "An extensive," &c.
Page 205, col. 2, line 12, for "America," read "the Indies." Same line, omit "continent."
Page 205, col. 2, last line, for "that vast region," read "America."
Page 367, col. 1, line 7 from bottom, for "had," read "has."

NOTE.

For Chapters IX., XXXIV., XXXV., and XXXVIII. of this Volume, the Author is indebted to Mr. Roger Acton.

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED UNIVERSAL HISTORY.



THE ALHAMBRA, GRANADA.

Modern History.

CHAPTER I.

SPAIN, PORTUGAL, AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Characteristics of the Middle Ages and of the Modern Age—Spain the First of the Great Modern Sovereignties—The Moorish Kingdom of Granada—High Character of the Moorish Civilisation—Struggles with Rebellious Governors—Conflicts of the Mohammedan and the Christian Chivalry—The Legend of the Abencerrages—Union of Castile and Aragon, and Foundation of the Spanish Monarchy—Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella—Bigotry of the Spanish Sovereigns—War with the Moors of Granada—Capture of the City, and Destruction of the Last Mohammedan Sovereignty in Spain—The Discovery of America—Supposed Explorations of an Early Date—Passion for Maritime Adventure in the Fifteenth Century—Enterprise of the Portuguese, and Discoveries on the African Coast—Early Life of Christopher Columbus—His Belief in a Great Unknown Land beyond the Atlantic—Difficulty in finding Encouragement—First Expedition, and Discovery of San Salvador—Visionary and Romantic Character of Columbus—His Return to Europe, and Reception by Ferdinand and Isabella—Second and Third Voyages to America—Ungrateful Treatment of Columbus—Fourth Voyage, and Final Return to Spain—Death of the Great Discoverer in Poverty and Neglect—Amerigo Vespucci and his Explorations—The Cabots, Father and Son—First Discovery of the Continent of America by an English Vessel—Expeditions of Sebastian Cabot—Discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese—Further Discoveries of the Spaniards—Portuguese Explorations on the Western Coast of Africa—Doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, and Voyage to India—The Eastern Empire of the Portuguese.

As the History of the Middle Ages is, to a great extent (so far as Europe is concerned), a record of Feudalism and Ecclesiasticism, so is Modern History largely imbued with the political spirit,

and the habits of free inquiry. The destruction of the Western Empire was followed by a turmoil of contending forces, out of which the new order was painfully derived. Nations were to be created,

and a certain barbarous ruggedness was necessary to their development. In the Roman polity, the idea of the State was supreme. So had it been, though in a different fashion, and within extremely contracted limits, in the commonwealths of Greece. But the State, in its high and elaborate sense, could have no existence amongst inorganic communities of savage warriors, whose only conception of Monarchy was that of chieftainship, and to whom a Republic was simply an incomprehensible folly. Civilisation was deeply injured by this revulsion towards primitive conditions; but the evil could not last, if civilisation was to endure at all. The idea of law, as distinguished from mere custom enforced by the sword, was preserved for ages by the Eastern Empire, and revived in the West under the grand but fugitive sovereignty of Charlemagne. Gradually, as the new nationalities acquired culture, the necessity of a more settled order became apparent, and the feudal system arose, as the first effort of the new society to constitute itself. At the same time, the Papacy aimed at the creation of a spiritual Empire co-extensive with the world. Thus pressed upon by two forces stronger than its own—the power of the priesthood and the power of the nobles—Monarchy had for several ages little opportunity of independent growth. Kings were nothing more than slaves of the barons and of the Church. Occasionally they struggled against this subjection, but not always in the wisest or most disinterested manner, and frequently with scant success. Yet the inevitable tendency of events was to increase the authority of the sovereign, and to diminish that of the great landed proprietors and of the hierarchy. The Papacy never entirely recovered from the discredit of the Great Schism, when it was made apparent to all men that the Infallible Church was at deadly issue with itself. Feudalism received its death-blow when gunpowder was invented; for the mailed knight was in no better position before a battery of cannon than the humble retainer. The large standing armies of the ancient world again came into vogue; the new power fell into the hands of monarchs; and the commonalty often preferred the tyranny of a single head to the multitudinous oppressions of a privileged class. Commerce, learning, reviving art, the professional soldier, and the politic King, were the presiding genii at the birth of the Modern Age.

The first country to obtain predominant power under the new conditions was Spain, the later history of which dates from 1479; and the mention of Spain recalls our attention to the Moorish sovereign-

ties in that peninsula. From 1238, the principal of the Spanish Mohammedan States was Granada—the most beautiful part of Andalusia, in itself the most beautiful part of Spain—a land of valley and mountain, of abounding vegetation and glowing vintage, of fruits and flowers, of delicate air and sapphire sky. So enamoured were the Moors of this terrestrial Paradise that, in their poetic way, they said the fairest region of heaven overhung the kingdom of Granada. The natural loveliness of the country was improved by the genius of the people, who delighted in buildings that seemed wrought of jewels—who encrusted their walls with exquisite combinations of gold and colour, broke the gloom of olive-groves with the sparkle of innumerable fountains, and lifted the purity of marble spires into the burning light of noon. A noble specimen of their architecture and their decorative taste still remains to us in the Alhambra—a ruin, it is true, but one which yet speaks eloquently of the past. The Alhambra, which is situated on a lofty hill overlooking the adjacent city, was originally built as a fortress in the early part of the eleventh century, but was enlarged and adorned as a palace by the later race of kings, when Granada succeeded to the position once occupied by Cordova. In the days of its highest glory, the Alhambra must have been almost unequalled among the palaces of the world. Vermilion, azure, and gold, the glitter of mosaics, the intricacy of geometrical forms, the high-wrought fantasies of arabesques, the iridescence of mother-of-pearl, the shine of ivory, and the varied glow of carpets and rich hangings, were intermingled with the fluent silver of fountains, and the living splendour of plants and flowers. But it was not merely the monarch who dwelt surrounded by beautiful and attractive objects. The houses even of the humble had their gardens, where, freshened by running streams, the orange, the lemon, the citron, and the myrtle, flourished with all the glad exuberance of the south.

At a period when most European monarchs spread their floors with rushes, and hardly, at the best, advanced beyond the luxury of a mat, the Moorish kings of Granada lived under conditions of grandeur which descended to the smallest details. The annals of their State do not show so great a devotion to literature and science as that which had distinguished the Cordovan Caliphate; but the romance of history is equally apparent in the relations of these powerful Sultans with their own subjects, and with the Christian monarchies of Spain. The people of Granada carried on an extensive trade, and were famous for their manufactures. A high degree of prosperity was the natural consequence of

so much industry and enterprise, and the fertility of the soil was developed to the utmost by culture. Ibn Alkhatib, a native author who wrote about the middle of the fourteenth century, gives an enthusiastic account of the gardens, farms, orchards, and fields of grain, which surrounded the city, and of the colleges provided for the education of the people. The monarchs of this Eden were often far superior to the usual vices of despots. Mohammed-ben-Alhamar, the first of the independent Sultans of Granada, governed his small kingdom with admirable liberality and wisdom. He established prizes for success in agriculture and manufactures; executed great works of irrigation; and so encouraged the production of silk that the fabrics of Asia were surpassed by those of Southern Spain. Schools and hospitals were founded and maintained by the munificence of Mohammed, and Granada was adorned with baths and public buildings which added to its health and beauty. The population of the kingdom was largely increased by fugitives from other Moorish sovereignties, which had been subdued by the Christians; and Mohammed, though compelled to acknowledge himself a vassal of the King of Leon and Castile, and to assist him in conquering Mussulman territory, preserved his own dominions intact to the end of his days.

The authority of the Granadan Sultans was systematically defied by the rebellious Valis, or Governors of provinces, who had acquired independent positions in Andalusia, Valencia, Estremadura, and other parts of Spain, and who often made common cause with the Christians. The consequence was that the rulers of Aragon and Castile progressed rapidly in subduing the weak and divided Moslems, and that the power of the Spaniards approached the southern coast. The followers of the Prophet struggled with their advancing fate, and sometimes successfully; but, for the most part, the Christians were in the ascendant, and the Spanish Moors obtained only precarious assistance from the Sultans of Morocco. Mohammed II. reigned in constant turmoil and anxiety. Mohammed III., who succeeded in 1302, was troubled by frequent rebellions, though an exemplary ruler; and the same may be related in general terms of the rest. Some of these monarchs provoked their misfortunes by treachery or despotism; yet few royal lines present a greater number of excellent kings than that of Granada. War with the Christians was frequent, and several of the most romantic incidents of Spanish legend belong to these contests of the opposing chivalry, which, characterised by desperate valour and heroic devotion on both sides, were not seldom humanised by acts of generosity, and even

by episodes of love. The enemies learned to respect one another, though not to compose their differences; and the Spanish poets sang the praises of Saracen knights almost as frequently as the deeds of their own.

One of the most striking narratives in connection with the Granadan sovereignty is that of the Abencerrages—a relation of doubtful authenticity, but one which cannot be altogether omitted. The Abencerrages were among the most powerful families of Granada under the sceptre of Abou Hassan, who reigned from 1466 to 1484. They had been a good deal mixed up in the civil contentions of previous reigns, and were hated by the family of the Zegris, who especially envied Mohammed Aben Zurran for the esteem in which he was held by the Queen. To effect the ruin of this powerful nobleman, the Zegris told the King that Zurran was engaged in a criminal intrigue with his royal mistress. Abou believed the story, and resolved to destroy the whole race of the Abencerrages. They were invited to the Alhambra, and thirty-six were seized and beheaded as they entered the Court of the Lions. Before the others could be similarly treated, an alarm had spread throughout the city, and the people rushed tumultuously to the palace, with the intention of killing the Sultan. The tyrant, however, escaped; but two hundred of the Zegris, and of another family opposed to the Abencerrages, were slaughtered by the friends of the latter. The insurrection was ultimately suppressed, and the Queen sentenced to be burned alive, if within thirty days she did not produce four knights to defend her cause against her four accusers. Having refused all the offers of Moorish knights, the Queen apparently expected her death on the thirtieth day; but, at the last moment, four Christian knights, disguised as Mohammedans, rode into the great square, challenged the Queen's traducers to mortal combat, and slew them all. The principal of these champions was Don Juan de Chacon, Lord of Carthagea, to whom the Queen had secretly written for assistance. The head of the Zegris afterwards confessed the falsehood of his accusation; but the Queen refused to be reconciled with her husband, and the incident, by increasing the disaffection of the chief families, prepared the way for the conquest of Granada by the Spaniards. Such is the celebrated legend of the Abencerrages. It has been related in many poetical forms, but possesses slight historical foundation. There seems, however, to have been a plot, during the reign of Mohammed VIII., for destroying the Zeragh family, who were objects of suspicion to the monarch, and of whom a certain number were assassinated, while

the rest escaped into Castile. This was probably the origin of the story, of which the more romantic details are not to be found in the authentic histories of Granada.

The principal of the Spanish kingdoms, during the period of the Granadan sovereignty, were Aragon and Castile. To the latter country Leon was finally united in 1230, and in 1458 Aragon and Navarre came under one rule. Juan II. of Navarre, who succeeded his brother as King of Aragon, was the father of Ferdinand II., who subsequently married Isabella, Queen of Castile, and thus prepared the way for that great Spanish Monarchy which was shortly to be the mightiest power in Europe. The marriage took place in 1469, at which time Castile was under the sceptre of King Henry IV., the brother of Isabella, while Juan was still reigning in Aragon. It was not until the decease of Henry, in 1474, that Isabella became Queen of Castile and Leon, or that her husband acquired those rights of sovereignty which he thenceforward exercised. An opponent arose in the person of the Infanta Joanna, a reputed daughter of Henry IV., espoused to Alfonso IV., King of Portugal; and a war ensued, in which Ferdinand defeated the Portuguese army at Toro. A peace was afterwards concluded, which left him and his Queen in quiet possession of the Castilian crown; and the death of Ferdinand's father, in 1479, enabled him to unite the kingdom of Aragon (including its dependencies, Sicily and Sardinia) with the sovereignties of Castile and Leon. Most of the smaller Spanish States had already been absorbed by these larger monarchies, and the only fear of rupture proceeded from the mutual jealousies of the Castilians and the Aragonese. The former appear to have apprehended that the independence of their ancient kingdom would be absorbed in the predominance of Aragon, inasmuch as the Queen would have to yield a certain precedence to the King.

The matter was at length settled by an agreement to the effect that the names of both sovereigns were to appear jointly upon the coin, and in all legal proceedings (the King's, however, taking the first place, in consideration of his sex), but that, in the royal escutcheon, the arms of Castile should be preferred, on account of the greater dignity of that kingdom. The appointment to all civil offices in Castile was to be made by Isabella alone; the nomination to spiritual benefices was to be in the name of both. In the general government of the united monarchy, each was to have an equal voice; and it is a remarkable fact that this somewhat difficult arrangement was pre-

served in perfect harmony through the lives of the two rulers.

Ferdinand and his wife were both persons of considerable ability; but they were tainted by the bigotry of their time—a circumstance, however, which is hardly surprising, when we consider the long and desperate contests which had prevailed for ages between the Moors and the Spanish Christians, and which for a long while left it doubtful whether the faith of the latter would not be entirely trampled out. The united monarchs reintroduced the Inquisition into Spain, under forms more despotic than had been known before, expelled the Jews, and received from the Pope the title of "the Catholic," which is still borne by their successors. The special claim of Ferdinand and Isabella to this distinction was based on the great military achievement of their reign—the expulsion of the Moors from the last Mohammedan stronghold of Granada. For several years, a truce had subsisted between the Moslems, on the one hand, and the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon on the other. All the parties to this understanding were glad to be spared the necessity of war, as each had enough to do in repressing feuds and insurrections in his own realm. The Moorish State, in particular, was torn by internal dissensions; but during the reign of Abou Hassan the armistice was broken by the Granadans, who invaded Christian Andalusia, and successfully attacked several towns. Power was afterwards seized by Abdallah el Zagal, who had a rival in Abou Abdallah. Ferdinand and Isabella professed to support the latter of these pretenders, but in reality directed their efforts to the destruction of the Moorish power in Spain, by whomsoever it might be wielded. The war lasted between ten and eleven years, from the invasion of Andalusia, in 1481, to the capture of Granada at the beginning of 1492. Every campaign was conducted by Ferdinand himself, and during his absence Isabella ruled over the united kingdoms with an ability equal to his own. Occasionally she appeared in the camp, clad in complete armour, and riding a horse, and on one occasion nearly fell a victim, together with her husband, to the attack of a Moorish fanatic, who penetrated into the royal tent with the intention of assassinating both.

The war proceeded with varying fortunes, but, in the end, the Christian cause predominated. In 1489, the city of Baza was surrendered by a nephew of Abdallah el Zagal (the reigning monarch), and the latter himself was soon afterwards persuaded to give up the remaining towns, with the exception of the capital, and to resign his royal dignity, upon

the understanding that he was to receive ample domains in compensation. He subsequently crossed over into Africa, where he expired in obscurity and want, and Abou Abdallah, who seems to have had the more rightful claim to power, quickly discovered that Ferdinand's support was a mere pretence, and that the Moorish dominion in the south of Spain had come to an end. He was required to relinquish the city of Granada, and, on his refusal, measures were immediately taken by the Christian sovereigns to complete their conquest of the last Moslem kingdom in Spain. The siege of Granada (then regarded as the largest fortified city in the world) began in 1491. The supply of provisions was intercepted; the adjacent districts were ravaged by the attacking force; the Moors themselves lost heart, and Abou Abdallah at length determined to capitulate. The surrender took place on the 2nd of January, 1492; but it was stipulated that the Mohammedans should retain their property and arms, enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be governed by their own laws. On quitting the fair city, Abou Abdallah shed bitter tears as he viewed it from a neighbouring hill (still called in Spanish "the Last Sigh of the Moor"), while his mother Zoraya passionately exclaimed, "Aye, weep the loss of thy kingdom like a woman, since thou couldst not defend it like a man." He retired into Africa, and was slain while fighting for a prince to whom he was related. Ferdinand and Isabella made a triumphal entry into the Moorish capital, and the Queen's confessor, who had frequently declared he would hold no see but that of Granada, received the fruition of his hopes.

The complete subjection of the Moors in Spain may almost be said to counterbalance the seizure of Eastern Europe by the Turks, and the accompanying fall of Constantinople, nearly forty years before. History presents nothing more remarkable than the conquest of so powerful, energetic, and civilised a race as the Moors, after they had held possession of the Western Peninsula for nearly eight centuries. Seven hundred and eighty-two years had elapsed since the Saracenic general, Tarik, landed on the rock of Gibraltar. In the southern parts of the country, the Moorish population had been native to the soil for many generations. All traces of an earlier civilisation had been superseded by the art, science, literature, and religion, of a Mohammedan people. The cities were such as might have been found in Persia, in Syria, or in Arabia itself; in the country districts, agricultural operations were pursued after the ancient fashions of the East; and the faith of Islam was proclaimed from

many centres, and confessed by countless tongues. Yet the Moslem realm in Spain had been long decaying; internal divisions had shattered its natural strength; the Christians had gradually, but steadily, recovered their old dominion; and when two energetic monarchs, like Ferdinand and Isabella, determined to attack the last remnant of Mohammedan power, it crumbled beneath their touch, and fell to irremediable ruin. It is a mistake, however, to speak of the expulsion of the Moors as having taken place at this date. The Mohammedans were not driven out of Spain until the reign of Philip III., in the early part of the seventeenth century. The people of Granada were even, as we have seen, guaranteed the enjoyment of their religion; but there can be no question that this right was fettered in many ways, and not arrested without considerable difficulty and opprobrium.

The conquest of Granada was undoubtedly an incident of great importance in the history of Christendom; but it was of far less consequence than a contemporaneous event, which spread the faith of Europe, without a single opponent except the heathenism which it subdued, over a quarter of the globe till then unknown. For many ages the minds of men had been haunted by ideas of a large continent lying somewhere to the west of Europe and Africa. In two of his dialogues (the "Timæus" and the "Critias"), Plato has preserved the tradition of an island which he calls Atlantis, and which was supposed to have been swallowed up in the vast ocean to which its name was transferred. The West India islands have in truth the appearance of scattered fragments broken off from a greater mass, and it is possible that the legend of Atlantis points to a dimly-remembered fact in the remote past. Aristotle and Seneca had some conceptions of an undiscovered world. Ælian, who lived in the second Christian century, affirmed the existence of another continent of immense extent; and the idea was afterwards so popular that, in the fourth and fifth centuries, it was opposed by Lactantius and St. Augustine, as if it had been an impiety. To the nations of the ancient world the Atlantic was a mystery which they scarcely ventured to explore, which they hardly cared to consider. It was regarded as an illimitable waste of billows, conducting, possibly, to the shadowy regions of the dead, or to some cloudy world where the sun-god took his rest after he had left our sphere. By certain speculators it has been supposed that the Phœnicians crossed the Western Ocean to America; but it seems more likely that even those adventurous seamen did little more than skirt the eastern

limits of the great waters as they broke upon the shores of Africa and Spain, of Gaul and Britain. Still, we cannot say with certainty who first among the nations of the Old World set foot upon the New. Welsh legends speak of a Prince Madoc, who, with a small number of vessels, put out to sea in 1170, and, landing in what we now call Virginia, established there a colony of his countrymen. The story is extremely doubtful; nor can any complete reliance

The second half of the fifteenth century was an age of awakened vigour, of daring hopes, of brilliant and romantic enterprise. A passion for discovery seems to have taken possession of the souls of men, and all the most energetic nations desired to enlarge the boundaries of the world, and to find new outlets for their commerce. The discovery, in 1403, of the polarity of the magnet, and its application to the mariner's compass, facilitated



THE COAST OF FLORIDA.

be placed upon another tradition, that, in the year 1000, or a little earlier, the Scandinavians extended their maritime explorations from Greenland, where they had settled some time before, to a point on the American coast near New Bedford, Massachusetts, if not farther to the south. Other claims to the discovery of America previous to the time of Columbus have been advanced by the Spaniards, the Germans, the Venetians, the Portuguese, and the Poles, but on very unsatisfactory grounds. We know nothing with certainty about America until that wonderful year 1492, when Christopher Columbus discovered the island of San Salvador (one of the Bahamas), together with some of the other insular territories lying off the coast of Florida.

the work of navigation, and prompted the wish to explore unknown seas, and touch on half-imagined shores. The reign of John I. of Portugal, extending from 1385 to 1433, was distinguished, not merely by wars against the Moors of Africa, but by numerous explorations along the coast of that continent, which were conducted, or at least encouraged, by the King's third son, Don Henry, whose mother was a daughter of John of Gaunt. In the seaport town of Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, this enlightened prince surrounded himself by travellers and seamen, with whom he discoursed on the possibility of sailing round Africa, and thus reaching the East Indies. From his convenient harbour on the south-western coast of Portugal, he sent forth numerous vessels of



RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

discovery. The Portuguese complained of what they regarded as a waste of money and of life; but the Don, assisted by his father, persevered in his plans, and substantial achievements soon rewarded his labours and his hopes. Madeira was discovered and colonised in 1419. Cape Blanco, Cape Verde, the Senegal, the Azores, Sierra Leone, and Benin, were the acquisitions of later years; and in 1486, or 1487, Bartholomew Diaz sighted the Cape of Good Hope, sometimes called the Stormy Cape, the Lion of the Sea, and the Head of Africa. By that time, the Portuguese people themselves had fallen in with the general passion for discovery. Companies had for some years been formed for fitting out maritime expeditions, and numerous courageous seamen had even sailed up some of the African rivers, where they suffered from the hostility of the natives. The object of all these expeditions, apart from the desire of territory and dominion, was the circumnavigation of the African continent—a design not unknown to the ancient world, and perhaps even accomplished by the Phœnicians.

These brilliant discoveries—which cast an enduring light on the annals of the Portuguese race, and indicate the possession of qualities which now seem extinct—must have powerfully stimulated the genius and the aspirations of Columbus, who can hardly have been ignorant of the fact that trees, pieces of carved timber, and even the bodies of two men of unknown race, had been cast up on the shores of Madeira and the Azores. Christopher Columbus (who ought rather to be described by his real name of Colombo) was born at or near Genoa in the year 1436 or 1446; for, renowned as he is in the history of the world, the early years of the great navigator are so obscure that the precise date and the precise place of his birth are equally subjects of doubt. He was probably the son of a wool-comber, but in his youth he acquired some tincture of learning at the University of Pavia. His tastes were towards geography and astronomy, and he adopted the profession of a seaman. Settling for a time at Lisbon, he married the daughter of a fellow-countryman named Palestrello, who had been a navigator in the Portuguese service. Here he was surrounded by explorers, and brought into permanent contact with ideas pointing to the discovery of distant and mysterious lands. Gradually there dawned upon his mind the conviction that beyond the waters of the Atlantic lay an immense country, which might be reached by any one daring enough to make the attempt in a resolute spirit. This country he considered necessary to the equilibrium of the globe, as a counter-

balance to the eastern hemisphere. He believed, however, that it was simply a prolongation of the eastern shores of Asia; and the outlying portions of America, when at length discovered, were for this reason called the West Indies, and the aborigines of the continent received, and still retain, the misleading appellation of Indians.

The conception of a western land having taken possession of his mind, Columbus sought the necessary help for making explorations. During many years, he tried in vain to interest the great States of Europe in his prodigious scheme. His ardent desire was to plant the Cross in lands which, so far as authentic records go, had never yet been revealed to the older continents of the world; but, with all his enthusiasm and all his eloquence, he could not at first induce any one to believe in that mighty territory which, by the intuition of genius, he had already perceived with his intellectual sight. He submitted his project to the Portuguese, to his own countrymen of Genoa, probably to the Venetians, to Henry VII. of England, to Charles VIII. of France, and in some other quarters, but without obtaining any encouragement. At length, however, the design was taken up by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, owing mainly to the liberality of the Queen, who drew the necessary funds from the revenues of Castile, without requiring of her husband to trench on those of Aragon. Columbus claimed as his reward that he should be nominated High Admiral, Governor-General, and Viceroy, over all the lands he might discover, and that a tenth of the produce should belong to him. Three small ships, only one of which was decked, were placed at his disposal; and, with a crew of one hundred and twenty men, he set sail from the bar of Saltes, near Palos in Andalusia, on Friday, the 3rd of August, 1492.

After quitting the shores of Spain, Columbus touched at the Canaries, where he stayed a month, in order to refit his vessels. Starting again on the 6th of September, he sailed out into the vast western ocean, and entered on an abyss of waters, which, in the commonly-received opinion of his time, had no shores beyond those he had quitted. Day after day, the same dim and interminable plane spread before the eyes of the great adventurer and his companions. The crew became alarmed, and feared that they were being carried, as by a kind of fate, to some unknown and terrible end. Columbus quieted their apprehensions by ready excuses and sanguine hopes; but even he was rendered somewhat uneasy by the variation of the needle, which he first observed on the 13th of September, when about two hundred leagues

west of the Canary Islands. He kept the fact secret as long as possible; but it was at length discovered by the pilots, and Columbus had some difficulty in persuading them that the phenomenon was due to the movement of the pole-star. As the voyagers proceeded, landbirds were encountered; and floating weeds, rushes newly cut, a branch with red berries still fresh, and even a carved piece of wood, came drifting on the surface of the waves. Here then, at length, were tangible evidences that they were approaching land; yet still many days elapsed without any more definite prospect, and the discontent of the crew threatened to break out in open mutiny. It was only by extraordinary force of character that Columbus held his men in subjection; and had the more rebellious obtained their will, they would have thrown the Admiral overboard, and set sail for Europe. On the 11th of October, however, the signs of land became unmistakable, and, as night set in, Columbus ordered a careful look-out, and, mounting the stern of his vessel, remained there from ten o'clock until two next morning. Faint glimmerings of light appeared through the darkness, moving about from place to place, as if carried by human hands. A little after midnight, a cry of "Land!" "Land!" arose from the foremost ship, and it was unquestionable that a new world was about to burst on the astonished sight of the voyagers. No one slept that night: the nerves of all were strung to the highest pitch of expectation, for it was wholly unknown whether dawn would reveal a desert or a Paradise. When the light of day arrived, it was seen that they were off a shore which presented no difficulties of a serious nature. Columbus landed, kissed the earth, and, with thanksgivings and solemn observances, planted the Cross on the soil of an island called by the natives Guanahani, but to which he himself gave the title of San Salvador. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that there has never been a moment in the history of the human race which throbbed so intensely with the concentrated life of the world.

The trusting friendliness with which the natives of Guanahani received the strangers from an unknown world—whom, indeed, they regarded as supernatural beings, descending upon them from the heavens—gives an additionally lamentable character to the relations which afterwards existed between the Red Indians and the Europeans, and which must, in the main, be attributed to the rapacity and heartless arrogance of the latter. Columbus himself, however, was blameless in this respect. He was too much of a visionary to care for worldly profits; and although his mind was bent on the discovery

of a great golden city which he imagined to exist in those parts of the world, and to which earlier travellers had given the name of Cipango, it was more as an explorer than as a seeker after riches. On the 24th of October he again set sail, and, after touching at some smaller islands, sighted the enchanting shores of Cuba. At first he supposed that this was the real Cipango; afterwards, that it was the Cathay of Marco Polo. Hayti he equally believed to be the Ophir of the ancient world, whence Solomon derived his riches. In short, illustrious navigator as he was, his mind was largely influenced, and to some extent misled, by the bookish lore of his time. He was a scholar in the first place, a dreamer in the second, and a discoverer by virtue of the impulse he had derived from curious reading and fantastic meditation. He never outlived the delusion that Cuba was a portion of the mainland of India, and his discovery of the New World was coloured by a hundred reflected lights from the romance and poetry of the Old.

Having planted a small colony at Hayti, which he called Hispaniola, Columbus commenced his homeward voyage on the 4th of January, 1493, and, after a stormy passage, landed at Palos on the 15th of March. He had taken with him some natives of the newly-discovered lands, together with specimens of their arms and ordinary implements; and these proofs of his success excited the liveliest enthusiasm of the Spaniards as he proceeded to Barcelona, where the court was then staying. Ferdinand and Isabella awaited his approach under a superb canopy of state, and, as he bent to kiss their hands, rose from their places to do him honour, and caused him to be seated in their presence. After hearing from the great navigator a minute account of his discoveries, the King and Queen, together with all present, knelt in thanksgiving, while the choir of the royal chapel chanted the *Te Deum* as if for a victory.* Columbus did not long remain content with what he had already achieved. On the 25th of September he left Cadiz for a second voyage, taking with him, this time, seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men. His return, after the discovery of several islands, including Jamaica, was in June, 1496, and a third expedition followed about two years later. It was then that he discovered the mouths of the Orinoco, which, with his usual overshadowing of visionary thought, he supposed to proceed from the Tree of Life in the midst of Paradise. Having sighted several other places, he sailed for Hispaniola to recruit his health, which had been impaired by

* Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, chap. 18.

years of anxiety and labour. The little colony was in a turmoil of dissension, and a feeling of petty jealousy, arising from the fact that Columbus was a foreigner, induced many of the Spanish settlers to compass his overthrow. Various calumnies were carried back to the old country by colonists who were disappointed with their adventure, and would rather blame any one but themselves. In July, 1500, Ferdinand despatched Francisco Bobadilla, to supersede the noble Genoese in his position as High Admiral and Governor-General. The discoverer of America was actually put in chains; and when Vallejo, the officer who had him in charge, offered to strike off his fetters, Columbus proudly refused, saying that he would wear them until the King ordered otherwise, and preserve them as memorials of his gratitude.

Ferdinand disavowed all knowledge of the transaction, but allowed some time to elapse before he restored the great navigator to favour, or provided him with means for a fourth expedition. On the 9th of May, 1502, Columbus again sailed from Cadiz. His object now was to discover a passage to the East Indies, which he thought he should find near the Isthmus of Darien. No such passage was revealed, but the explorer saw a good deal of the American coast, and enlarged his conception of the splendid territory which Providence had made him the instrument of disclosing. To allay the dissatisfaction of his crews, he went in search of precious metals to Veragua, a country which he mistook for the Golden Chersonesus of the Greeks and Romans. A series of misfortunes and mutinies ultimately drove him to seek shelter at Hispaniola, whence, on the 12th of September, 1504, he sailed once more for Europe. Spain was reached on the 7th of November, and, at Seville, Columbus received news of the recent death of Isabella, who had always been his friend, and had done far more for the promotion of his enterprises than her niggardly and suspicious husband. Ferdinand now turned coldly from the genius who had given him an Empire beyond the dreams of conquerors; and, after some months of sickness, poverty, and disappointment, the discoverer of the New World died at Valladolid on the 20th of May, 1506. A pompous funeral and a stately monument made poor amends for the long neglect of a noble and generous-hearted man.

It was the hard fate of Columbus, not merely to reap no advantage from the greatest achievement of the modern world, but even to be deprived of that titular honour to which he was entitled. The whole of the New World ought by right to have been called Columbia; as a matter of fact, it

received its name from Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine who accompanied Alonso de Ojeda in a voyage across the Atlantic, performed in the year 1499. A large portion of the eastern coast of America was discovered on this occasion, and, as Amerigo had a principal share in the direction of the enterprise, and published an account of it, the whole continent came in time to be called after him.* Columbus, however, had been before them even in this respect, for in 1498 he had sighted that part of Venezuela, which was then called Paria, and which lay opposite to the island of Trinidad. But in truth the continent of America, as distinguished from the adjacent islands, was first discovered neither by Columbus nor Vespucci, but by a third Italian, named Giovanni Gaboto, more generally known as John Cabot, who in 1496 obtained from Henry VII. of England a patent empowering him and his three sons to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own expense, to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, not before seen by Christian people; to plant the English flag on any city, island, or continent, that they might find, and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories thus discovered. In return for these anticipated services, the patent conferred on the family of the Cabots and their assigns the exclusive and permanent right of frequenting all the countries thus revealed. The expedition set sail from Bristol in May, 1497, and on the 24th of June beheld the coast of North America in that portion which is now called Labrador. This was nearly a year before the discovery of the South American continent by Columbus on his third voyage, and less than five years after the first glimpse of the New World had been obtained at the island of San Salvador. The enterprise of Cabot was doubtless suggested by the great success of Columbus; but it is a fact of which Englishmen are not sufficiently proud, that the American continent was first disclosed to an English expedition, commanded, indeed, by a foreigner, but fitted out in a mercantile city of their own land.

The Cabots made a second voyage to America in 1498; and the King himself was a partner in this new adventure, which it was hoped would turn to the advantage of commerce, and open possibilities

* It is possible that the original intention was to give the name of America only to that part of the western continent which Amerigo was concerned in exploring, as another part was, and still is, called Colombia. The first to apply the name of America to the whole continent was Martin Waldseemüller, a cosmographer of Fribourg, contemporary with Vespucci and Columbus.

of colonisation. The coast of Labrador was again visited, but, discouraged by the extreme cold, the explorers turned southward, and reached the farthest extremity of what is now Maryland, if they did not touch Virginia. A third voyage, extending to the Gulf of Mexico, probably followed in 1499; and in all these expeditions the chief lieutenant of John Cabot (who died shortly afterwards) was his son Sebastian, who, having been born at Bristol, must be considered as to some extent an Englishman. Sebastian was the most scientific navigator of the family, and seems to have been a man of noble life and attractive disposition. Nevertheless, he was ill-treated by the English Government, and, taking service under Ferdinand of Spain after the death of our Henry VII., received from that monarch, in 1512, the title of Captain, with a liberal salary. The death of Ferdinand early in 1516, put a stop to a new expedition which Sebastian Cabot was to have commanded. Returning to England shortly afterwards, he was commissioned to go in search of the north-west passage into the Pacific Ocean—a favourite project with all the great explorers of that age. He sailed from England about 1517, passed through the straits that were afterwards named after Hudson, and reached the bay beyond; but it would seem that the straits had already been entered, about sixteen years before, by Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese. Cabot, however, penetrated farther than his predecessor, and would have continued his voyage, as the sea was quite open, had not his fellow-commander, Sir Thomas Perte, lost courage, and the crew proved mutinous. This brave explorer, of Venetian blood and English birth—certainly one of the greatest navigators of that epoch, after Columbus himself—died at an advanced age in a year not exactly known, but probably in the reign of Queen Mary. As he lay on his death-bed, his mind wandered over the broad ocean, and he talked to his friend Richard Eden of a peculiar mode of finding the longitude which had been communicated to him by divine revelation, but which he was not permitted to repeat. Eden (who afterwards compiled a history of maritime expeditions) thought that, in the extremity of his age, the old voyager somewhat doted; but at least his thoughts were characteristic of the whole tenor of a life which sought the unknown shores of distant oceans, as if nothing less could satisfy the ardour of his soul.

For many years, the spirit of enterprise continued to impel all the nations of Western Europe to maritime expeditions, which frequently led to important results. Brazil was accidentally

discovered, in 1501, by a Portuguese fleet under Cabral, whose real object was to effect conquests in the East, to which the attention of adventurers had been specially directed by the success of Vasco de Gama in accomplishing the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Cabral was carried westward by the equatorial currents, and, reaching the coast of Brazil, sailed along it as far as Porto Seguro, where he landed, and took possession of the country in the name of his Government. The northern coast of New Granada was first visited by a Spaniard, named Bastidas, in 1501. Yucatan was discovered by Diaz de Solis and Pinzon in 1508, and Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512. In 1515, de Solis and several of his crew were killed and eaten by the natives of the country near the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, where they had landed in pursuit of their explorations; and two years earlier (1513) the Pacific or Southern Ocean had been descried from the mountain-tops near Panama by Vasco Nunez de Balboa—a man of heroic spirit, who was set aside in the governorship of the territories thus acquired in favour of one Pedrarias Davila, who in 1517 caused him to be beheaded on a false accusation of rebellious designs.

The enterprise of Portugal was equal to that of Spain, though the country was so much smaller; but the attention of the Portuguese was directed more to Africa, and to the East, than to the new territories of America. To them, the great object was to reach India by sailing round the African continent; and in July, 1497, King Manuel despatched Vasco de Gama, with three ships, to double the Cape of Good Hope, and endeavour in that way to attain the golden lands of Asia. For a portion of the way he was accompanied by Bartholomew Diaz, who had discovered the Cape ten or eleven years before; and in the following November Gama rounded the stormy promontory, and sailed up the eastern coast of Africa as far as Mozambique. With the king of that territory he concluded a treaty, by which the barbarian monarch agreed to furnish the Portuguese navigator with pilots experienced in the course to India. A quarrel afterwards ensued, and the Africans, dismayed by the Portuguese firearms, submitted to the demands of the strangers. On the 1st of April, 1498, Vasco de Gama sailed from Mozambique for India, and, after much trouble, succeeded in crossing to the coast of Malabar. Landing at Calicut, he announced himself as an ambassador from the King of Portugal, charged to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the Indian sovereign, to establish commercial relations, and to convert the natives to Christianity.

The explorer was at first well received; but the inevitable disagreements between nations so entirely distinct were not long in supervening. Nevertheless, Gama managed with so much adroitness that he avoided any serious collision, and, sailing from Calicut with a cargo of pepper, reached Portugal in July, 1499, after a voyage of two years' duration. The successful navigator was promoted to the rank of Admiral and the dignity of Count of Vidigueira, to which positions were attached a share in the royal monopoly of the trade with India; while the King took to himself

professors of Islam. The Moslems all over the world saw their danger, and took measures of defence. The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt sent an ambassador to Rome, charged with a message to Alexander VI., importing that vengeance would fall upon the Christians, especially those of Jerusalem, if his Holiness did not at once put a stop to all aggression on the Mohammedans of Africa and India. The Pope was terrified, and entreated the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, Ferdinand and Manuel, to restrain the ardour of their subjects. Neither, however, was influenced by these



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the sonorous title of Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce, of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. His pretensions, however, ultimately embroiled him with the ruler of Calicut; but an alliance with the neighbouring prince of Cochin enabled the Portuguese to make good their footing, and the construction of a fortress in a strong position, designed ostensibly for the protection of the spice-factors who had settled there, proved the germ of an Oriental Empire of great extent and imposing splendour.

It was the policy of the Portuguese in India to protect and encourage the Hindoos, and to set them in opposition to their Mohammedan oppressors. Probably they conceived that the former might be more easily converted to Christianity than the latter; at any rate, they had no inherited feeling of antagonism against the followers of Brahma and Buddha, as they had against the

appeals, and Manuel, in particular, declared his intention to destroy the very life of Mohammedanism in the holy city of Mecca itself. These boasts were the more ridiculous, as Manuel had recently been very unsuccessful in his expeditions against the Moslems of Northern Africa. His attempts to excite a new Crusade against the Musulman met with no response, and in 1504 the Egyptian Sultan despatched a powerful armament to the assistance of his fellow-believers in India. By that time, the Portuguese Viceroy in the East, Don Francisco de Almeida, had created the nucleus of a future Empire by inducing several of the Hindoo princes, tributary to the Mohammedans, to place themselves under the flag of Portugal; but the position was one of great danger, and it was aggravated by the rashness of Almeida's son, Don Lorenzo, who attacked the Moslem navy with inferior forces, and was defeated

and slain. Almeida himself afterwards avenged this reverse by a signal victory at sea, and his successor, Alfonso Albuquerque—a man of remarkable ability and power—extended the Portuguese dominions in the East from Ormuz (near the Persian coast) to Malacca, took Goa in 1509, estab-

distance from the eastern and western extremities of the East Indies, and possessing the command of that strait by which they keep communication with each other, the merchants of China, of Japan, of every kingdom on the Continent of the Moluccas, and all the islands in the Archipelago,



THE CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER, PISA.

lished relations with the Shah of Persia, and opened a flourishing trade with the Moluccas. He died about the close of 1515, after securing to his country some of the finest colonial dependencies ever possessed by any State.

The value of Malacca to the Portuguese can hardly be exaggerated. The chief trade of Farther Asia was there pursued with every advantage which could be derived from locality and from natural resources. Robertson has well remarked that "to this port, situated nearly at an equal

resorted from the east; and those of Malabar, of Ceylon, of Coromandel, and of Bengal from the west." Thus favourably circumstanced, the subjects of King Manuel frequented every port from the Cape of Good Hope to the river of Canton; and their enterprise established a chain of forts or factories along an immense stretch of coast. Commerce could boast of no such achievements since the days of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians; and the trade of Venice soon felt the superior energy, or happier fortune, of the Portuguese.

CHAPTER II.

ITALY, FRANCE, AND SPAIN.

Florentine History in the Early Part of the Fifteenth Century—War with Pisa, and Destruction of that Republic—Rise of the Medici Family at Florence—Character and Influence of Cosmo de' Medici—His Encouragement of Learning and the Arts—Rule of Lorenzo de' Medici, the "Magnificent"—Plot for his Assassination—War of Florence with Pope Sixtus IV. and the King of Naples—Policy of Lorenzo de' Medici—His Relations with Pope Innocent VIII.—Injury to his Private Fortunes, and Death—Ignominious Government and Expulsion of Piero de' Medici—Life and Teaching of Savonarola—His Fanaticism and Enthusiasm—Extraordinary Influence on the Population of Florence—Unfortunate Incident, and Loss of Popularity—Execution of the Reformer and Two Adherents—Corruption at Rome—Intrigues and Wars of Sixtus IV.—Pontificate of Innocent VIII.—Early Life of Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia)—His Support of Ludovico Galeazzo of Milan—Charles VIII. at Rome—Negotiations between Pope Alexander VI. and Sultan Bayazid II.—Savonarola and Charles VIII. of France—Progress of Affairs at Naples—War in the North of Italy—Crimes of the Borgias at Rome—Succession of Louis XII. to the French Throne—His Invasion of Italy, and Entry into Milan—Betrayal, Captivity, and Death of Ludovico Sforza—Cesare Borgia and his Ambitious Projects—Terrible Succession of Crimes—Secret Understanding between Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain for the Partition of the Neapolitan Kingdom—Death of Frederick of Naples in France—Conquest of Southern Italy by the French and Spaniards—Alliance between France and the Empire—Quarrels of the French and Spaniards over the Division of Naples—Serious Reverses of the Former—Intrigues of Cesare Borgia—Death of Alexander VI.—State of Rome in the Early Part of the Sixteenth Century.

AFTER the Albizzi had succeeded in obtaining possession of power in the Republic of Florence, about the year 1382, the conduct of affairs continued a long while in the hands of what may be called the new aristocracy—the privileged class of the wealthy, the intellectual, and the cultured. For the first eighteen years, the rule of that class was occasionally disturbed by conspiracies and insurrections; but, from 1400 to 1433, the city, according to Macchiavelli, remained singularly tranquil. This was a longer period of repose than the excitable and turbulent commonwealth had ever known before; and while the citizens were at peace with themselves, they acquired possession, either by force or purchase, of Pisa, Cortona, Livorno (known to English people as Leghorn), and other portions of Northern Italy. The fate of Pisa was particularly sad. The city had for a long time been distracted by the feuds of the aristocratic and democratic parties, and in 1399 it was sold by its then ruler to Gian Galeazzo Visconti, of Milan, at whose death, in 1403, it passed to his natural son, Gabriello Maria. This person, doubting his ability to hold the place without assistance, placed himself under the protection of Charles VI. of France, whose representative, Marshal Boucicault, sold the citadel and other strongholds to the Florentines for 206,000 florins. The transaction was an infamous one, and it was rendered still worse by the conduct of Boucicault to Gabriello Maria, whom, on his demanding a share in the purchase-money, he beheaded as a traitor to the King of France. The citizens of Pisa soon afterwards retook the citadel, and offered to repay the Florentines the money they had disbursed to the French Marshal.

The Government of the sister Republic, however, refused these terms, and demanded the surrender of Pisa. The city was blockaded for nearly a year, and, when reduced to extremities by famine, was treacherously given up to the enemy for a money payment, on the night of the 8th of November, 1406. One Giovanni Gambacorta, who had formerly been an exile, but whom the Pisans had recalled that he might conduct negotiations with the besiegers, was the traitor who thus effected the ruin of this once illustrious State. All the greatest families of Pisa emigrated to Sardinia and Sicily, and the city underwent a servitude of eighty-eight years. Expelling the Florentines in 1494, the citizens placed themselves under the protection of France, but, after two heroic struggles, again submitted to the Republic of the Arno in 1509. From that time until the unification of Italy, Pisa remained subject to Florence.

Before the middle of the fifteenth century, Florence had passed under the rule of a very illustrious family, the leading members of which are indissolubly associated with her annals. The Medici were merchant-princes who had distinguished themselves in the conduct of affairs as early as the thirteenth, and again in the fourteenth, century. They were wealthy, and employed their wealth with a liberal regard to the public interests. Salvestro de' Medici attained the rank of Gonfaloniere in 1378, and from that time the family rose in general estimation and in power, until it acquired an almost regal dignity in the person of Giovanni de' Medici, who successively filled all the great offices of the Republic, and, in a singularly jealous and turbulent community, retained the respect of

every one. Giovanni died in 1428, leaving two sons—Cosmo, born in 1389, and Lorenzo, the year of whose birth was 1394. The elder of these brothers had made a name for ability and force of character when he was only twenty years of age. In 1414, he attended the Council of Constance as the friend and supporter of Balthasar Cossa, who had been elected to the Popedom under the title of John XXIII., but who was ultimately set aside in favour of Martin V., one of the Colonna family. On the death of Giovanni, Cosmo succeeded to the power and influence of his father, and acted with prudence and moderation in the functions to which he was called. But the ill-success of a war against Lucca caused general discontent, and a party arose, under the leadership of Rinaldo de' Albizzi, which usurped all the principal magistracies. Cosmo was imprisoned in 1433, and soon afterwards banished to Padua for ten years, together with several of his relations and adherents. In the very next year, however, Rinaldo was expelled from Florence, and Cosmo, being recalled, entered the city in the midst of popular enthusiasm. Thus, in 1434, the chief representative of the Medici established a species of dictatorship, which, with two intervals of some years, continued in the family until 1737.

The natural disposition of Cosmo de' Medici was mild and generous; yet he found it necessary to protect his authority, and guard against a recurrence of danger, by some extreme sentences. The Gonfaloniere who had pronounced his banishment was executed; so also were a few others of the same party. Measures were taken for restricting the choice of magistrates to the partisans of the Medici; alliances were formed with other Powers; and the Florentines contentedly beheld a change in their political state which was none the less real because it introduced no nominal transformation. The commonwealth had been so frequently disturbed by factious broils that the people not unnaturally welcomed a rule which promised to be permanent, liberal, and firm. The event did not belie their expectations. Fame and prosperity attended on the government of the autocrat. Although the friends of the Albizzi made some vain attempts to reassert their power, the general course of affairs was tranquil, and Cosmo devoted himself to the encouragement of literature and the arts. His munificence in this respect was almost unparalleled among the rulers of that age. The philosophy and the language of Greece were once more attracting the regard of Western Europe; the dispersion of scholarly men, consequent on the fall of Constantinople, was giving birth to the Renaissance; and

Florence became a centre of intellectual refinement which soon produced important results. To the fostering care of Cosmo de' Medici the Florentines owed the establishment of an Academy for the explanation of the Platonic philosophy, the head of which was the accomplished Marsilio Ficino, who translated Plato, Plotinus, and Iamblichus. The chief of the State also brought together a considerable collection of Greek, Latin, and Oriental manuscripts, which afterwards formed the basis of the Laurentian Library. Equally conspicuous were his works of charity and religion; and all this generosity in the promotion of public objects was accompanied by a perfectly unostentatious manner in private life. Cosmo de' Medici died on the 1st of August, 1464, and his tomb in the church of San Lorenzo bears an inscription to "the Father of his Country." His rule was pacific; but it is some drawback from his moral elevation to find that, in his latter days, he felt distressed by the reflection that he had not extended the Florentine dominions by any valuable acquisition.*

The successor of Cosmo in the chief magistracy of the Republic was his son Piero, a person of weak physical health, who died near the close of 1469, leaving the supreme position to his own son, Lorenzo, afterwards called the Magnificent. Lorenzo was scarcely twenty-two when he thus acquired what was in truth nothing less than the sovereignty of Florence; but from his youth he had been familiarised with political affairs, and the genius of the grandfather lived again in him. Like Cosmo, he was a patron of the arts, a lover of Platonism, and a man of splendid and intellectual tastes. He resided for a time at Pisa, that he might personally superintend the re-establishment of the Academy for which that city had once been celebrated; and he instituted an annual festival to the memory of Plato, which was conducted with great pomp and ceremony. In all these matters he continued the work of his grandfather; but in other respects his rule was not so liberal as that of Cosmo, and a revolt on the part of Volterra was punished with great severity. Lorenzo was bitterly hated by the Pazzi, a distinguished family of Florence, who in 1478 formed a conspiracy against him and his brother. Pope Sixtus IV. and his nephew Riario were the instigators of the plot; the Archbishop of Pisa, Salviati, was the principal agent for carrying it out; and several desperadoes promised their assistance. The plan adopted was to slay the two brothers in the church of the Reparata at the instant of the elevation of the

* Macchiavelli's History of Florence, Book VII., chap. 1.

Host. Giuliano, the younger brother, was stabbed to the heart; but Lorenzo escaped with a slight wound, and, surrounded by his friends, got back to the palace in safety. Some of the conspirators attempted a rising, but were defeated by a popular movement in favour of Lorenzo. Salviati was hanged in his archiepiscopal robes, and the Pazzi family were banished from the State. Sixtus IV., exasperated at the failure of the conspiracy, laid the whole territory of Florence under an interdict (on the ground of sacrilege in the hanging of Salviati), formed a league with the King of Naples, and prepared to invade the Republic. War broke out, and continued during that and the following year; but, although the allies were kept at bay, Lorenzo dreaded the ultimate issue of an unequal contest, and, at the close of 1479, came to the bold resolution of visiting the King of Naples in person, without obtaining any previous security for his life or freedom. The result was a treaty of mutual friendship and defence, and Lorenzo returned to Pisa with the welcome intelligence that one enemy of the Florentines had been converted into a friend. The Neapolitan sovereign, however, was speedily persuaded to forget his promises, and hostilities were pressed by Sixtus, until, alarmed by the Turkish capture of Otranto in 1480, he was glad to make peace with the great Tuscan commonwealth.

Menaced by a new plot in 1481, Lorenzo de' Medici surrounded himself with a body-guard, under whose protection he usually appeared in public. His enemies represented this as a symptom of tyranny; but it was nothing more than a legitimate defence against treacherous attacks. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Lorenzo aimed at a greater concentration of power in his own hands than had been usual in the magistracies of the Florentine State. About the year 1489, he assumed the title of "Chief of the Government," and, by the establishment of a kind of Senate, limited the more democratic features of the commonwealth. The effect of these changes was to give greater stability and repose to Florence than she had enjoyed in previous years, except during the golden days of Cosmo de' Medici. The rule of Lorenzo was distinguished by some military successes over the Genoese and others, and it was one of his objects to create a balance of power by preserving the smaller States of Northern Italy from absorption by the larger. But at the present day he is remembered chiefly in connection with his encouragement of literature and art. His title of "the Magnificent" was well deserved. It was to him that his countrymen were principally indebted for

that fine collection of manuscripts called after his name, although, as we have seen, it was Cosmo who commenced it. He brought together an immense number of specimens of ancient art, and gave up his gardens at Florence to an academy for the study of the antique, where Michael Angelo acquired the rudiments of his education as a sculptor. Architecture was developed by the erection of many noble buildings; agriculture received great attention; and the new science of printing found a liberal and earnest patron in Lorenzo de' Medici. The whole movement of the age was towards the revival of ancient culture and bygone forms of art; Paganism itself had its attractions for many thoughtful minds; and, although Lorenzo always professed himself a humble servant of the Church, there can be no question that his feeling in this respect was more political than religious. The unquestioning faith of the early Middle Ages had departed, and a kind of graceful scepticism had taken its place. With the better part of antiquity had come the worse; with the genius and the art of Greece were mingled the worldliness and the intrigues of Rome. This was occasionally seen in the policy of Lorenzo. His daughter Maddalena was married to Francesco Cibo, a natural son of Pope Innocent VIII. (who succeeded Sixtus IV. in 1484); and Lorenzo prevailed on that Pontiff to confer on his second son, Giovanni, when not more than thirteen years of age, the dignity of a Cardinal, with a view to his ultimately filling the Papal chair, as in time he did. The latter years of the great Florentine's life were troubled by personal misfortunes which extended to the State itself. Some of his commercial ventures proved disastrous; a panic arose in 1490, and the national embarrassment became so great that the public debt was reduced from three to one and a-half per cent., while the coin was debased, to rescue the bank of the Medici from ruin. The health of Lorenzo soon afterwards began to decline, and a slow fever, the nature of which was mistaken by his physicians, carried off the ruler of Florence on the 8th of April, 1492, at which time he was not much more than forty-four years of age. It was said that, in his final days, potions of dissolved pearls and other jewels were administered to him, in the hope that they would reduce his malady, and prolong his life.

After the death of Lorenzo, the administration of Florence was conducted by his eldest son, Piero, a young man of twenty-one, active and robust, fond of martial exercises, and possessed of certain superficial qualities which might have adorned a private station, but which were wholly inadequate to the government of a city like Florence. He appears

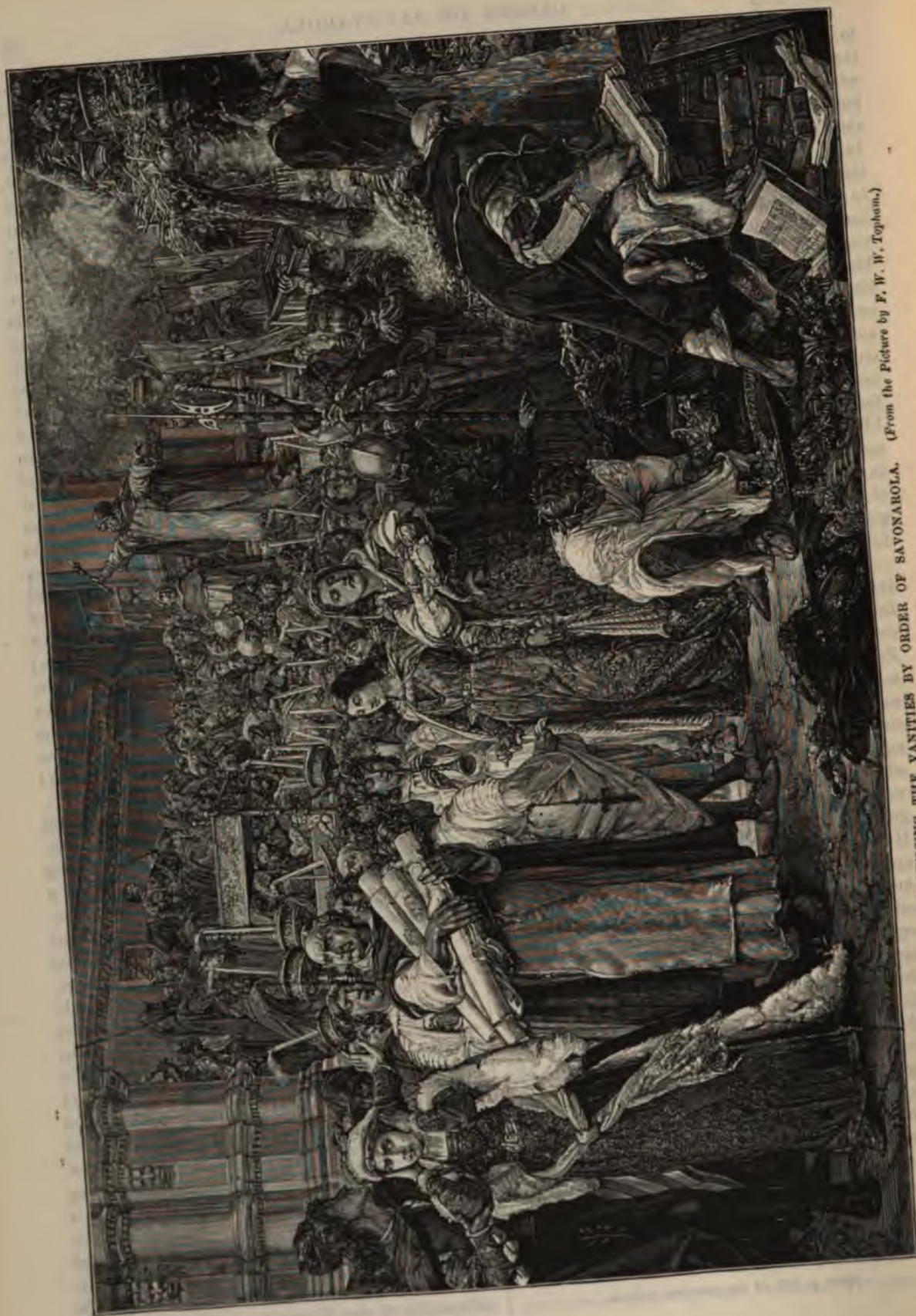
to have aimed at a still greater degree of power than his predecessors of the same house; and, with some distempered idea of obtaining regal honours, he formed an intimate connection with the Pope and the King of Naples. Yet when, in 1494, Charles VIII. of France entered Italy on that unfortunate expedition which seemed at first to promise so fairly, * Piero deserted his allies, hastened to meet the King, and, that he might place his fidelity beyond a doubt, surrendered to him the fortress of Sarzana, the town of Pietra Santa, and the cities of Pisa and Livorno. Such an act was nothing short of treason to the State, and the popular exasperation was so intense that, on his return to Florence, Piero was refused admittance into the Palace of the Magistrates. Fearing for his life, he withdrew to Venice in November, 1494; the French troops entered the city without opposition; and the rabble, uniting with the invaders in an insane act of revenge, plundered the dwelling of the Medici of its ancient sculptures, cameos, and gems, and dispersed the treasures of the Laurentian Library.

This revolution in the affairs of Florence brought into greater prominence a very remarkable man who first attained distinction under the rule of Lorenzo de' Medici. Girolamo Savonarola, a native of Ferrara, and a Dominican monk, had produced a marked effect at Florence as a preacher of singular earnestness and power. He denounced the licentiousness and indifference of the Romish priests, and, though not assuming a position similar to that adopted by the German innovators a few years later, was generally regarded as an enthusiast for religious reform whose opinions trenched on heterodoxy. He also spoke after the manner of a prophet, and, while Florence was enjoying unusual prosperity under the sway of Lorenzo, and no serious calamity threatened any part of the Italian peninsula, repeatedly proclaimed that a period of trial was approaching, and that a foreign invasion would drench the land in blood. His auditors probably listened without believing, but they listened none the less, for Savonarola was gifted with a wild and fiery genius, and a flow of picturesque, poetic, and figurative language, which assimilated his utterances to those of the old Hebrew prophets. His gloomy foreshadowings seemed to be fulfilled by the Italian campaign of Charles VIII., and the reputation of the preacher was naturally increased in the minds of an impressionable people by the seeming verification of his words. But Savonarola was not merely a theologian; he was also a political agitator, who

advocated democratic opinions, recommended a return to the former system of government, and condemned the ascendancy of the Medici. This he did even before the death of Lorenzo, who, with the liberality of his broad and serene intellect, took no offence at the monk's attacks, and even expressed a hope that they might result in an improvement of public morals. There are very contradictory accounts, however, as to the relations which existed between these famous persons, especially as to the conduct of Savonarola towards Lorenzo on the death-bed of the latter. One thing is certain—that the dispositions of the two men were diametrically opposed to one another. Lorenzo represented the principle of personal rule, the love of beauty, the attachment to scholarship, and a certain mental habit which, to a man of austere convictions, would appear simple Paganism, and which undoubtedly had a tendency to set intellectual power and artistic grace on a higher level than moral worth or religious devotion. Savonarola was a democrat of the streets; something, it may be, of a demagogue; a man of passionate hatreds and exalted aspirations; a fanatic to the last fibre of his nature; one who could see nothing lovely or desirable save in what he understood as holiness; a furious, vehement, uncompromising reformer, capable of doing much good where flagrant abuses were to be struck down, but also capable of the immeasurable evil which flows from half-insane fanaticism. Lorenzo might tolerate Savonarola: Savonarola would never recognise Lorenzo.

In the disturbances which followed the expulsion of Piero de' Medici, Savonarola acted a conspicuous part. His partisans succeeded in forming a legislative council, and he himself acquired a position which, without having any specific functions attached to it, was equal in influence to that of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici. He was regarded by his faction as a sort of supreme judge, similar to those who ruled Judæa before the establishment of royalty. His impassioned harangues made converts every day. A large number of the excitable Florentines accepted all his views, and became as enthusiastic in religion as they had formerly been in pleasure. Gambling-houses and other disreputable places of resort were closed, and plainness of dress was enforced by sumptuary laws. Even children marched about the streets, crying "Viva Cristo!" singing hymns, and dancing in a kind of uncontrollable fury. Savonarola now assumed a greater confidence of tone, and arrogated to himself still higher importance as a divinely-inspired messenger. He declared that he was the ambassador of the Florentines to heaven, and that

* See p. 570 of the previous volume.



THE FLORENTINES RENOUNCING THE VANITIES BY ORDER OF SAVONAROLA. (From the Picture by F. W. W. Topham.)

Christ had condescended to be their peculiar king. He poured forth unmeasured invectives against the Papal court, and proclaimed that Alexander VI. (the infamous Borgia, who had succeeded to the triple crown in 1492) was an usurper, and not even

burned a large heap of books, pictures, musical instruments, priceless manuscripts, and choice objects of art, some of which had been compulsorily seized, while others had been freely given up by their owners, as an offering to this strange outburst of



COSMO DE' MEDICI.

(From the Bust by Benvenuto Cellini in the National Museum, Florence.)

a Christian. He wrote to several contemporary princes, asserting these views, and offering to maintain them before a General Council of the Church. Alexander, on the other hand, summoned the heretic to appear at Rome, and, on his omitting to do so, excommunicated him. Disregarding the thunders of the Vatican, he continued his harangues, and still found immense numbers who were willing to listen and to obey. On Shrove Tuesday, in the year 1497, he publicly

Puritanism, in a city distinguished for æsthetic sensibility and love of pleasure.

Shortly afterwards, Piero de' Medici made an attempt to re-enter Florence, but was foiled by the vigilance of the people. Five of his supporters within the city were sentenced to death; the rest were banished; and the aristocratic party, uniting with the clergy, endeavoured to avenge their discomfiture on Savonarola himself. A furious controversy broke out between the adherents of the

reformer and the members of the opposing faction, and it was not long before an unfortunate and even ridiculous incident brought the fiery monk into discredit. A brother Dominican, named Domenico da Pescia, particularly distinguished himself by his attacks on two Franciscans who opposed the views of Savonarola. To prove the superior sanctity of his master, he offered to walk through fire, if one of the Franciscans would do the same. The challenge was accepted, and, on the appointed day—the 17th of April, 1498—the champions attended in the public square to fulfil their undertaking. The flames having been kindled, Savonarola proposed that Domenico should take the Host with him into the fire. This was regarded by the other side as a horrible profanation; and, as Domenico refused to proceed without the protection of the consecrated wafer, the trial came to nothing. Savonarola was taunted by the populace as a pretender, dragged from the convent of San Marco, to which he belonged, and thrown into prison, together with Domenico and another monk. A mixed commission, appointed by the Pope, and consisting of lay and ecclesiastical members, proceeded to try the arch-heretic on various charges; but, at the first examination, the judges were staggered by the resolution and eloquence of the accused. On the application of torture, however, the constancy of Savonarola failed him, and he acknowledged (or is said by his enemies to have acknowledged) the falsehood of his pretensions to supernatural power. He and his two associates were condemned to be strangled, and afterwards burned; and the sentence was carried into effect on the 23rd of May, 1498, before an immense crowd of spectators.

With respect to the Popedom, the denunciations of Savonarola, though fanatical in their style, had ample justification in the extreme depravity which had of late disgraced the sovereign Pontiffs. To the spiritual intolerance of earlier days, they now added all the vices of secular monarchs; and Savonarola could not but be aware that there was no worse court in Europe than that of Rome. Sixtus IV., who succeeded Paul II. in 1471, distinguished himself by the activity of his intrigues in various parts of Italy. We have seen that he conspired against Lorenzo de' Medici, and was even concerned in the first plot against his life—a design which the clergy of Florence characterised in the strongest terms, even as regarded the Pope himself. But Sixtus was in all things a man devoid of conscience, and the whole character of his reign was tyrannical and corrupt. Several of the independent cities of Italy were violently seized by him, and incorporated in his own dominions; and in

1482 he entered into an intrigue with the Venetians for depriving Duke Ercole of Este of the city of Ferrara, that he might bestow it on Count Girolamo Riario—a person delicately described as his nephew, but who was probably one of his sons. The Duke was supported by the Florentines and the King of Naples; but the ensuing war was terminated by a threat of the German Emperor that, if it continued, he would call together a Council of the Church, for the deposition of the Pope. Sixtus accordingly detached himself from Venice, concluded a separate peace with Duke Ercole, and, on the Venetians refusing to adopt a similar course, excommunicated them, although it was due to his own incitements that they had entered on the struggle. The Venetians appealed from the Pope to an ecclesiastical council, before which Sixtus was summoned to appear by the Patriarch of Aquileia. The clergy of the great maritime Republic were forbidden to open the Papal Bulls, and priests who refused to perform divine service were rigorously punished. In the meanwhile, Venice pursued the war with considerable success; Naples, which, after opposing the Pope, had joined his side, lost several towns; and in August, 1484, the Venetian Republic concluded a peace at Bagnolo with all the belligerents, except the Pope himself, and Ferdinand I. of Naples. The whole of Northern Italy was thus pacified, and the Venetians secured Rovigo and the neighbouring islands.

Sixtus died a few days after, and it is said that his end was precipitated by annoyance at the turn which events had taken. He was a thoroughly unscrupulous man, who, in order to provide funds for his extraordinary expenses, monopolised the sale of wheat in the States of the Church, rendered venal all the offices of the Apostolic Court, openly advertised them for disposal, with the prices affixed, and even, though with a degree of secrecy, sold a good many benefices, and some Cardinals' hats.* He had also the vice of cruelty, and delighted in beholding the sanguinary duels of his guards. His successor, Innocent VIII., was a better man than Sixtus, though far from being an example of virtue. The government of the new Pope was weak and hesitating, and circumstances brought him into a dangerous collision with the kingdom of Naples. The barons of that realm had revolted against their sovereign, because of the heavy taxes which Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, had persuaded his father to lay on them. Being appealed to as Lord-paramount, Innocent demanded the tribute

* Dyer's History of Modern Europe, Vol. I., chap. 4.

formerly payable by the crown of Naples, but recently commuted for the yearly presentation of a palfrey. He cited King Ferdinand to appear at Rome; but the command was disobeyed, and hostilities broke out, in which the Pope was supported by the Venetians and Genoese, while the Neapolitans found allies in Florence and Milan. The war was entirely unfavourable to Innocent, and the Duke of Calabria, besieging Rome itself, reduced the Pontiff to such extremities that he was glad to accept the mediation of other Powers. Peace was concluded in August, 1486; but Ferdinand I. of Naples violated his undertakings, and provoked the Pope to such an extent that in 1489 he excommunicated the perfidious monarch, and deprived him of his kingdom. A compromise was afterwards effected, yet cordiality was not restored between the Sovereign and the Pontiff. Owing to the feeble government of Innocent VIII., Rome was in a state of internal anarchy during the whole of his Pontificate, which came to a close on the 25th of July, 1492. The last illness of Innocent, like that of Lorenzo de' Medici a few months earlier, revealed the barbarous condition of medical science as it then existed. An attempt was made to prolong the Pontiff's life by the transfusion of blood; but, after three boys had died under the necessary operation, the Jewish physician who had advised it fled in terror, and perhaps remorse.

Roderigo Borgia, who now, as Alexander VI., attained the highest position in the Christian world, was a Spaniard of Valencia, where he began life as a lawyer. Coming to Rome, he was made a Cardinal by his uncle, Calixtus III., and, being a man of great wealth, speedily acquired an important position in the capital of the Western Church. His election to the Pontificate was procured by enormous bribes, and the man's vindictive character was so well understood, that the Cardinals who had voted against him took to flight when they found that power had fallen to his grasp. The profligacy of Borgia's life was open and unblushing, and by his mistress, the wife of a Roman citizen, he had, together with three sons, a daughter named Lucrezia, whose life, even supposing it to have been less infamous than is sometimes affirmed, was at any rate sufficiently lax to create general scandal. The events of Alexander's reign were important and disastrous; but, at the period of his assuming the tiara, everything appeared to promise well for the future. The change which soon afterwards took place proceeded remotely from an unfortunate marriage between Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, the young Duke of Milan, and Isabella, daughter of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, which took place in

1489. Giovanni was of weak intellect, and his uncle, Ludovico Maria, surnamed the Moor from his dark complexion, usurped the government of the State. Isabella considered that the power which her husband was unfit to exercise should pass to herself, and she complained to her father of Ludovico's intrusion. The latter, finding himself threatened by a war in which the Neapolitans would probably be supported by Florence, effected an alliance with Pope Alexander VI. In April, 1493, the Venetians were persuaded to take the same side. The help of the German Emperor, Maximilian I., who succeeded to the throne in the same year, was also solicited, and Ludovico despatched an embassy to Charles VIII. of France, persuading him to claim the crown of Naples. This was the origin of Charles's Italian expedition, with the course of which the reader is already acquainted. Giovanni Galeazzo and his young wife had been previously confined in prison by Ludovico; and the death of Giovanni, on the 20th of October, 1494, is said to have been due to slow poison, administered by his uncle.

The enormous forces of the French King alarmed Pope Alexander, and he endeavoured to temporise where he found it impossible to resist. Charles, however, was determined to occupy Rome, and he was at length admitted on the 31st of December, 1494. The French entered by the Porta del Popolo while the Neapolitans were disappearing through the gate of St. Sebastian, in the opposite quarter. Including camp-followers, the invading army numbered nearly 60,000 men; and, although their van entered the people's gate at three in the afternoon, it was nine before the rear had got within the walls. The numbers, strength, and activity of the troops, the splendour of their equipments, and the formidable character of their brass guns, culverins, and falconets, which were manœuvred with surprising rapidity, made a great impression on the Roman populace, and on the Pontiff himself. The latter retired within the Castle of St. Angelo, and it was not without reason that he dreaded the advent of the French. He knew that his enemy, Cardinal Julian della Rovere, was in association with the King, and he had grounds for believing that this person would endeavour to procure his overthrow.

Such was in truth the case. The Cardinal exhorted Charles to summon a Council which should depose the Pope and reform the Church; and he brought forward proofs of certain negotiations between Alexander and Sultan Bayazid II., which seemed to establish the existence of a pact or alliance between the head of the Western Church

and the principal sovereign of Islam. Zizim, the younger son of Mohammed II., who had made an abortive attempt upon the throne after his father's death, was at that time staying at Rome, and Alexander had entered into negotiations with the reigning Sultan, partly with a view to obtaining his assistance against the French invasion, and partly in the hope of receiving 300,000 ducats from the Moslem sovereign, for the assassination of Zizim. The proposal came from Bayazid; but he knew the man he was addressing, and Alexander at least showed no marked disinclination to the service. The negotiations were still proceeding when Charles VIII. entered Italy, and the Pope probably dreaded that a knowledge of the fact would come to the ears of the French monarch. Charles, having purchased the so-called rights of the Palæologi to the throne of Constantinople, and being filled with visionary ideas of conquering that city, and destroying the power of the Turks, might have been disposed to seek a quarrel with Alexander VI. on such grounds. As it was, however, he came to an agreement with him, to the effect that Zizim should be delivered into his hands for six months, on his paying 20,000 ducats into the Pontifical treasury. Other arrangements, of a mutually advantageous character, were made, and the French army quitted Rome on the 28th of January, 1495. The unfortunate Zizim expired exactly a month later, and his malady was of that lingering character which not unnaturally suggested the belief that, before his departure from Rome, a slow poison had been administered to him by order of the Pope.

The temporary success of Charles VIII., his occupation of Naples, and his subsequent reverses and return to France, have been narrated in our last volume, in connection with the general course of French history. The discomfiture of the invader was owing partly to his own indolence and licentiousness in the seductive capital of the South, partly to his tyranny, which disgusted the Neapolitan nobles, and partly to the bad faith of Ludovico Sforza, who suddenly abandoned his cause, when he found it dangerous to continue the alliance. Among the many singular incidents of the campaign must be mentioned the fact that, democrat as he was, Savonarola entered into some sort of terms with Charles VIII. When the French King was at Lucca, on his way to Naples in 1494, the fervent preacher appeared before him at the head of a Florentine embassy, and, speaking in the manner of a prophet, promised him victory in this world, with eternal happiness in the next, if he protected Florence. Charles answered evasively; and when,

after his arrival on the Arno, he intimated his intention of recalling Piero de' Medici, and imposing a fine upon the people, he found himself confronted by a demonstration of armed citizens so formidable and threatening that he recoiled in not unreasonable apprehension. Having threatened that he would order his trumpets to sound, he was told that they would be answered by the tocsin; and the head of a deputation snatched from the King's secretary an ultimatum that had been prepared, and tore it into shreds. The result was that Charles abandoned the Medici to their fate. On his return from the South, in 1495, Savonarola went out to meet him, and, while reproaching the King with his negligence in reforming the Church, and his hostile conduct toward Florence, told him that he would escape with honour from all the perils of his march. He seems to have considered that he could make an instrument of the French sovereign; but Charles had his own objects to serve, and ultimately his safety to secure. He was not disposed to act the part of a satellite to the Dominican monk, and the two parted in mutual distrust.

After the retreat of Charles VIII., the Aragonese dynasty returned to the throne of Naples; but great personal changes had taken place since the commencement of the recent complications. King Ferdinand I. died on the 25th of January, 1494, and his son and successor, Alfonso II., abdicated the same year. Ferdinand II., who next took up the sceptre, expired in September, 1496, at the early age of twenty-seven, and was followed by his uncle, Frederick II., who, being a man of vigour and decision, compelled the French garrisons at Gaeta, Venosa, and Taranto to evacuate those places, and follow their comrades back to France. War still existed in the north of Italy, and the Emperor Maximilian laid siege to Livorno in person, but was soon obliged to abandon the whole of Italy. In the early part of 1497, Charles VIII. of France endeavoured to avenge himself on Ludovico Sforza for the treachery of his late conduct; but nothing was effected, and hostilities began to languish, owing to the exhaustion of all the belligerents, and the absence of distinct gain to any one.

Meanwhile, Pope Alexander continued to indulge in every debauchery and wickedness which his depraved will suggested. His enemies were destroyed by secret assassination, and all the crimes of ancient Rome seem to have been revived in the modern city under the government of this wretch. He had a son worthy of himself in Cesare (Cesar) Borgia, whom he had created Cardinal of Valencia:

a man endowed with physical strength, personal comeliness, high courage,* and considerable powers of mind, but at the same time cursed with passions so savage and remorseless as to suggest the idea of a demoniac influence. In July, 1497, the eldest son of the Pontiff, Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, was slain as he and his brother rode home from the house of their mother, Vanozza. The circumstances of the murder are not known; but the testimony of contemporary writers is for the most part agreed in imputing the crime to the younger son of Alexander, and this is also the view of most modern authorities, though the fact has sometimes been doubted. Francesco was the favourite son of his father, and Cesare may have desired to get him out of the way, that he might succeed to the paternal estates. For once, Alexander was struck with sorrow and remorse, and, confessing his sins in Consistory, he announced his intention of leading a better life for the future. But the evil of the man's nature lay far too deep for any permanent change. He soon returned to his debaucheries; his cruelty knew no abatement; and his few remaining years were passed in the same open defiance of humanity, of morals, and even of decency, that had marked the whole course of his existence.

On the death of Charles VIII., in 1498, and the consequent failure of the House of Valois in its direct line, the French throne was filled by Louis, Duke of Orleans. Shortly after his accession, Cesare Borgia visited Paris, where he was made Duke of Valentinois, appointed to a military command, and bribed with a large sum of money, and with the promise of a pension, in exchange for the grant of a divorce which he brought with him from the Pope, and which enabled the French King to put away his ugly consort, Joanna, the daughter of Louis XI., and to marry Anne of Bretagne, the widow of Charles VIII. With these designs were mixed up certain foreign projects. Resolving to pursue a career of ambition, Louis XII. lost no time in making preparations for a war in Italy, where he determined to continue the policy so unfortunately commenced by his predecessor. Besides reviving the old claim on Naples, he brought forward a new one with reference to Milan, which he demanded in right of his grandmother Valentina, a member of the House of Visconti. The aid of Venice, and of the Pope, was secured by a promise that they should share in the booty, and, while the rulers of Milan were concerting measures of defence, and endeavouring to obtain foreign assistance, the French armies crossed the Alps, and, in com-

bination with the Venetians, carried everything before them. Ludovico Sforza, finding himself overmatched, and but faintly supported by his own subjects, fled to the Tyrol, where he claimed the protection of the Emperor Maximilian, with whom he was connected by marriage. The French generals entered Milan on the 14th of September, and were received by the citizens rather as friends than as enemies. Louis himself, who had remained at Lyons, now followed in the path of his armies, and appeared at Milan on October 6th. He was received with enthusiastic cries of "Viva Francia!" But his popularity was short-lived. He was unable to fulfil his promise of reducing taxation, and, after remaining a few weeks, returned to France. At the same time, Genoa placed itself once more under French dominion, and it seemed as if a large portion of Northern Italy would be permanently added to the kingdom of France. But the French soon made themselves detested at Milan, as they had previously done at Naples. The party of the fugitive Duke increased in power, and plots were formed for his restoration. Sforza succeeded in enlisting some eight or nine thousand Swiss, although a treaty had been concluded between that nation and the French. Several of those in the French service passed over to the ranks of the Milanese, and in the capital itself a general insurrection broke out on the 25th of January, 1500. Trivulzio, who had been left in command at Milan, as the lieutenant of Louis XII., garrisoned the citadel, and retired to Mortara. Both sides continued their preparations, and the French and Milanese approached each other near Novara, on the 5th of April. The larger part of each army was composed of Swiss, who were now the mercenary soldiers of Europe, noted, indeed, for their courage, but infamous for their frequent perfidy. The mountaineers in the service of Sforza entered into secret negotiations with the French, and betrayed the Duke into their hands. It was part of the bargain that they should evacuate the country, and in their retreat they occupied Bellinzona, and thus acquired such secure possession of the canton of Ticino that it was afterwards confirmed to them by treaty. Ludovico was carried to France, and confined in a dungeon under the great tower of Loches, where he is said to have been shut up in one of the iron cages which were favourite instruments of torture with Louis XI. Here he languished several years, and at length died of joy on being liberated from the horrible enclosure where he had pined so long. The moral character of this prince was no better than that of his Italian contemporaries; but he

was a man of great intellectual power, whose administration of Milan had ensured order and prosperity to the citizens. His system of police was remarkable for its efficiency, and the immense canal which connects the several rivers in that part of Lombardy was due to his enterprise and munificence.

While these events proceeded, Pisa was making desperate endeavours to resist the aggressions of Florence, and Alexander VI. was pursuing his plans for the establishment of an independent principality in Romagna, to be placed under the sway of his son, Cesare Borgia. To aid him in this design, Louis furnished a small body of troops; and all the minor principalities in that district were reduced by the spring of 1501. Lucrezia Borgia, who was now married to Alfonso, Duke of Biseglia, was also invested with several possessions which had been forcibly taken from their legitimate owners; and the crimes of the Borgia family became more outrageous with their worldly success. The youthful Lord of Faenza was murdered by Cesare Borgia after the capture of the city; the Duke of Biseglia was stabbed, though not mortally, by a band of assassins, who were afterwards protected from pursuit; and, although the Pope himself placed a guard over his son-in-law, Cesare burst into his chamber, and caused him to be strangled. The motive for this crime, which took place in the summer of 1500, is not clear; it may have been ambition, or some worse sentiment. Cesare hoped, with the support of France, to establish a kingdom in Central Italy, and his designs appeared so formidable to the Florentines that they were glad to purchase his friendship at a considerable price.

Having succeeded so well at Milan, and in the northern parts of Italy, Louis XII. turned his thoughts towards Naples, but deemed it prudent in the first instance to make an arrangement with the Spanish King, Ferdinand the Catholic, who would not have suffered the destruction of an Aragonese dynasty in the south of the Italian peninsula, unless he had seen his way to some personal advantage. It was now agreed between the French and Spanish sovereigns that they would divide Naples between them, and a treaty to that effect was concluded at Granada, on the 11th November, 1500. The conduct of Ferdinand was characterised by detestable treachery towards his relative, Frederick of Naples, whom he cajoled with promises of succour at the very time he was concerting his overthrow. When at length he despatched soldiers to the Neapolitan kingdom, it was with secret instructions that they were to hold the

fortresses which they garrisoned as the enemies, and not the friends, of Frederick. The unfortunate monarch admitted them with confidence, only to find in the end that they were commissioned to effect his ruin. The infamous compact between Ferdinand and Louis received the sanction of the Pope, whose suzerainty was to be recognised; the French army entered Naples in the summer of 1501; and the unfortunate Frederick, finding himself attacked both in front and rear, by his open enemy and his false ally, surrendered himself to Louis XII., and was taken captive to France, where he died in 1504. While the French were engaged in reducing the city of Naples, the Terra di Lavoro, and the Abruzzi—their share of the spoil—the Spaniards under Gonsalvo of Cordova were operating in Calabria and Apulia, which the treaty had consigned to Ferdinand. The defence was conducted by Don Ferrante, son of King Frederick; but nothing could prevail against the strength and duplicity of the assailants. Southern Italy was soon conquered throughout its entire length and breadth, and by the spring of 1502 all opposition had ceased. The Neapolitan branch of the House of Aragon had reigned sixty-seven years, dating from the accession of Alfonso I. in 1435; but it now came to an end under circumstances which reflected no discredit on itself, while they shed the deepest disgrace on its enemies.

The age was one of monarchical intrigues, and Louis XII. of France was the foremost in these dynastic arrangements. In the autumn of 1501, he obtained from the Emperor Maximilian the investiture of the Duchy of Milan, on the understanding that the French monarch's daughter, then an infant of two years, should be affianced to Charles, grandson of Maximilian. It was also agreed that Louis should recognise the pretensions of the House of Austria to Hungary and Bohemia, and should support the Emperor in an expedition against the Turks. For the moment, all looked well for the French, but quarrels soon arose with the Spaniards, in respect to the division of the Neapolitan territory. In the struggle which ensued, the French suffered many reverses, although the Chevalier de Bayard—the knight "without fear and without reproach"—distinguished himself by the most splendid qualities of a soldier. In April, 1503, the French were almost annihilated by their adversaries in two great battles, the second of which compelled them to retire on the Garigliano, and seek shelter in the town of Gaeta. Gonsalvo entered Naples on the 14th of May, and by the end of July the French had evacuated the Neapolitan

territory, with the exception of Gaeta and some other strongholds. Louis XII., smarting under his defeat, and considering, moreover, that he had been betrayed by a treaty which Ferdinand had commissioned his son-in-law, the Austrian Archduke Philip, to arrange, and which he afterwards repudiated, as being in excess of the instructions, made preparations for an invasion of Spain, but first looked about for allies amongst the States of Northern and Central Italy.

By that time, however, Cesare Borgia, the most

invited Cardinal Adrian of Corneto to a banquet in his vineyard near the Vatican, he gave instructions to one of his attendants to serve the guest with poisoned wine, but that, in consequence of a mistake, the deadly potion was supplied, not merely to the Cardinal, but also to Alexander himself, and his son Cesare. Adrian and Cesare recovered; but the Pope, being then seventy-four years of age, succumbed to the effects of the draught on the 18th of August, 1503. The fact has never been distinctly proved, and some accounts allege



BRIDGE OF ST. ANGELO, ROME.

powerful of the Italian princes, had deserted the interests of Louis, and even conspired against him with the Spaniards. Through the agency, sometimes of force, and sometimes of fraud, he had united several of the small Italian sovereignties into a large and compact territory; and, although the College of Cardinals refused to permit the creation of a kingdom of Romagna, this infamous son of an infamous father was in effect a monarch of no little power. It was not without reason that Louis dreaded his alliance with Spain; and, to counteract or prevent any such union, he entered into negotiations with the Pontiff. These had scarcely commenced when the life of Alexander VI. came to a termination. The death of that ruler is associated with the attempted commission of a crime to which the criminal himself appears to have fallen a victim. The story is that, having

that Alexander VI. died of a fever; but, considering the many crimes which the Pontiff had undoubtedly committed, it seems not unlikely that some final act of turpitude closed a long and guilty life. Amongst his numerous vices was the venality with which he disposed of positions in the Church. The dignity of Cardinal was to be purchased at prices varying from ten to thirty thousand florins; and it is stated that Alexander allowed these persons to enrich themselves for a certain length of time, and then caused them to be poisoned, that he might seize their estates, and put the office up to sale again. This is the supposed motive for the attempt on Cardinal Adrian's life; and, knowing what we do of Alexander's extravagant wickedness, the whole narration bears a ghastly look of probability.

It was Alexander VI. who first established the

ecclesiastical censorship of books, and it was during his Pontificate that the ancient Mausoleum of Hadrian was fortified as the Castle of St. Angelo. By his literary supervision, Alexander exercised a control over adverse thought and freedom of speculation; by his massive fortress, he was the better enabled to keep his Roman subjects in a condition of servitude. Since the return of the Popes from Avignon, they had greatly increased their power as secular princes. Their external territories were not inconsiderable; their armies were numerous and well-appointed. Alexander VI. was a monarch of no slight importance, even apart from his position as head of the Church; and he ruled in a city

which not only inherited the most splendid renown from ancient days, but was in itself adorned by numerous superb and mighty structures. The Vatican was now the chief residence of the Popes, and Rome was soon to be made still more impressive by the genius of Raphael and Michael Angelo. Beyond the limits of the modern city spread a waste of stone and marble, the ruins of Republican and Imperial Rome. Ages of rapine and disorder had reduced the noble buildings of the Cæsars to melancholy wrecks; but a still more lamentable fact was the utter destruction of public spirit which could tolerate the vices of a Borgia, and the impostures of the Papal Church.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE GREAT MONARCHIES.

Character and Tendency of the Modern European Monarchies—Royal Marriages of the Spanish House—Expulsion of the Jews from Portugal—The Roman Pontificate—Brief Reign of Pius III.—Election of Julius II.—Declining Fortunes and Death of Cesare Borgia—Final Years of Lucrezia Borgia—Renewed War between the French and Spaniards in Naples—Reverses of the French—Alliance of Pope Julius II. with France and Germany against Venice—Turkey under Bayazid II.—The Adventures of Zizim—Achmet Pasha and the Janizaries—Ottoman War with Venice—Arrangement between the Venetians and the Pope—Death of Isabella of Castile—Character and Services of Ximenes—Persecution of Heretics, Jews, and Moors—Rival claims of Ferdinand and the Archduke Philip of Austria to the Throne of Castile—Succession and Early Death of Philip—Imbecility of Joanna, who is deposed by Ferdinand—Vigorous Administration of Ximenes—His Conquest of Oran, Algiers, and Tunis—Decline of the German Empire—George Podiebrad elected to the Throne of Bohemia—Reign of Matthias Corvinus in Hungary—Heretical Opinions of Podiebrad—Opposition of Popes Pius II., and Paul II.—Wars between Hungary and Bohemia—Alliance of Podiebrad with Casimir IV. of Poland—Death of Podiebrad, and Accession of Ladislaus the Pole to the Bohemian Throne—Union of the Bohemian and Hungarian Crowns after the Death of Matthias Corvinus—Energy of Maximilian, Son of the Emperor Frederick III.—Settlement of the Affairs of Hungary and Poland—Progress of the Latter Kingdom under Casimir IV.—The Swabian League for the Repression of Private Wars in Germany—Destruction of Feudal Strongholds—Wars of the Archduke Maximilian with France—His Succession to the Empire—General Character of his Reign—Military Successes and Reverses—Relations of Maximilian with France and Spain.

WE have now arrived at a period of history when the great royal houses acquired a degree of importance unknown in the Middle Ages, and which they continually increased, either by family alliances, or by aggressive wars. Kings began to look upon themselves as a class apart; the conception of the balance of power arose; subtle ideas of policy were developed; and Europe came to be regarded as to some extent a single, though diversified, community, controlled by a species of unwritten law, which the stronger enforced at the expense of the weaker. The change from the system previously existing was great and important, and it may seem difficult to determine whether it was a change for the better or for the worse. Undoubtedly it led to a good deal of despotism—not always so bad as that of Louis XI., but still sufficiently objectionable. It was also the

occasion of many ambitious projects, often extremely immoral in their motives and tendencies; and it created a type of character among the leading monarchs which ultimately brought the very office itself into contempt and hatred. But it must not be forgotten that the tyranny of the kings was felt more by the nobles than by the masses, and that, in the first instance, the supremacy of the throne was threatened rather by aristocratic than by popular resistance. Under the feudal system, tyranny was minutely subdivided, and, so to speak, brought home to every man's door. The great lord made his power felt in every village, and by every trembling dependent. His exactions were minute and personal; his will was capricious, and unrestrained by law. The larger oppressions of the sovereign passed over the humble thousands, and struck the chosen few. The same phenomenon

had been observed in the Roman Empire, which, corrupt and sanguinary as it often was towards the privileged orders, showed far more consideration for the Plebeians than had been usual with the Republic. In itself, the royal power was bad enough; but, as the first step out of the reign of feudalism into that of regular and scientific government, its value must not be underrated, from too great a devotion to the pedantry of forms.

Ferdinand of Castile—who is generally considered the first of the Spanish kings—devoted much of his attention to the increase of the national power by influential marriages. In 1495, he entered into an arrangement with the House of Austria, to the effect that Don John, Prince of Asturias, the eldest son of Ferdinand and Isabella, should marry Margaret, daughter of the German Emperor Maximilian, and that the Archduke Philip, the Emperor's son, and heir of the Netherlands in right of his mother, who was a daughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, should espouse Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand. This was followed, in 1496, by a contract of marriage between Catalina, Ferdinand's youngest daughter, and Arthur, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VII. Don John lived only six months after his union with the Princess Margaret in April, 1497; and not much better fortune attended the marriage of Isabella, the eldest daughter of the conquerors of Granada, to Manuel, King of Portugal, who had succeeded to the throne in 1495. Isabella, whose wedding was in the summer of 1497, died in childbirth in the August of the following year. The child itself died two years later; and, as Don John, the only male heir to the throne of Castile, had already been removed, Joanna, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and wife of the Archduke Philip, became the heir of the Spanish monarchies. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, because important consequences ultimately flowed from them. One important consequence, though not of a dynastic character, ensued immediately on the betrothal of Isabella to Manuel of Portugal, of whose younger brother she was the widow. As the price of her hand, she demanded the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal; and Manuel, though a liberal prince, consented, rather than renounce one for whom he had conceived an overwhelming passion.

These arrangements took place during the Pontificate of Alexander VI., a ruler who was himself extremely well-disposed to politic alliances. On the death of that Pontiff, in 1503, he was succeeded by Pius III., whose reign lasted only twenty-seven days. When Cesare Borgia was in

France, in 1498, arranging for his marriage with Carlotta d' Albret, and for French support to his ambitious schemes, as a set-off against Louis XII.'s divorce from Joanna, he presented a Cardinal's hat to George d' Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, with an implied promise that in due time he should succeed to the Papacy—an appointment which could always be brought about by corrupt influences. On the death of Alexander, Cardinal Amboise proceeded to Rome, in the full belief that the coveted dignity would be his. But his friends treacherously deserted him, and Francesco Piccolomini, Cardinal of Sienna, was elected on the 21st of September. Pius III. was a virtuous and honourable man, and it was one of his projects to call a General Council for the reform of ecclesiastical discipline. Death, however, speedily cut short his designs, and Cardinal Julian della Rovere, having been elected on the 31st of October, assumed the title of Pope Julius II. He had received the support of Cesare Borgia, and soon afterwards repaid the favour by giving that prince a refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo when his life was menaced by the Orsini. The power of Borgia was no longer what it had been: his enemies openly plotted against him, and he lost his hold on several towns. Yet it is said that his rule in the places he had acquired was not unjust, though in some respects it may have been severe. The Romagna was full of robbers and assassins until Cesare Borgia took it in hand; but when the severities of his minister provoked a dangerous discontent, he caused him to be assassinated, and exposed his mangled body in the public square of Casena. He afterwards fell under the displeasure of Pope Julius, who threw him into prison. On being released, he fled to Naples, was treacherously despatched to Spain by Gonsalvo, and, having succeeded in escaping from prison in that country, engaged in the civil wars of Navarre, where, in 1507, he was slain in a mountain defile, after a fierce and sanguinary combat. His sister Lucrezia survived till 1523. Notwithstanding her profligacies (which may, however, have been exaggerated), she was three times married, and, after the last of these unions, when she espoused Alfonso d'Este, afterwards Duke of Ferrara, lived without reproach. She was a great patron of letters, and, in her declining years, somewhat of a devotee.

Bent on recovering Naples, the French entered that kingdom at the beginning of October, 1503. The army which had been so frequently worsted by Gonsalvo still retained Gaeta and a few other towns, and the arrival of reinforcements was at first attended by some good results. Gaeta was relieved, and the passage of the Garigliano forced

on the 9th of November; but heavy rains shortly afterwards set in, and large numbers of the French died of malaria. The Spaniards waited for fresh troops, and, when these were received, attacked with so much vigour that, on the 29th of December, a crushing defeat reduced the adversary to extremities. The disaster occurred on the banks of the Garigliano during a hurried retreat upon Gaeta, and many of the French, staggered by the rapidity and concentration of Gonsalvo's movement, threw down their arms without an attempt at resistance. In the course of the action, Piero de' Medici, who had for some time been serving in the

found an obstinate opponent in the Venetian Republic, against which he raised up an alliance, concluded at Blois on the 22nd of September, 1504. The parties to this compact were Louis XII. of France, Maximilian I. of Germany, and the Archduke Philip, son of the latter. The object of the undertaking was to restrict the power of Venice; and at the same time the Pope came to a special agreement with the German Emperor and the French King. The Venetians, though long prosperous and successful, were in no favourable position for resisting so grave a combination, as they had recently been engaged in a war with the Turks



EUROPE IN THE LATTER PART OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

French army, was drowned by the upsetting of a vessel on the river. Gaeta surrendered on the 1st of January, 1504, and the French cause in Southern Italy was entirely lost. The armies of Louis XII. were equally unsuccessful in the north of Spain, and, about the close of the year, peace was concluded by the two belligerents. It must be added to the credit of Ferdinand the Catholic that he governed Naples with wisdom and liberality, and that the people long regretted his decease.

The great object of Pope Julius II. was to extend the power of the Pontificate over the whole of Italy, and to deliver the peninsula from those whom he regarded as barbarians, and who were at any rate foreigners. In particular, he desired to recover the Romagna, and this was his principal reason for opposing Cesare Borgia, to whom he was in a great measure indebted for his election. He

which had severely tried their resources. The mention of this circumstance recalls our attention to the Ottoman Empire, from which we last parted at the death of Mohammed II. in 1481.

It was fortunate for Europe that Bayazid II., the successor of Mohammed, was a man of weak and unambitious character—a student of literature, rather than a soldier—a devotee of religion, more than a conqueror. Had it been otherwise, the torrent of Moslem invasion might have penetrated to the central parts of Europe. As it was, the tide slackened, and Italy breathed again. A little before the death of Mohammed II., Otranto had been seized by Achmet Pasha, the ablest of the late Sultan's lieutenants. This important city of Apulia—on the eastern coast of which province it is situated—was fortified by Achmet, and used as a base of operations for the conquest of the whole country. But the death of the great Sultan put an

end to the project. Nevertheless, the Turkish garrison remained at Otranto, and, in the course of 1481, the King of Naples, aided by auxiliaries from Hungary, Spain, and Portugal, laid siege to the position, and compelled the Ottomans to capitulate. The conqueror of the Eastern Empire would not have submitted to such a reverse; but his successor was a man of different temperament, and, moreover, he had to encounter a serious peril in the insurrection of his brother Djem, or Zizim, the Governor of Karamania, who asserted that the will of their father, by which the sceptre was bequeathed to Bayazid, was a forgery. Seizing on Broussa, the capital of Asiatic Turkey, Zizim at first made progress towards the Bosphorus, but was at length defeated by his brother, and compelled to seek protection at Rhodes, where he was hospitably received by d'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, whose station was in that island. D'Aubusson was afraid of keeping his guest in so exposed a situation, which might have been once more assailed by the Turks, and therefore sent him to France. The reader is aware that the Knights subsequently despatched him to Rome, where, after some years' captivity, he was treated by Pope Alexander VI. in a treacherous and mercenary spirit, if he was not even assassinated by his orders. At any rate, the death of Zizim, in 1495, relieved Bayazid II. of a dangerous competitor for the Imperial throne.

The Sultan was always at the mercy of his Janizaries, who frequently proved their want of loyalty. Bayazid at one time formed a design for reducing their numbers and curtailing their privileges—a project which he imprudently betrayed in moments of intoxication. Achmet Pasha showed him the danger of any such attempt; but Bayazid clung to his idea, and was deterred only by a revolt of the threatened soldiery in 1489. At a subsequent date the minister was perfidiously assassinated by his master: this, however, was during the absence of the Janizaries upon foreign service. Achmet was a favourite with the army, because of his brilliant ability as a general; but this, together with a certain independence of character, was precisely what would be held in light esteem by an imperious yet unwarlike monarch like Bayazid II. Still, the martial spirit of the Turks could not be entirely controlled, and the reign of Bayazid was diversified by many wars, though not by such striking conquests as that of his predecessor. In 1497, the Ottomans complained of an aggression by the King of Poland, with whom the Sultan had concluded a treaty in 1490. To avenge his alleged wrongs, Bayazid sent

an army to the Polish territory—the first that had ever penetrated into that realm; but nothing of value was effected. The wars with the Venetians were more important. They sprang from the mutual jealousies of the two Powers, and were of a nature that could hardly, in those days, have been settled without blows. Venice complained of Turkish inroads, and strongly objected to the definitive occupation of Montenegro. The Sultan was offended by the action of the Republic in reducing the Duke of Naxos to dependence, and obtaining possession of Cyprus, which was added to the Venetian dominions in 1489. Hostilities did not immediately ensue, but for the next nine years the two Powers continued to make preparations. At length, in 1498, Bayazid arrested all the Venetian residents in Constantinople. Lepanto was seized in August, 1499, and an army of 10,000 Turks, crossing the Isonzo, approached the lagunes of Venice. Modon, on the south-west coast of the Morea, was taken a year later, and this disaster to the Venetians was soon followed by others. Wherever they went, the Turks acted with ferocity; but after a while the tide began to turn. The Venetians obtained many brilliant successes amongst the Greek islands which obeyed the Ottoman. In some of these exploits they were assisted by a Spanish squadron and a body of troops under Gonzalvo de Cordova, as well as by French and Papal contingents; but in 1501 the war languished, owing to want of harmony amongst the commanders of different nationalities. The maritime discoveries of the Portuguese had damaged the commerce of the Venetians, while the Turks, on the other hand, were so deeply engaged with the affairs of Persia that they were glad to be spared any further struggles in another direction. Yet the war continued until the latter part of 1502, when a treaty of peace was concluded. By this arrangement, Venice retained Cephalonia, but restored Santa Maura (one of the Ionian group), both of which islands she had acquired during the war. Turkey kept all her conquests, which included some fortresses of great importance. The contest had imposed many sacrifices on Venice; and it was while the Republic was in this state of exhaustion that Pope Julius II. entered into his alliance with the French and German sovereigns against the Queen of the Adriatic.

The triple alliance of Blois did not last very long, though it was designed to be perpetual. It brought some advantages both to the German Emperor and the French King; but the former was never heartily in favour of the agreement, and he gave certain information to the Venetians which

induced them to come to terms with the Pope. By a settlement effected in 1505, the States of the Church regained several places of which the Re-

lands, after a brief period of separation, which had produced in her a degree of mental depression not far removed from mania. Philip had proceeded to



ZIZIM DINING WITH THE GRAND MASTER OF RHODES.

public had deprived them, while Venice was allowed to keep possession of Rimini and Faenza. The previous twelvemonth had been painfully distinguished by the death of Queen Isabella of Castile, who expired on the 26th of November, 1504. Early in that year, Joanna, wife of the Archduke Philip, had rejoined her husband in the Nether-

his maternal dominions, ostensibly for political purposes, but really, it would seem, to escape from the society of a wife whose plainness disgusted him, though her affection was deep and ardent, and to indulge with the greater freedom in disreputable amours. The natural jealousy of the neglected Archduchess led to frequent and open dissensions ;



MATTHIAS CORVINUS AND GEORGE PODIEBRAD IN THE CAMP BEFORE SPIELBERG.

the mental disease of Joanna increased with rapidity; and the death of Isabella, who was not more than fifty-three, appears to have been largely due to anxiety on this account. Not many weeks before her departure, she settled the diadem of Castile on Joanna and her husband; but, in the event of incapacity on the part of the former, she appointed her own husband Regent of Castile until her grandson, Charles, should attain his majority. Isabella was in many respects a gifted and admirable woman. Her great fault was religious bigotry; but this was counterbalanced by numerous virtues, and the Spaniards bear her memory in the highest respect even to the present day.

Her two principal ministers were, first Don Pedro Gonzales de Mendoza, and afterwards the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes. Each was in turn Archbishop of Toledo; but Mendoza, who died in 1495, was also High Admiral of Castile. The power of both was almost boundless, and Ximenes, in particular, is one of the most conspicuous characters in the whole range of Spanish history. He was originally a Franciscan monk, of a sect distinguished by its rigorous discipline and severe mortifications. In the observance of these practices, Ximenes was more punctilious than most others; but the force of his intellect was known to Mendoza, who, about three years before his death, recommended him to the important position of confessor to Queen Isabella, and subsequently urged that he should be appointed to the see of Toledo and the High Chancellorship of Castile. The training and habits of Ximenes were in some respects unfortunate for the principal minister of a great monarchy. He was an intense fanatic, and undoubtedly encouraged to the utmost the objectionable side of Isabella's character. The man who had never spared himself, was not likely to spare others. Wherever the supposed interests of orthodoxy were concerned, the hand of Ximenes was heavy and remorseless in its action. He declared war against every kind of dissent; and under the fostering care and active direction of Torquemada and others, the detestable tyranny of the Inquisition attained alarming proportions. It was not enough that a man was a Christian: if his doctrine and practice did not tally in the minutest degree with what Ximenes considered right, he had to suffer penalties of various severity, in proportion to the extent of his guilt. The very slightest evidence—even the trifling fact that he wore better clothes on a Saturday—would convict him of being a Jew; and the Jews experienced no mercy. The Moors also were treated with such

terrible severity that those of the Alpuxarras—a mountain range in the southern part of Spain—rose in insurrection, and maintained the struggle from 1500 to 1502, when they were violently converted to Christianity, and received the name of Moriscoes.

The death of Isabella, combined with the provisions of her will, deprived Ferdinand of the crown of Castile; but he still acted as Governor of that kingdom, in the absence of his daughter, and of her husband, the Archduke Philip. Even had Joanna been in Spain at the time, it is doubtful whether she would have been able to exercise her rights as Queen, owing to the mental infirmity with which she had been visited; but there were many among the Castilians who considered that Philip was the most fitting Regent. Finding that he had no small amount of popular support, Philip required of his father-in-law that he should retire into Aragon. Ferdinand sought an alliance with Louis XII. of France, and, in October, 1505, concluded a treaty with that monarch, by which each promised the other assistance in all future contingencies. At the same time, the Aragonese sovereign contracted a marriage with Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis, and it was agreed that the kingdom of Naples should be the dowry of this lady, and should descend to her children. Philip was thunderstruck when he heard of the alliance, and, in order to protect his own interests, entered into an agreement with Ferdinand, which, under the title of the Concord of Salamanca, was concluded on the 24th of November, 1505, and by which it was settled that Ferdinand should be associated with Philip in the government of Castile. Philip and Joanna set sail for Spain in January, 1506, and, after a long stay in England, to which they had been driven by a storm, and where Henry VII. extorted several concessions from the Archduke, whom he detained as a sort of prisoner, arrived at Corunna near the end of April. Philip and Ferdinand suspected each other, and with reason, as each was playing for the prize of Castile. To the Castilians both were foreigners; but, although Ferdinand, as an Aragonese, and the son of a Castilian mother, was much more nearly related to the people of Castile than the Austrian Archduke, they preferred the latter. Philip, therefore, found himself supported by the majority, and, having three thousand German infantry, in addition to six thousand native soldiers, he quickly repudiated the Concord of Salamanca. Ferdinand could boast of few adherents, and he consented to a meeting with his relative on the borders of Leon and Galicia. When the two potentates met, Philip

appeared surrounded by a large and formidable army, while his rival was accompanied by not more than two hundred men. At a subsequent interview, Ferdinand resigned the sovereignty of Castile to his daughter and son-in-law, but with a secret reservation of what he still regarded as his rights. In July, 1506, the Archduke assumed the royal title as Philip I., and attempted to exclude his wife from all share in the administration, on the ground of insanity. The States resisted this design, but, for all practical purposes, the conduct of affairs remained in his hands. For a few weeks his government was popular. He placed some check upon the violence of the Inquisition, which had nearly provoked a general insurrection; and his open bearing gave satisfaction to a people whose pride might have been offended by a more reserved demeanour. His popularity, however, was but short-lived. He gave offence by yielding too much to his Flemish courtiers, by providing them with places at the expense of the native corregidores and governors of cities, and by a lavish expenditure. Ximenes warned him against these impolitic measures; but he disregarded his minister's advice, and would probably have been dethroned, had not his death, on the 25th of September, 1506, anticipated an insurrectionary movement. He was only twenty-eight, and his illness was occasioned by drinking cold water when heated by exercise.

Joanna, who had undoubtedly loved her husband in spite of all his infidelities, fell into a state of profound melancholia after his decease. She sat in a darkened room, saying and doing hardly anything, but perpetually contemplating the dead body of Philip, which she carried in a slow funeral procession from Burgos, where her lord had died, to Granada, where he was to be buried. Though perhaps not actually mad, it is certain that Joanna was incapable of performing the duties of a sovereign, and Ximenes therefore formed a provisional council of seven members, with himself at the head. Ferdinand of Aragon was in Italy at the time of his rival's death. After first proceeding to Naples, to settle the affairs of that kingdom, he returned to Spain in the summer of 1507. The entire royal authority of Castile now passed into his hands, and Joanna retired to Tordesillas, where she dwelt until her death forty-seven years later. The government of Ferdinand was characterised by clemency; but it may be doubted whether he could have retained his power, had he not been supported by the influential Ximenes, who was now appointed by Pope Julius II. to the dignity of a Cardinal, and the office of Inquisitor-General. The faults of Ximenes were chiefly connected with his intolerant

religion. As a secular administrator, he conferred many benefits on Castile, both under the rule of Isabella, and afterwards during that of Ferdinand. He broke down the power of the feudal nobles, strengthened the reasonable authority of the crown, and confirmed the municipalities in the enjoyment of their ancient rights. The austerity of his faith and practice did not prevent his being a munificent patron of literature and the arts. The University of Alcalá de Henares was established by him, and he spent enormous sums on works of scholarship, religion, and charity. He even aimed at military honours, and in a moderate degree obtained them. In 1508, he organised at his own expense an expedition of 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse for the conquest of Oran, on the African coast, and acted himself as its commander. The city was taken at the first assault; but the credit seems to have been mainly due to the experienced soldier, Navarro, who, in the two following years, after the return of Ximenes, captured Bugia, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and some other places, but was at length defeated in the island of Gelves.

While Spain was thus advancing to the rank of the chief Imperial Power of Europe, the German Empire, which had at one time occupied so commanding a position, was sinking rapidly in the scale of nations. The long and feeble reign of Frederick III. (the course of which has already been related) brought the policy and the arms of Germany into disrepute. Between the years 1468 and 1490, Bohemia and Hungary proved their military superiority to Frederick, as the reader has seen; and the whole east of Europe showed an activity which, on the whole, was not favourable to the Teutonic race. The Bohemians had been profoundly stirred by the teachings of Huss, and the reforming energy of Ziska; and, after the death of Ladislaus V. in 1458, they conferred the crown on George Podiebrad, for the very reason that he was known to entertain heretical opinions. He had already occupied the position of Regent, and was generally regarded as the champion of Bohemian independence, which had for some time been depressed by the connection with Imperial Germany, though this had ceased at the succession of Ladislaus (son of the King of Poland) to the crown of Bohemia, in 1440. Hungary acquired a very important influence in the vicinity of the Danube during the administration of the Regent, John Huniades. On the death of that hero, in 1456, and of the young King Ladislaus in the following year, Matthias Corvinus, a son of Huniades, obtained possession of the throne, to which he was elected on the 24th of January, 1458. The affairs of Hungary and

Bohemia had long been greatly disturbed, owing to dynastic complications, and to the progress of the Turks; but, under the rule of Matthias Corvinus in the one country, and of George Podiebrad in the other, both became formidable sovereignties. Matthias was not more than fifteen years of age when invested with the Hungarian crown; but from the first he governed with remarkable spirit, and during his reign of thirty-two years was a brilliant champion of the Cross against the Crescent, besides taking a liberal interest in literature and science, and effecting many admirable reforms in the constitution of his country. Podiebrad (whose daughter was married to Matthias) also showed ability and vigour in the conduct of affairs; but he had to encounter many difficulties, proceeding in the main from his position towards the Papacy.

Pius II., who occupied the Pontifical chair from 1458 to 1464, was greatly concerned at the choice of so stiff a heretic as Podiebrad for the ruler of Bohemia. He tried his utmost to abolish the religious privileges which the Hussites had secured at the close of the great war originated by Ziska, and sent a Legate to Prague, who offended the King by the insolence of his reproofs. Podiebrad put him in prison, and kept him there on bread and water; but this, of course, only increased the Papal anger, and, in June, 1465, Paul II., who had succeeded to power in the previous year, issued a Bull deposing the Bohemian monarch, and charging the German Emperor (Frederick III.) with the execution of the sentence. Nothing, however, was done in that direction, and at length Matthias Corvinus, hoping to obtain the crown of Bohemia in addition to his own, undertook to carry out the Apostolic mandate. After some irregular hostilities, of no great consequence, Matthias declared war against Bohemia in 1468; but Podiebrad obtained an ally in Casimir IV., King of Poland, to whom he promised that the Bohemian succession should pass to Prince Ladislaus, a descendant of the Emperor Charles IV., who was the son of King John of Bohemia. The Hungarian monarch, however, made good progress with the campaign. He invested Spielberg, and in the vicinity of that town had an interview with Podiebrad, who challenged him to single combat, but refrained from the encounter on finding that Matthias would fight only on horseback. In February, 1469, Spielberg surrendered to the Hungarian arms. A subsequent defeat led to the conclusion of a truce which was speedily broken, and the war recommenced, with unfortunate results for Podiebrad. Moravia and Silesia were for a time over-run, and Matthias was chosen King of Bohemia by a

Diet of the Romanist party at Olmütz. He was afterwards crowned by the Papal Legate; but the whole proceeding was arbitrary and unconstitutional.

Podiebrad and Casimir drew closer together in consequence of this movement, and the armies of the former were reinforced by those of the latter. Matthias sought in vain for the assistance of the German Emperor, and the war went on without any decisive success on either side. In the spring of 1471, the life of Podiebrad came to an end, and Ladislaus the Pole entered Bohemia with a small army, made his way to Prague, and assumed the crown on the 22nd of August. Frederick III. acted throughout these complications with miserable duplicity and cowardice. He insulted Matthias Corvinus as a person of low birth, yet was glad to buy off his enmity by promises which he never meant to fulfil. In 1474, he entered into an alliance with Casimir IV. of Poland against the Hungarian sovereign; but Matthias still prevailed over his enemies. How terribly the Emperor suffered at his hands has been set forth at the close of our last volume; but it must here be added that his efforts to destroy the independence of Bohemia were unsuccessful, and that in July, 1479, he made peace with that kingdom, and with Casimir of Poland. Ten years later, negotiations were opened with the Emperor Frederick, and they were still proceeding when Matthias died on the 4th of April, 1490. Many competitors for the vacant throne arose—among them, Frederick himself; but ultimately the choice of the Hungarians fell on Ladislaus, the Polish King of Bohemia, who, however, was obliged to make many concessions to the Magyar nobility, as he had previously done to the privileged classes of his other realm.

During the latter years of his life, the Emperor Frederick III. left the active conduct of affairs to his son Maximilian, who enjoyed the honorary position of King of the Romans, and ultimately succeeded to the Empire. Matthias Corvinus professed a great esteem for this prince, who was in truth a much superior man to his father. After the death of Matthias, he recovered Austria from the Hungarians, and, invading Hungary itself, captured the town of Alba Regia, but, owing to want of money, was soon compelled to retreat. A congress assembled at Presburg in the autumn of 1491, and on the 7th of November a treaty was concluded, by which Ladislaus was recognised as King of Hungary, with a proviso that, in default of male heirs, the monarchy should pass to the House of Hapsburg, though not without the approval of the Hungarian Diet. John Albert, the

brother of Ladislaus, was incensed at being thus excluded from the throne of Hungary, and made an ineffectual attempt at civil war; but the death of Casimir, King of Poland, in June, 1492, enabled Ladislaus to buy off further opposition by renouncing the Polish crown in favour of his brother. The reign of Casimir IV. had been distinguished by some noteworthy events. He was the third of the Jagellons, a Lithuanian dynasty, which, though remarkable for intelligence and courage, gave offence to the native Poles by the mere fact of foreign domination. Casimir was reproached for spending the greater part of the year in Lithuania. He and his predecessors desired to render themselves independent of Polish laws; yet it cannot be denied that they advanced the power of the country, and made it strong and respected. It was during the reign of Casimir that certain of the Prussian provinces rose against the oppression of the Teutonic Knights, and placed themselves under the crown of Poland. The ensuing war, which broke out in 1454, was terminated in 1466 by the Treaty of Thorn, by which the Knights lost the western part of Prussia, and became vassals of Poland for the eastern provinces. Polish commerce gained largely by the acquisition of Dantzic, which was amongst the places thus ceded, and the kingdom generally derived increased strength from the addition to its population and its territorial resources which followed on the peace. Under the sceptre of Casimir, a system of representative government was introduced into Poland. The country was divided into electoral districts, each returning a member; and these members, in their totality, formed a deliberative body distinct from the Senate, which was chosen principally by the nobles. No measure could become law unless it had passed both these assemblies, and received the sanction of the King. The nobles, however, still retained great influence, which was often of a most irregular kind. The reign of Casimir added not merely to the glory, but to the stability, of the Polish State; and his three successors, John Albert, Alexander, and Sigismund I.—all of them brothers of Ladislaus, King of Hungary—enhanced the reputation of the country as one of the chief military realms in that part of the world.

The feudal system preserved its vitality longer in the eastern and central dominions of Europe than in the north-west and south. In Germany, the nobles still arrogated to themselves the most extraordinary powers—powers quite inconsistent with the supremacy of the State. During the reign of Frederick III., it was found necessary to establish

a confederation, called the Swabian League, for the express purpose of putting down private wars, and of enforcing the public peace. These private wars were not invariably, though no doubt generally, waged by persons of high social condition. Even men of humble birth would occasionally indulge in them; but the example was set by the lawless barons and knights who for many ages had made their strongly-fortified castles a terror to all the surrounding country. The wars which it was the object of the Swabian League to suppress were often begun for reasons of the most ridiculous character. The lord of Prauenstein made war against the city of Frankfort because the daughter of one of the citizens refused to dance with his uncle; and, for some real or fancied offence, a private individual, apparently not a noble, published a declaration of war against the Emperor himself. The mischief and the absurdity might perhaps have gone on much longer than they did, had not the Emperor, during his war with Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, been threatened by the Bavarian Duke Albert, who had married the Emperor's daughter without his consent, and who now made arrangements for helping Matthias, and obtaining certain territories in which Frederick's son, Maximilian, had a reversionary interest. The League of Swabia was organised in 1488, when it was proposed that all future differences between the German princes should be settled by arbitration; but it was first necessary to bring Duke Albert to reason by a display of force. The Bavarian yielded when he found himself in presence of a formidable army; and, having made his peace with Frederick, he even joined the League, which lasted until 1533, and conferred inestimable services on Germany by the destruction of a hundred and forty castles, the strongholds of a lawless nobility. The weakness of the Federal government in Germany, and the great power and wealth of the nobles, were the chief causes of this thoroughly evil state. Within the security of their vast and massive castles, often situated on eminences in the midst of wild and rugged country, the feudal barons were entirely their own masters; and when they issued forth, it was to plunder, to ravage, to burn, to slay, to carry off cattle, and crops, and portable wealth, and not unfrequently to abduct the daughters of peasants and burghers. There was no power strong enough to cope with these insolent nobles, and scarcely any possibility of striking a blow at them when they had retired behind their battlements. The discovery of gunpowder, however, seriously affected their position, for it was found that cannon could batter

down the walls of their fastnesses. During the first half of the sixteenth century, the titled brigands of Germany were literally beaten out of their crumbling strongholds, and, when no longer able to maintain themselves in their former isolation, had no alternative but to adopt the manners of peaceful subjects.

The Swabian League, in its initial days, owed much to the assistance of the Archduke Maxi-

milian, that he might marry Anne of Bretagne, and thus acquire possession of that province, which he had previously endeavoured to obtain by conquest.* Maximilian, who had himself been married by proxy to the princess, was transported with rage when he heard of this union, which took place in December, 1491. He revolved many schemes of vengeance in his mind; but the Emperor was not disposed to help him, and the Flemings, over whom



BURGOS.

milian. The early life of that prince had been one of severe trial. In his nineteenth year he had been married to Mary, the only child and heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, a circumstance which involved him in a war with Louis XI. of France, who coveted the possessions thus alienated. Though successful in the field, Maximilian was obliged, by the intrigues of France in the Netherlands, to betroth his daughter Margaret, a child only four years of age, to the son of Louis, who afterwards became Charles VIII., and to give Artois, Flanders, and Burgundy, as her dower. Notwithstanding this sacrifice, Maximilian again came into collision with France after the accession of Charles VIII., who divorced his daughter,

he had re-established a precarious government, broken by frequent revolts, were not likely to render assistance. In his despair of any other alliance, Maximilian came to an understanding with Henry VII. of England, who obtained large sums of money from his Parliament on the pretext of a war with France, but who, after a military demonstration before Boulogne, which was intended simply as a cover for a secret correspondence with the French monarch, concluded a treaty with that potentate on the 3rd September, 1492. On the 19th January, 1493, a treaty was signed at

* Anne of Bretagne, as related in the last Chapter, was afterwards married to her old admirer, Louis XII.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN SURROUNDED BY THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES (1550-1551).

Barcelona between Charles of France and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; and Maximilian, though his arms had achieved some marked successes, came to an agreement with the French King, at Senlis, on the 23rd May. The Princess Margaret was sent back to her father, and the provinces which formed her dowry were, with a few exceptions, returned to him. Margaret, as we have seen, subsequently married the eldest son of Ferdinand and Isabella. After the premature death of that prince, she formed a union with Philibert, Duke of Savoy, but was left a widow for the second time at the early age of twenty-four.

The motives influencing the two parties to the treaty of Senlis are sufficiently obvious. Charles wished to be free to carry out his Italian expedition. Maximilian was willing to condone the affront he had received from the French King, on condition that he received back his Burgundian and Flemish provinces. Such was the arrangement which preceded by about three months the death of Frederick III., and the election of the Archduke Maximilian to the Imperial throne—an election which was now little else than formal, since, as a matter of fact, the Empire had become hereditary in the House of Austria. Maximilian was the first German sovereign to establish a standing army, with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, divided into regiments, and subdivided into companies. During a reign of twenty-six years, he to some extent restored the credit of Germany, and, by matrimonial alliances, concluded at various times, secured to his own posterity the reversion of Hungary and Bohemia, of Castile and Aragon. The commencement of his reign was signalised by the defeat of a large body of Turks who had invaded the Empire, and whom he successfully encountered at Laybach. Not long after, the Emperor married Bianca Sforza, sister of the Duke of Milan—a princess who brought him a large and valuable dowry, and gave him an excuse for interfering in the internal politics of Italy, at that time the battle-ground of the leading European Powers. He was a member of the league formed against Charles VIII. for the expulsion of that monarch from Italian soil, and, after his retreat, conducted an expedition of his own into the same country. His attempt on Livorno, in 1496, en-

tirely failed, and a war with the Duke of Guelderland, in which he afterwards engaged, was brought to a sudden conclusion by a quarrel with the Swiss, who had made incursions on the Austrian territory. These mountaineers, who never respected the liberties of other people, were exceeding resolute in the defence of their own; and Maximilian experienced seven defeats within six months. The war came to a close in 1500, and was followed by an alliance with Louis XII. of France. This, however, did not last long. The divergent interests of the two monarchs soon developed a mutual antagonism, and, in particular, Maximilian was offended by the action of Louis in the north of Italy. Genoa had been under the suzerainty of France since 1499, and an insurrection of the Genoese, in the autumn of 1506, led to a military expedition in the following year, which increased the power of the French in that region. Louis also concluded an alliance with Ferdinand, just before the departure of the Aragonese monarch from Italy, on the death of his son-in-law, Philip of Austria.

The authority of Maximilian was now declining, and the claim which he advanced to the regency of Castile, during the minority of his grandson Charles, was received with so little favour by the Castilians that he was compelled to abandon it. Ferdinand not unreasonably considered that, as the youthful prince was some day to rule over Spain, he should be brought up in that country, so as to acquire a knowledge of its language, and a familiarity with the manners of its people. But Maximilian repudiated this view, and kept his grandson in the Netherlands, to the government of which he appointed his daughter Margaret; so that, when Charles succeeded to the Spanish throne, he was to all intents and purposes a foreigner. The circumstance was unfortunate in many ways; but Maximilian was disappointed by the turn events had taken, and relieved his spleen by withholding his grandson from the country which had given him offence, and by shaping his mind to habits of thought entirely out of harmony with the people of the Western peninsula. The humours of princes, in those days, had little check but in the opposing caprices of others; and the interests of nations were constantly sacrificed to the avarice or the jealousy of despotic power.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WARS IN NORTHERN ITALY.

Character of the Emperor Maximilian I.—Reforms in the Constitution of the Empire—Recognition of the Independence of the Swiss—Maximilian invited by Pope Julius II. to invade Italy—His Subsequent Desertion by the Pope and the Venetians—Unfortunate Invasion of Northern Italy—Designs of Julius II.—Alliance against Venice—The League of Cambray—The Venetians Threatened with Extinction as an Italian Power—Treacherous Conduct of the Allies—French Successes in the North of Italy—Embarrassments of the Emperor Maximilian—Recovery of Power by Venice—Progress of the Germans in Friuli and Istria—Unsuccessful Siege of Padua—Reconciliation of the Venetians with the Pope—Antagonism of Julius II. to the French—Death of Cardinal d'Amboise—Prosecution of the War by the French and Germans, aided by the Duke of Ferrara—Barbarity of the Allies—Operations of the Papal Armies—Opposition of the Council of Tours to the Pontifical Designs—False Position of the Popes as Secular Monarchs—Danger of Julius II. at Bologna—His Martial Activity and Enterprise—Progress of the War—Designs of Maximilian—Insurrection at Bologna against the Papal Rule—Dissensions at Ravenna—Rival Councils of the Church—Hesitation of Louis XII.—Intrigues of the Pope, and Conclusion of the Holy League—Ambition of Maximilian to add the Papal to the Imperial Power—The Campaign of 1511-12 in Northern Italy—Brilliant Achievements of Gaston de Foix—Storming of Brescia—Rapidly of the French Successes, and Daring Policy of Louis XII.—Sanguinary Battle on the Banks of the Ronco—Death of Gaston de Foix—Submission of Numerous Towns to the French—Subsequent Reverses and Retreat of the Invaders—Triumph of Julius II.—Extravagance of his Demands—Mutual Distrust of the Allies—Florence Menaced by a Spanish Army—Revolution in the City, and Restoration of the Medici.

MAXIMILIAN I. was a stronger man than his father, and his rule brought greater fame to Germany than she had known for more than fifty years. Yet he partook in some degree of his predecessor's weaknesses, and might have effected much more than he did, had he been gifted with the energy and steadfastness of Frederick II. He had many striking and agreeable qualities; was valiant, handsome, lively, and enterprising. But a certain frivolity mingled with the manly elements of his character, and what was pedantry in the father became levity in the son. His courage often passed into bravado; his attention to affairs not unfrequently degenerated into a petty devotion to minute details. He was quickly deterred by difficulties, and never placed himself in thorough accord with the tendencies of his country and his time. Nevertheless, his successes as a commander were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently brilliant to indicate military genius; and in other respects his reign showed a marked advance on that of the feeble and hesitating Frederick III. Some important internal reforms were carried out, or at least attempted, under his sway. A post-office was established, which the greater peace of the country favoured, but which the bad condition of the roads rendered almost nugatory. Before he ascended the Imperial throne, he had promised the States assembled at Nuremberg in 1489 that, when possessed of power, he would sanction a reform in the supreme tribunal of the Empire. The undertaking was given at a time when he wanted assistance against the Hungarians, and was rather a concession to necessity than a willing act. Maximilian, however, honour-

ably kept his word; and at the Diet of Worms, in 1495, important changes were decreed.

The nominating power of the Emperor was now confined to the appointment of the President: all the other members of the Diet were named by the States. Instead of following the Emperor, as formerly, this body assembled on particular days at a fixed place; and at the same time it acquired the right of pronouncing the ban of the Empire in the name of the sovereign. Five years later (namely, in 1500), the Diet of Augsburg obtained the establishment of a permanent council for administering the affairs of the Imperial Monarchy—a body in which the three colleges of Electors, Princes, and Towns, were represented. The Emperor was to preside in person, or, in the event of his absence, might name the President; but that was the extent of his authority. At the Augsburg meeting, Germany was divided into six circles—those of Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. This number was increased to ten by the Cologne Diet of 1512, which added Saxony and Brandenburg (in combination), Mainz, Treves, Cologne, and the Palatinate (four Rhenish electorates, forming one circle), Austria, and Burgundy, to the six already existing. The assembly thus created was a species of Parliament, and not only claimed, but actually exercised, important functions between 1500 and 1507. The permanent council assumed the title of the Council of Regency, which gave it almost the character of a sovereign body; and as such, indeed, it acted. Foreign and domestic affairs came under its cognisance, and with Louis XII. it

negotiated on its own authority. The members, however, disagreed among themselves after a time; the Council of Regency dissolved, and the Emperor recovered his former power, which seems to have been rather injudiciously curtailed. A compromise was arranged at the Diet of Constance in 1507, when the Imperial Chamber, as settled at Worms in 1495, was restored with some modifications, and the Council of Regency, without being actually suppressed, was left in abeyance.

The Tribunal of the Imperial Chamber, established two years after the succession of Maximilian, took cognisance of all questions of civil right among the States of the Empire, and its judgment was without appeal. The Aulic Council (from the Latin *aula*, a court or hall) sat in the Imperial Palace, and decided matters relating to the interests or the honour of the crown, or to the hereditary dominions of the Emperor. This chamber likewise dated from 1495, and in after years acquired high privileges as a court of appeal, and as a tribunal to which weighty grievances were submitted. Another reform had reference to the matter of taxation, which was so ordered by the Diet of Constance, in 1507, that, whereas one impost recognised the existence of the several States and Principalities as distinct political bodies, a second contemplated the whole mass of the German people as the subjects of an united Empire. This was a complete realisation of the idea of federal government, where the freedom of the integral parts, and the supremacy of the connecting bond, are equally acknowledged. To many of these arrangements, Maximilian was personally disinclined; but the need of support compelled him to accept the suggestions of his counsellors. He also found it necessary, at the Diet of Constance, to grant virtual independence to the Swiss, whom he declared free from all Imperial tribunals and all German taxation. The mountaineers had been included in the circle of Swabia when the re-arrangement of the Empire was settled, for the House of Austria still claimed jurisdiction over them; but they refused to sanction this interference with their liberty, and, having defeated the Imperial forces, obtained peace on their own terms. Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, were at the same time added to the Helvetic Confederacy.

While the Diet of Constance was sitting, Pope Julius II., alarmed at the progress the French were making in Italy under Louis XII., begged the German Emperor to enter the country with his own army, as a counteracting force. Maximilian was well disposed to such an expedition, as he desired to receive the Imperial crown from the

hands of the Pope himself, and to assert those claims which he derived from his position as the so-called Emperor of the West. The Venetians offered him a free passage through their territories; though a deeper consideration of policy would have restrained any Italian State from abetting the invasion of the peninsula by a foreign Power, especially by one asserting rights so fantastic and so dangerous as those arrogated by the successors of Charlemagne. The arguments of Maximilian before the Diet were enforced with so much eloquence and enthusiasm that the assembled counsellors voted him an army of 90,000 men, to be afterwards augmented by 12,000 Swiss mercenaries—altogether, a very formidable array. Preparations were pushed forward with extraordinary expedition, and Louis XII. began to temporise with the Emperor, fearing the effects of his enmity. The latter, however, suddenly found himself confronted by a difficulty which he had not foreseen. The Diet required that the Italian expedition should be conducted in their name, by commanders of their appointing, and with an eye to the benefit of the Germanic Confederation generally; whereas Maximilian was rather considering the advantage of his hereditary dominions, the Archduchy of Austria. The demands of the Diet were accordingly refused, and the Imperial representatives were so much offended that they reduced the number of men to 12,000. Baffled in his own dominions, the Emperor endeavoured to bring the Venetians into active hostility with the French, but in vain. The rulers of the Republic, giving to their former offers of assistance a different interpretation from what had been understood, now intimated that Maximilian would be received by them with all honour if he entered their territory with an unarmed retinue, on his way to Rome, to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, but not if he came with an army, in the prosecution of a warlike purpose. The ardour of Julius II. had also cooled, and he again placed himself in friendly relations with Louis XII. Maximilian was too proud to recede. In his anger and vexation, he invaded Italy in January, 1508, and attacked the Venetian possessions on the mainland, but, after some temporary successes, found the Republicans (who were aided by the French) too strong for him. He concluded a hasty peace in May, and the Venetians celebrated their triumph with indecent exultation.

By their tortuous and uncertain policy (in which respect, however, they were no worse than the other Powers), the Venetians had contrived to offend in equal measure the French King, the

German Emperor, and the Pope. The last-named was beginning to show himself in his true character as a reckless and ambitious prince. By a long course of parsimony, Julius II. had amassed a considerable sum of money, and was now enabled to throw aside the moderation which had distinguished the first three years of his Pontificate. In the autumn of 1506, he expelled from the cities which they ruled Giovanni Paolo Baglioni of Perugia, and Giovanni Bentivoglio of Bologna, whose territories he added to the States of the Church. The Venetians greatly offended him by giving shelter to Bentivoglio; and when the Pope returned to Rome, in the early part of 1507, he immediately took measures for creating a league against the maritime Republic. This he found no difficulty in accomplishing, for both Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand of Spain were ill-affected towards Venice, some of whose possessions they claimed. The assistance of Maximilian was afterwards secured, chiefly through the instrumentality of his daughter Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, who persuaded her father that it would be prudent to conciliate his late enemies, the French. Margaret exhibited consummate ability throughout the whole matter, and arranged an interview with Cardinal d'Amboise. Hence arose the League of Cambray, the terms of which were embodied in a treaty signed in the cathedral of that city on the 10th of December, 1508.

The main object of this agreement was to deprive the Venetians of their chief Italian possessions, which were to be divided amongst the Pope, the German Empire, the House of Austria, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Louis XII. of France. It was also determined that the Pope should excommunicate the Venetians, and absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance; and it was settled that the war was to be commenced by France, on the 1st of April, 1509. The design was nothing less than to ensure the absolute ruin of Venice; for not only were the four parties to the League to combine their armaments in a general attack on the Republic, but other countries were invited to join the confederation, so as to strip the great Adriatic Power of all those outlying territories which it had acquired by centuries of conquest. As early as 1503, de Chaumont, the lieutenant of the French King at Milan, had said to Machiavelli that the Venetians would shortly have no occupation but fishing; and France, as we have seen, was abetted in her project by Germany, Spain, and the Popedom. The ambition of Julius II. was to secure the independence and union of Italy under the supreme direction of the Church;

but it was a strange way of realising this dream, to destroy a truly Italian State, which, in spite of many faults, had shed great lustre on modern Italy, to divide her possessions amongst the French, the Spaniards, and the Germans, and thus, as it were, to admit the foreigner at three several gates. We may reasonably suspect that his wish to recover certain cities of the Romagna, which had passed under Venetian rule, was a much stronger motive with Julius than any desire to promote the freedom and grandeur of Italy.

The League of Cambray was of course kept secret as long as possible; and when some inkling of its existence reached the Venetian Government, Louis XII. did not scruple to declare that he had entered into no engagement antagonistic to the Republic. As if these conspirators could not be sincere even to one another, the preamble to the treaty stated that the object of the alliance was to make war upon the Turks, but that it was incumbent on the contracting parties, as a preliminary, to suppress the insatiable cupidity and thirst for domination of the Venetians. The adhesion of the Florentines to this shameful scheme was secured by the betrayal of Pisa to the greater Tuscan commonwealth—a bargain to which we have before referred. The plot was altogether extremely well laid, and the Venetians were not fully aware of their danger until the main preparations against them had been completed. Their own preparations were necessarily hasty and insufficient; but the Republic again showed that extraordinary vigour which had long distinguished its administration. In the spring of 1509, France declared war, and Pope Julius issued a Bull of excommunication against the offending State. Louis XII. crossed the Alps at the head of his forces during the month of April; the battle of Agnadello, on the 14th of May, resulted in a severe defeat for the Venetians; and it was not long before the French monarch had conquered all the territory assigned to him in the Treaty of Cambray. After a triumphal entry into Milan, he disbanded the larger part of his levies, and returned to France. The Papal forces had in the meanwhile been almost equally successful; and in other respects the armies of Venice underwent a series of reverses which might have quelled the spirit of a less resolute commonwealth. Ferdinand of Spain, however, equivocated with the Venetians, and for a time confined his operations to the Neapolitan territory, where he recovered some of the towns which he had formerly lost to the Republic. The action of the Emperor Maximilian was delayed by the refusal of a Diet which he had assembled at Worms

to support him in the contemplated war. It was merely in his hereditary dominions of Austria that he could collect the necessary troops; and he was also embarrassed for want of funds, which he at length obtained from Henry VII. of England, who greatly admired his character, and had once before assisted him with a loan. When at length he appeared in Italy, it was with only a small force;

latter, and to his successors, the Venetians offered to pay a yearly tribute of five hundred pounds weight of gold; but Maximilian was not pacified. The fortune of the war, however, speedily changed. Padua, which had been occupied by the Germans, was retaken by the Venetians on the 17th of July, 1509, and all the surrounding territory immediately declared in favour of the latter. This



THE RIALTO, VENICE.

but he found the Venetians already in a desperate condition, deprived of a large part of their possessions, and discredited by the crushing defeat at Agnadello.

Thus brought to bay, the Doge and his counsellors adopted a policy which was variously interpreted at the time, but which seems, judging by the event, to have been dictated by the spirit of prudence. They issued a decree releasing all their Italian subjects from their allegiance; the seaport towns in Apulia were abandoned to Ferdinand; and ambassadors were sent out, to make humble submission to the Pope and the Emperor. To the

acted as an encouragement to other communities in the north of Italy, who, though they may have felt no great love for Venice, were much better inclined towards its people than to the insolent foreigners, whether French or Germans, who ruined their towns, and devastated their fields. The policy of the Venetians in making their seemingly abject submission was now apparent. By refusing to hold the outlying territories, and thus saving them from the miseries of war, the Republic had secured the gratitude of their inhabitants; and the several garrisons, withdrawn from posts where they would probably have been overwhelmed, and

concentrated in the neighbourhood of Venice, placed at the disposal of the Government a defen-

same time, however, the forces of the Emperor Maximilian were rapidly increasing, and the loss



POPE JULIUS II. (After the Portrait by Raphael.)

sive army of no mean proportions, which was soon further enlarged by numerous Albanians and Dalmatians, who enlisted in the service of the commonwealth to which they were subject. At the

of Padua stimulated him to exceptional activity. Several towns were captured in Friuli and Istria, where the Germans roused general indignation by the cruelty of their conduct towards women and children.

The Venetians concentrated their chief strength at Padua, into which city were crowded, not merely a large number of fighting men, but the peasantry of the neighbouring country, accompanied by their flocks and herds. The Emperor had by this time assembled under his banners no fewer than 40,000 men, with two hundred guns—an army consisting principally of Germans, but in some measure of troops furnished by all the parties to the League of Cambray. Nothing could exceed the daring and heroism of Maximilian, or the determination of the besiegers generally, amongst whom was the gallant and high-spirited Chevalier de Bayard; but the garrison was equally resolute, and, after several of the allies had been blown into the air by the explosion of a mine, the siege was raised in the early part of October, 1509. The Venetians recovered several of the Italian cities of which they had been dispossessed, and in 1510 effected a reconciliation with the Pope, to whom they gave up the city of Ravenna. Some conditions of a humiliating character, tending to restrict the power of the Republic over the Church, were imposed by the Pontiff, and the subjects of the ecclesiastical Power were permitted, much to the chagrin of the Venetians, to share in the navigation of the Adriatic. The enmity of Julius was next turned against the French, whom he had been glad to use for his own purposes, but who were now to be expelled from the peninsula. His intrigues with this view were in the main unsuccessful; but the Swiss, who had given great assistance to Louis XII., and had in vain solicited an increase of pay, were now induced by the Pope to turn their arms against the monarch they had recently served. A bargain was struck, and the mountaineers agreed to supply his Holiness with at least six thousand picked troops.

These arrangements had scarcely been concluded when, on the 25th of May, 1510, the King of France lost his distinguished minister, Cardinal d'Amboise—a man who united to the highest office under his own sovereign the position of Papal Legate, of which Julius did not dare to deprive him, though his power was felt at Rome to be dangerously great. When he died, the Pontiff thanked God that at length he was the only Pope. George d'Amboise was a man of active genius, of high ambition, and in some respects of no very lively conscience, though he had consistently maintained the freedom of the Gallican Church, and had repressed many flagrant abuses. After the death of Alexander VI., he had aimed at the Papacy, but, failing to obtain it, had become deeply embittered against Julius II., whom he accused of

treachery. Although he thus failed of his object, the influence of d'Amboise in Northern Italy was considerable even to his death. It was not without reason, therefore, that Julius II., when bent on humbling France, regarded with pleasure the decease of this formidable prelate, whose power he had experienced, and whose enmity he feared.

For the better realisation of his purpose, the Pontiff formed an intimate connection with Ferdinand the Catholic, whom he confirmed in his Neapolitan sovereignty, and bribed by several privileges. Towards the Duke of Ferrara, who was in alliance with Louis XII., Julius adopted a tone of open hostility; and in July, 1510, he dismissed the ambassadors of the French King, and suddenly disclosed the antagonism he had long been cherishing. The French and German monarchs were still prosecuting the war in Northern Italy, and the Diet which met at Augsburg in the spring showed greater inclination towards an emphatic policy in this respect than some of its predecessors. Ever since the Council of Constance, in the early part of the previous century, the Germans had alleged many grievances against the Papal See, and for a little while it seemed as if the Emperor Maximilian would resist with firmness the more extreme claims of the Romish Church. His love of pleasure, however, interfered with these difficult and perilous designs, and his besetting hesitation unfitted him for the part of a reformer. Want of means compelled him to pledge Verona to the French for the sum of 60,000 ducats; but, in combination with the King of France and the Duke of Ferrara, he continued the war against the Venetians. The story of that war is a distressing record of ferocity and crime. The Germans and the French seemed to vie with one another in the commission of extravagant cruelty; but the most atrocious incident of the struggle was due to the deliberate barbarity of the latter. Six thousand citizens of Vicenza, who had been threatened by the German commander with extreme measures, as a punishment for their revolt in the previous autumn, retired towards Padua, but on their way thither took refuge in a vast cavern, where, with one exception, all were destroyed by a captain of French adventurers, who filled the mouth of the cave with faggots, and set them on fire.

Vicenza, Porto Legnano, and Monselice, were soon afterwards taken by the allies; but when the Papal legions entered the field in the course of the summer, success deserted the German arms. The men were demoralised by want of pay, and their necessities at length became so extreme that Verona was sacked thrice in one week. The forces

of the Emperor, now retreated before the Venetians, who recovered several places; but the French maintained their ground, and, on the whole, repelled the open attacks and secret machinations of the Pontiff. The Swiss legionaries failed in everything they undertook, and ultimately returned to their own country, without having conferred the slightest benefit on the Papal cause. Louis XII. had no reason to be dissatisfied with the struggle, so far as his own armies were concerned; yet he was placed in the difficult position of opposing the Pontiff, and his scruples were reinforced by those of his Queen, Anne of Brittany. In his perplexity, he summoned a national council at Tours, by the majority of whom it was decided that the King had just occasion for his quarrel with the Pope. All Papal censures that might be pronounced against him were declared beforehand to be null and void. Julius was required to put an end to hostilities, and to call a General Council: should he refuse to do so, the German Emperor, and the other Christian princes, were requested to act for themselves. Maximilian and Louis concluded a fresh treaty at Blois on the 17th of November, 1510; and, in the event of the Pope's continued opposition, it was determined to press the war with still greater earnestness in the ensuing spring.

By assuming the position of secular monarchs, the Popes of Rome had laid themselves open to all those adverse combinations which other sovereigns are often compelled to encounter. It is true that at no time was the Papal authority so absolute that monarchs were not occasionally found to defy it, either on grounds of Church government, or from considerations of policy. Gregory VII. found an obstinate foe in the German Emperor, Henry IV.: Gregory IX. was continually embroiled with Frederick II. But the greater the assertion of power by the Apostolic See, the greater was the spirit of resistance on the part of independent States. Even the doubts of Louis XII. gave way before the necessity of defending his interests (whether real or supposed) against the armed forces of a prince who differed from other rulers merely in the fact that to the sharpness of the sword he added the fulminations of the Church. In matters of faith, the King of France and the Emperor of Germany might have yielded a willing assent to the decrees of Julius II.; but the armies of that potentate they not unnaturally encountered with the only weapons available in such controversies. The ostensible design of Julius—the freedom of Italy from foreign armies and Transalpine dictation, and the combination of all native forces under

a single directing head—was a noble conception; but in the mind of the Pontiff it was too much mixed up with ideas of ecclesiastical predominance to retain the purity of its original character. We have seen in our own time how impossible it is for the head of the Romish Church, even if well-intentioned, to act consistently and permanently as the champion of Italian freedom.

Still desirous, if possible, of avoiding a direct collision with the Pope, Louis XII. made offers of accommodation, which involved the abandonment of the Duke of Ferrara. But his proposals were spurned, and Julius, proceeding to Bologna near the end of September, directed from that city the operations of his army on the Po. While there, he was attacked by a grave malady, and nearly fell into the hands of the French. Chaumont arrived before Bologna on the 12th of October, and, as the people showed a complete indifference to the Pontiff's fate, the situation appeared extremely alarming. The Cardinals were distracted with terror; all the foreign ambassadors urged the prudence of an immediate compromise; and Julius, who preserved his coolness throughout, consented to open negotiations, though only with the intention of gaining time. Owing to measures which he took at the same moment, he was relieved, on the evening of the next day, by a body of six hundred cavalry, despatched by the Venetians from their camp at Stellata, and by a number of Turkish horse who had taken service under the Republic. The Pope was saved from his peril; but it was to some extent by the assistance of Mohammedan troops, who defended the head of the Catholic Church against the armies of Catholic princes. Finding that he had missed his opportunity, Chaumont withdrew from the neighbourhood of Bologna, and the Pope, knowing that other forces were rapidly coming to his assistance, wished that the French should be pursued, and cut to pieces. When informed that this had not been done, he fell into a paroxysm of rage, which nearly proved fatal. His arms, indeed, made but slow progress. Concordia was taken about the middle of December, but Mirandola held out until the 20th of January, 1511. The winter in the north of Italy was extremely severe; yet Julius, though still disabled by sickness, shared the hardships of the camp, rode on horseback among his troops, arrayed in helmet and cuirass, and at one time narrowly escaped capture by Bayard. When Mirandola was assaulted, he crossed the frozen moat on foot, and, refusing to wait until the gates were opened, entered the town by a ladder. The siege of Ferrara was less fortunate for the Papal troops, who,

after an ineffectual attempt to stop the supply of provisions, were compelled to depart.

Julius had quitted Bologna for Ravenna when Maximilian, in the early part of 1511, opened a Congress at Mantua, to which the Pope, the Kings of France and Aragon, and the Venetians, were invited to send ambassadors. The Emperor had shortly before issued a circular to the German States, in which he commented very severely on the tyranny of the Papal Government, its interference in the affairs of other States, its grinding exactions, and its perversion of the sums thus obtained to the purposes of luxury and ambition. His desire was to call a general Council of the Church for the redress of these abuses; but, finding that he obtained little support, he fell back on the idea of a Congress. The suggestion was accepted by Julius, though with no real design of conciliation. Bent on carrying out his own views, he returned to Bologna, where the representatives of the Powers were now assembled. The discussions were characterised by a total want of harmony, leading sometimes to scenes of violence; and the Congress broke up on the 25th of April. Julius hurriedly retreated from Bologna to Ravenna; the people of the former city rose in insurrection; the Papal forces outside the walls were seized with panic, and a general flight set in. The dispirited troops were closely followed by the citizens, the peasants, and the French men-at-arms, and the victors captured the Papal colours, twenty-six pieces of cannon, and innumerable beasts of burden. Left to themselves, the Bolognese tore down a colossal bronze statue of the Pope which had been executed by Michael Angelo, and broke it to pieces; but this insult, although vexatious, was a trifling matter compared with the loss of Bologna itself. The chief blame of the disaster was thrown by the Pontiff upon his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, who had had command of the troops in the vicinity. When the Duke presented himself at Ravenna, to explain away his conduct, he was received with every mark of displeasure; and angry discussions broke out between himself and the Cardinal of Pavia, which were little conducive to the Papal dignity. The Cardinal was at length assassinated in the midst of his guards by the Duke of Urbino, who felt jealous of his influence with the Pope. Julius returned to Rome in a transport of grief and exasperation; yet the criminal, after a brief deprivation of his offices, was restored to favour.

The allies now signified their intention of holding a General Council at Pisa on the 1st of September, and Julius himself was cited to appear there by

virtue of a resolution passed at the Council of Constance, to the effect that these assemblies should be held once every ten years. Julius had neglected to call one at the proper time, and the German Emperor and French King determined to take the matter into their own hands. Many of the French prelates, and some of the Cardinals, were in favour of this proceeding; but Julius immediately issued a Bull for the assembling of a Council at the Lateran in April, 1512, and this was necessarily regarded by the Catholic world as a much more authoritative body than the other. The position of the Pope, moreover, was strengthened by the remorse of Louis XII. for having urged war against him. The French King was under the influence of his wife, who, as a Breton, was ardently attached to the Church. Louis forbade all public rejoicings for his successes in Italy, and declared his readiness to ask pardon of the Pontiff. His humiliation, however, brought with it no advantage, for Julius became more exacting the more he perceived symptoms of hesitation on the part of his antagonist. The head of the Church had a zealous supporter in Ferdinand the Catholic, who sent a body of Spanish troops into Northern Italy, to act as a counterpoise to the French and Germans; and on the 4th of October, 1511, an alliance was concluded by the Pope with King Ferdinand and the Venetian Republic. This was the celebrated confederation known as the Holy League, of which the avowed object was to protect the Roman See from the ambition of France, while its actual design was to accomplish the total expulsion of the French from Italy, and the conquest of Navarre on behalf of Ferdinand. The neutrality of Maximilian was secured by the promise of future advantage, and Henry VIII. of England, who had succeeded to the throne in 1509, and who, in the early part of his career, showed the strongest Papal leanings, was bribed by the prospect of being made the head of the confederation, with the title of "Most Christian King," which was to be transferred from Louis to himself. For the present, the arrangement was kept secret, so far as Maximilian and Henry was concerned; and there was also a treaty between the Spanish and English monarchs, by which the former promised to assist the latter in the recovery of Guienne—an enterprise which would have the advantage of diverting a large portion of the French army from other fields.

The Council of Pisa met on November 1st—two months after the date originally contemplated. When at length the members came together, they were seen to be very few, and the Council found so little support among the Pisans that in a little

while the sittings were adjourned to Milan. Nothing of importance ensued, and the minds of statesmen and ecclesiastics were soon fixed upon more interesting events. Maximilian continued to act with great duplicity. After the Congress at Bologna, he had secretly agreed with Louis to make a partition of the whole of Italy, and he even contemplated establishing his power at Rome, and presenting himself, at the next opportunity, as a candidate for the Popedom itself, so that he might, at one and the same time, be both Emperor and Pontiff. This extraordinary idea was suggested to his mind during the illness of Julius II., which seemed likely at any moment to terminate in death. To effect his purpose, which he knew could be accomplished only by a large expenditure, Maximilian sent 300,000 ducats to Rome for purchasing the votes of the Cardinals, and, elated by a prospect which he seemed to regard as certain, but which in fact he never realised, this magnificent visionary revived the title of Pontifex Maximus, which used to be borne by the ancient Roman Emperors. In a letter to his minister, Lichtenstein, he avowed his intention, and the means by which he hoped to effect it, with a cynical frankness which is almost amusing. "Forasmuch," he wrote, "as Pope Julius hath lately been sick unto death, and all men at Rome did think that he would have departed: therefore have we resolved within ourselves to follow up, as far as may be, the plan on which we have before touched, and to deal in such sort as we may attain unto the said Popedom; and thereupon have we now proposed the said matter unto Cardinal Adriano, who was long with us in Germany. The same doth advise us heartily thereunto, and thinketh there will be no lack of Cardinals, and at the hearing thereof hath wept for joy. But, inasmuch as such a matter may not be brought about without a handsome sum of money, we have thought good to disclose our plan, when necessity requireth it, unto the Cardinals, and hereby promise to aid them, and other our helpers in this matter, to the extent of thrice a hundred thousand ducats." This large sum, Maximilian had raised by pawning the Imperial jewels and mantle to the great mercantile house of the Fuggers of Augsburg. Notwithstanding his impracticable and somewhat frivolous nature, the Emperor was a man of intellect, and the truth of things sometimes looked in upon him through his dreams. "Eternal God!" he once exclaimed, "how would it fare with the world, if Thou hadst not a special care over it, whilst under such an Emperor as I, who am only a sorry hunter, and so wicked a Pope as Julius II.?"

The Swiss allies of the Pope and Venice entered Italy in November, 1511, and advanced rapidly to Milan. That city was now under the government of the gallant young hero, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, who held the position for his uncle, the French King. Having only a small number of men under his command, Gaston retreated; but the Swiss were unprovided with siege-artillery, and soon retired from a city which they had no means of capturing. Before the end of the year, the armies of Julius and Ferdinand had united at Imola. The principal commander was the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, Don Raymond de Cardona, a man inexperienced in war, and regarded by the Pope with some contempt. The Papal forces were directed by Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici; so that the entire armament seems to have been in hands little fitted to deal with the experienced generals of the French. The siege of Bologna by the allies commenced on the 26th of January, 1512, and it was not long before a breach was made in the walls. Louis XII., however, had set his heart on the retention of this important city, and in Gaston de Foix he had a commander of unflinching courage and high ability. He performed a rapid march from Finale to Bologna during a bitter night of wind and snow, and, entering the latter city on the 5th of February, placed it in so formidable a state of defence that Cardona immediately retreated to Imola. The want of ability on the part of this commander is shown by the fact that Gaston de Foix got into the beleaguered city without encountering a single vidette or sentry.

But the services of the young hero were soon required in another direction. Brescia and Bergamo had revolted against the French, and admitted the Venetians; and Gaston, feeling that there was no time to be lost, started from Bologna on the 8th of February, defeated the Republicans near Isola della Scala, and arrived before Brescia on the 16th. The intervening roads were in extremely bad condition; the rivers were overflowed; the season was winter. Yet the whole distance was accomplished in eight days, on one of which the French cavalry are said to have marched fifty miles without a pause. Brescia was assaulted during the night, and the difficulties of the attack were increased by the uncertain glimmer of the stars, and by the slippery condition of the ground, which was covered with snow and ice. The Chevalier de Bayard, at that time serving under Gaston, was seriously, though not fatally, wounded during these operations. The Brescians resisted with firmness and resolution, but nothing could withstand the impetus of the French. The unhappy city was taken, and

subjected to a week's massacre and pillage : Bergamo immediately afterwards submitted. As many as 15,000 persons—men, women, and children

night ; yet Bologna had been rescued, Brescia and Bergamo recovered, and the Venetians signally discomfited. Nevertheless, the position of the



THE "COLUMN OF THE FRENCH," RAVENNA, ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF GASTON DE FOIX.

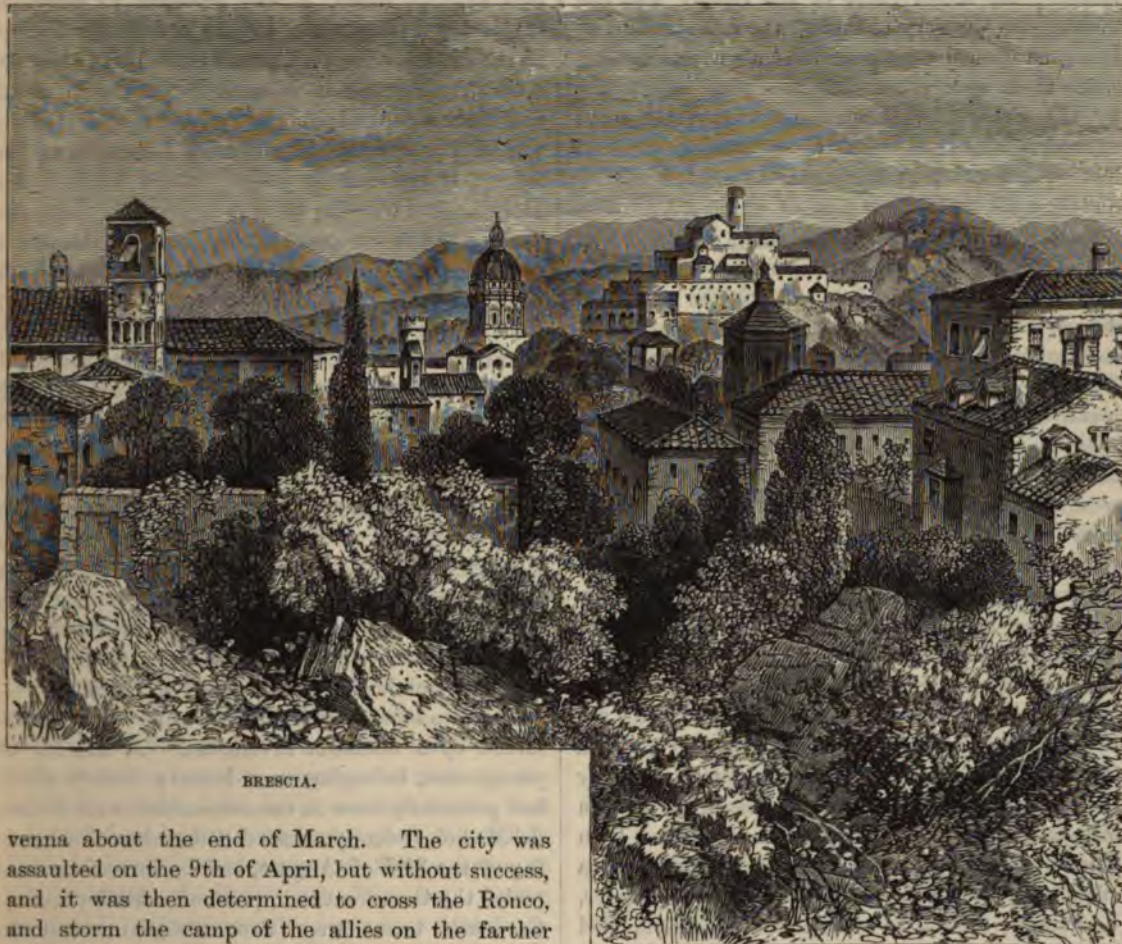
—were slain after the capture of Brescia, and it is to be feared that the chivalrous Duke of Nemours, despite his heroism and his genius, was as devoid of conscience in such matters as most of his contemporaries. The results of the campaign, however, were undoubtedly of the highest military value. It had, up to this time, lasted only a fort-

French in Northern Italy was still grave ; for they had yet to encounter the Spaniards, who were then amongst the best soldiers in Europe ; while the mere fact of the invaders being in opposition to the Pope, enlisted a vast amount of feeling against them in the minds of all sincere Catholics. Driven to bay by the difficulties of the situation, Louis

adopted a tone of bitter hostility to the Apostolic See, and commanded Gaston de Foix to follow up his blows with redoubled energy. The struggle was one in which there could hardly be any compromise, and Gaston willingly carried out the instructions of his royal uncle.

Accompanied by the Duke of Ferrara and his forces, the Duke of Nemours proceeded to Ra-

and to other nationalities. The Spaniards were well protected with armour, and carried short swords, together with manageable shields, which proved of the greatest service in the shock of combat. Pouring down upon the Germans, they got within their lines, and did immense execution with their facile weapons, which, in a hand-to-hand encounter, were far more useful than the



BRESCIA.

venna about the end of March. The city was assaulted on the 9th of April, but without success, and it was then determined to cross the Ronco, and storm the camp of the allies on the farther bank of that stream. The battle, fought on April 11th, was prolonged, obstinate, and bloody. The artillery on both sides did fearful execution, and the contest was no less desolating when the opponents came to close quarters. The Italian soldiers were speedily beaten by the French; but the struggle was fiercely maintained between the Spanish infantry (who were for the most part Mohammedans of Moorish race) and the Germans serving under the command of Gaston de Foix. The latter were armed with spears of enormous length, and their military formation was similar to that of the Macedonian phalanx, which in ancient times had proved so great a terror to the Romans,

unwieldy lances of their opponents. The Germans would probably have perished to a man, had they not been rescued by the French cavalry. The assailants were at last driven back, but retired in such excellent order that Gaston, burning to complete their discomfiture, rushed on them at the head of a few men-at-arms. A Spanish soldier struck him from his horse; his body was pierced with twenty wounds; and, at the early age of twenty-three, this splendid general, whose genius seemed to promise the most striking results in the future, passed away from the scene of his rapid

and brilliant successes. It is lamentable that such heroism and devotion should have been disgraced by the uncompromising ferocity displayed at Brescia; but it must be remembered that, although Gaston de Foix was no better in this respect than other warriors of the same unhappy period, he was at any rate no worse.

Notwithstanding the death of the French commander, the moral effect of his victory was immense. On the very next day, the commandant of Ravenna opened negotiations for a surrender, and, while these were proceeding, the place was seized by the French, who again committed the most execrable atrocities upon the defenceless citizens. The whole of the Romagna submitted immediately after, and Julius himself evinced a willingness to treat with the all-prevailing Louis. The cause of the allies seemed irrevocably lost; yet a very short time sufficed to change the aspect of affairs. The death of Gaston de Foix had a disturbing influence which nothing could counteract. Disputes as to the command arose among the principal officers; the Duke of Ferrara departed with his troops; the German auxiliaries were recalled by Maximilian; and the French, dreading some catastrophe in their advanced position, withdrew into the territory of Milan. Julius II. speedily recovered his spirits, and the Papal troops reoccupied the cities that had been so quickly taken, and so hastily abandoned, by the invaders. Maximilian Sforza, son of Louis the Moor, was restored to the ducal throne of Milan on the 15th of December; the Swiss again poured into Italy; the French retreated before them to Pavia; and the Council of Pisa, recently summoned by the Emperor Maximilian and Louis XII., fled in dismay from Milan, where its members had been holding their ineffectual sittings. Even Pavia offered no safe refuge to the French commander, La Palisse; for the Swiss and Venetians compelled him, after a fierce engagement, to retire into France. Meanwhile, the Lateran Council was sitting at Rome, and giving to the successful Pope the moral support of its authority. Flushed by his unexpected triumph, Julius II. laid claim to a large part of Italy, even including certain districts which the German Emperor regarded as his own. The allies, in short, were speedily at issue with one another; and the Venetians began to act on their own behalf, without considering either the Pope or the Imperialists.

All parties, however, were united in the determination to put down the existing government at

Florence, against which their enmity was excited by the somewhat dubious neutrality it had observed during the recent war. The Florentine Republic was now under the direction of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, who had been elected for life, and whose former support of Savonarola made him particularly distasteful to the Papacy. Julius had even endeavoured to procure his assassination; but, as this attempt failed, it was resolved to effect a revolution in the State, and to restore the family of the Medici, who had been exiled in 1494. At a Congress opened at Mantua for the purpose of arranging a general pacification, Julian de' Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, hinted that his family, if restored to power, would furnish the Holy League with the sums it so urgently required. The bait was at once taken, and the Congress ordered Don Raymond de Cardona to march on Florence with his Spanish troops, and put down the existing administration. On its way thither, the army took Prato, which was given up to the usual massacre and pillage; and Cardona, before reaching the famous city of the Arno, sent forward a peremptory demand that Soderini should be banished, and the Medici reinstated—not, however, in their former position as sovereign princes, but merely as private citizens. While refusing to expel the Gonfaloniere, the Grand Council consented to admit the Medici under the proposed limitations; but Cardona, elated by his success at Prato, demanded a money payment, in addition to the stipulations which had been previously accepted.

The fate of the government was at length determined by a domestic revolution. A number of young men, belonging to a literary society which had previously been in communication with Julian de' Medici, violently arrested Soderini on the morning of the 31st of August, and by terrorism compelled the Government to pronounce his deposition. Cardona's terms were then accepted; immense sums of money were handed over to the Spanish army, and to Cardona himself; and Florence ceased to be a Republic in anything but the name. Julian de' Medici became the nominal head of the State; but his brother, Cardinal Giovanni, was the real dictator. This, however, was only a provisional arrangement; and when Giovanni succeeded to the Papal throne, in 1513, Julian followed him to Rome, and left the direction of the Florentine commonwealth to his nephew Lorenzo, who governed it in the spirit of a despot, but without the brilliant and lofty genius of his namesake in the previous century.

CHAPTER V.

RIVALRY OF THE GREAT POWERS AND THE POPEDOM.

Ferdinand the Catholic and the Spanish Monarchy—Revolutions in the Kingdom of Navarre—Rival Claimants to the Throne—Pretensions of Ferdinand—Intrigues with Henry VIII. of England—Expedition of English Forces under the Marquis of Dorset—Disagreement with Ferdinand—Navarre Conquered by the Duke of Alva, and Annexed to the Spanish Monarchy—Death and Character of Pope Julius II.—Election to the Pontificate of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (Leo X.)—Early Life and Mental Habits of the New Pope—Alliance against the French—Invasion of the Milanese Territory by Louis XII.—Rapid and Brief Success—War between the French and English—Mutual Approaches of the Several Belligerents—Temporising Policy of Pope Leo—Rise of Wolsey—Conclusion of an Alliance between England and France—Marriage of Louis XII. to the English Princess Mary, and Death shortly after—Characteristics of the Deceased Monarch's Reign—Accession of Francis I.—Preparations for a Renewed Attack on the Duchy of Milan—Alliance of France with the Archduke Charles of Austria—Difficult Passage of the Alps by the French Army—Retreat and Subsequent Treachery of the Swiss—Victory of the French at Marignano—Agreement of Francis I. with the Pope—Unpopularity of Leo X.—Death of Ferdinand the Catholic—Ineffectual Enterprise of the Emperor Maximilian against the Milanese—Succession of the Archduke Charles to the Spanish Throne—He Delays his Departure from the Low Countries—Vigorous Government of Spain by Ximenes—Revolt of Navarre, and Speedy Suppression of the Movement—Matrimonial Alliance of Charles with the French Royal House—The Peace of Brussels—Decline of Venice—Arrival of King Charles in Spain—Death of Ximenes—Difficulties of the New Monarch—Death of Maximilian, and Succession of Charles to the Empire.

FROM the blood-stained fields of Northern Italy, we must now revert to the western peninsula, where the union of the several provinces into a single monarchy was still incomplete. Ferdinand of Aragon was actually, though not titularly, the ruler of Castile also—a position which he was to retain during the minority of his grandson, Charles. This double sovereignty gave him a command over the greater part of what is now understood as Spain; but Navarre remained independent, and its acquisition was considered necessary to the grandeur of the Spanish crown. The fortunes of the Pyrenean State had been somewhat varied. It was one of the earliest of the small Christian kingdoms in that part of Europe to resist, not only with heroism, but with success, the vast and far-sweeping inroad of the Saracens; and it preserved a dignified and even conspicuous position until, in 1285, it became an appanage of France, owing to the marriage of Philip the Fair with Queen Joanna I. Regaining its separate existence in 1328, when the House of Valois succeeded to the French throne, and the daughter of Louis X. resumed the Navarrese sceptre as Joanna II., the country pursued an obscure and prosperous course for more than a hundred years. In 1425, the succession passed to Blanche, daughter of Charles III. of Navarre, and wife to Juan, brother of the King of Aragon, who, on the death of his kinsman in 1458, united the two countries in a close association. Blanche had died in 1442, and Juan married a second time in 1447; yet the latter retained the title of King of Navarre, together with the supreme direction of affairs, though the actual work of government was at first entrusted to his son Carlos,

Prince of Viano, who was subsequently persecuted by his father, expelled from his maternal possessions, and, after his restoration in obedience to the demands of public opinion, treated with so much disfavour that he retired to Sicily, where he might have obtained the crown, had he not preferred the life of a scholarly recluse. The career of this amiable, gifted, and unfortunate prince hardly comes within the great movements of general history; but it may here be noted that, having returned to Spain by permission of his father, he was soon imprisoned in a mountain-fortress on the borders of Valentia, and remained there until released by an insurrection of the Catalans, who were subjects of Aragon. He died under suspicious circumstances in 1461.*

After the deposition of Carlos, Navarre was conferred by Juan (still with the reservation of his own suzerainty) on Leonora, Countess de Foix, his younger daughter by Blanche, whose son Francis succeeded in 1479, after the death of his mother, and of his grandfather Juan. Four years later, the crown passed to Catherine, sister of Francis. But Ferdinand the Catholic, son of Juan by his second wife, Joanna Henriquez, of the blood-royal of Castile, was desirous of incorporating this mountain territory with his own dominions; and Isabella shared his views. They sought to marry Catherine to their son and heir, the Prince of Asturias; but the mother of the young Queen was a French princess, and in 1485 she contrived to unite her daughter to Jean d'Albret, a nobleman

* The events of this period are somewhat fully related by Prescott in his "History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella."

who had possessions on the border of the Pyrenees. Navarre, in short, was a prize for which both Spain and France were playing; and hitherto France had played the best.

The complications with respect to this small State were increased by the claim of Catherine's uncle, John de Foix, Viscount of Narbonne, who alleged that the succession to the Navarrese crown was limited to male heirs. After the death of this pretender, his claims were taken up by his son, Gaston de Foix, the hero of the war in Italy; and Louis XII., the uncle of Gaston, avowed his intention of supporting the youthful commander in his pretensions to the throne of Navarre. At the battle near Ravenna, where he met his death in 1512, Gaston wore a rich suit of armour emblazoned with the arms of that kingdom, and, as Ferdinand supported Catherine against his asserted rights, he regarded the Spaniards with great detestation. Those rights (such as they were) passed at his death to his sister, Germaine de Foix, the second wife of King Ferdinand, and therefore, in reality, to Ferdinand himself, since, by the very contention of Gaston and his father, women could not succeed to the crown. The King of Aragon had previously supported Queen Catherine against the claims of Gaston; but, to an unscrupulous man like Ferdinand, there was no difficulty or disgrace in suddenly changing his conduct when his own interests seemed to be involved. Catherine suspected mischief, and sought a treaty of alliance with France. Her husband, an easy, good-natured man, paid little heed to public affairs; and Ferdinand, bent on the acquisition of Navarre, pursued his intrigues without a check.

In the prosecution of these designs, he obtained the assistance of Henry VIII. of England, who had married his daughter, Catalina—the Catherine of Aragon of English history: a lady originally united to the boy-prince, Arthur, who died in April, 1502, in his sixteenth year. Ferdinand had already, as the reader is aware, effected an alliance with his son-in-law, on the understanding that Henry was to draw off a portion of the French army from Italy by invading Guienne, which, in the event of his success, he was to re-annex to the English crown. The pretence made by Henry to his Parliament was that he wished to compel Louis XII. to dissolve the schismatical Council of Pisa, and to restore Bologna to the Pope. These were objects in which the English people generally took little or no interest; but a war with France was always popular, and the prospect of recovering Guienne was agreeable to the national pride. The whole enterprise, however, was contrived and

managed by Ferdinand of Aragon for the promotion of his own designs, and he took good care that it should have no other result. Henry equipped an army of nearly 10,000 men—a large force for the England of those days; and Ferdinand sent Spanish vessels to convey them to Bayonne, in the south of France, whence it was understood they were to operate against the former province of the Plantagenets. But this was a mere pretence, or blind. The wily Aragonese, having got the English soldiers on board his ships, landed them at Passages, in Guipuscoa, near the borders of Navarre, in June, 1512. The English commanders were Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and Sir Edward Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey; and both appear to have been completely entrapped, as, indeed, was Henry himself. At Passages they found a commissioner from the court of Ferdinand, who, with many plausible arguments, represented that it would be dangerous to attack Bayonne without first securing Navarre, the sovereign of which was intriguing with France, and might assail their rear. As a matter of fact, it was not until the landing in Guipuscoa, and in consequence of it, that Jean d'Albret of Navarre concluded a treaty with Louis XII., containing promises of mutual assistance, and binding the former to declare war against the English who had assembled at Passages. But there had been previous indications of a desire on the part of Catherine and her husband to effect a union with France; and this supplied Ferdinand with the required pretext.

Before taking any active measures against Navarre, Ferdinand opened negotiations with Jean d'Albret, for the real or pretended purpose of inducing him to join the allies; but these efforts, which perhaps were never very sincerely intended, proved wholly ineffective. A French army now approached the frontiers of Béarn, and the Marquis of Dorset complained to Ferdinand that the time lost in soliciting the monarchs of Navarre had served only to give their common enemy an opportunity of concentrating his forces. He pressed for a fulfilment of the recent treaty, by which the English were to be assisted in an attack on Guienne; but Ferdinand replied that he dared not expose his dominions to invasion by the French and Navarrese, and suggested that a few towns belonging to the latter should be seized, as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon them. Dorset, however, declared that his instructions did not permit him to make war upon Navarre, and Ferdinand, compelled to rely on his own resources, ordered an immediate invasion of that kingdom. He alleged as his excuse that the Navarrese had

refused to join the Holy League, and that, by allying themselves with Louis XII., they had recognised the Council of Pisa, and were therefore comprised in the excommunication pronounced by the Pope. Jean d'Albret, seeing the utter impossibility of resisting so great a power as that of Spain, retired into France, and the Duke of Alva (grandfather of one who was to be terribly conspicuous in a later generation) subdued nearly the whole of Upper Navarre in less than a fortnight. The Marquis of Dorset re-embarked the English forces in October, and returned to his own country, protesting, and not without reason, that his sovereign had been scandalously duped. Ferdinand, on the other part, alleged that he had been badly used by his allies, who had in truth done nothing. Yet it must not be forgotten that the mere presence of the English army had served the ambitious designs of Ferdinand by apparently increasing the force at his command. From that time, Navarre became a province of Spain, with the exception of a small part north of the Pyrenees, which was subsequently united to the crown of France.

A little before the conclusion of the truce of Orthès, by which the Navarrese war was terminated, the life of Pope Julius II. came to an end. His death took place on the 21st February, 1513, and was due to a fever and dysentery, which at his advanced age soon carried him off. The character of this Pontiff was rather that of a soldier and politician than that of a priest; not that he was wanting in a sense of his position as head of the Western Church, but that his actions tended to the creation of a species of Theocratical monarchy in the Italian peninsula, which he hoped to strengthen and extend by diplomacy and the sword. His moral character was doubtless much better than that of Alexander VI., though his enemies did not scruple to accuse him of many crimes. At any rate, he was less guilty of nepotism than some who had preceded him in the same office; for, of the twenty-seven Cardinals created during his Pontificate, only four were in any respect related to him, and all of these seem to have been men properly qualified for their position. The arts found a liberal patron in this martial priest, under whose sway the present church of St. Peter was commenced. The genius of Raphael and Michael Angelo found abundant opportunities for their development beneath the rule of one who desired to make the city of the Popes as grand and imposing as the city of the Cæsars. The Roman school of painting is indissolubly associated with the reign of Julius II., and Raphael has preserved

for us the thoughtful features of the old Pontiff in his imperishable lines. Yet, notwithstanding all his lavish expenditure on works of art, as well as in the prosecution of his ideas of policy, Julius was enabled, owing to the frugality of his life, to leave a large sum of money to his successor.

That successor was Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici, second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. It was the great ambition of his father that Giovanni should attain to the highest position in the Church; for, although Lorenzo was a sceptic in religion, he knew the Roman hierarchy to be one of the most important facts in the European system, and he was too much a man of the world not to shape his course accordingly. His influence as the ruler of a powerful Republic enabled him to procure the appointment of his son, while yet a boy, to several important positions of an ecclesiastical character. Innocent VIII. made him a Cardinal before he was thirteen years of age, and in a little while he was the possessor of six rectories, fifteen abbeys, one priory, and one archbishopric. From his parent he inherited a sumptuous taste for the fine arts, a quick and receptive intellect, and a profound indifference to the dogmas of the Church with which he was connected. His disposition was suave, his manners were delightful; he had read much, had travelled in many parts of Europe, had seen active service in the field, and had acquired at Florence all the literary and artistic culture of which that city was then the centre. That he was not a priest after the old pattern, but rather a polished courtier and an elegant scholar, was a very slight objection in days when the Church was no longer what it had been in the time of Gregory VII. or of Innocent III., but had become an intriguing monarchy, the rival of other monarchies for honour and position as an Italian Power. Leo X., as he elected to be called, took possession of the Lateran on the 11th of April, 1513, exactly a year after the battle of Ravenna, at which he had been present. The spectacle was of the most splendid description, and the standard of the Church was borne by Alfonso of Ferrara.

The new Pope, however, was speedily compelled to turn his attention to matters of business, for Italy was still disturbed by contending factions. Louis XII. of France had just entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetians, who had now separated themselves from the Holy League; and Maximilian's daughter Margaret had been authorised to conclude at Mechlin a treaty binding her father the Emperor, Ferdinand the Catholic, the King of England, and the Pope, to



pursue the war against the French in Italy, and even to attack France itself. The agreement was of a very hollow and insincere character, and Ferdinand afterwards refused to ratify his portion, on the ground that his minister had exceeded the instructions with which he was charged. Leo X., moreover, was little disposed to undertake hostilities, and endeavoured to dissuade Louis XII.

fled from that city to the Swiss camp, and La Tremouille hoisted his flag upon the public buildings of the chief Lombard city. Genoa, which had recovered its liberty in the previous year, once more passed under the dominion of the French, and in three weeks the greater part of Northern Italy had been conquered by the soldiers of Louis XII. and the forces of the Venetian Republic.



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

from pursuing his contemplated expedition for the recovery of Milan. The French sovereign turned a deaf ear to these suggestions, and his forces crossed the Alps early in May. They were commanded by La Tremouille and Marshal Trivulzio—the latter a Lombard serving with the French. Their principal opponent was the Spanish general, Cardona, who, on their approach, retired to Piacenza, while the Swiss fell back upon Novara. The appearance of the invaders was welcomed by the Italians, who had been disgusted in turn by all parties to the contest, and who for the moment considered the French less objectionable than the others. Maximilian Sforza, the ruler of Milan,

The subsequent reverses of the former, however, were as rapid as their success had been. A fresh army arrived from Switzerland, and was secretly supported with money by Leo X., who at the same time made a pretence of amicable feeling towards the French. When these new legions entered Italy, La Tremouille and Trivulzio were besieging Novara; but, finding themselves threatened by a combination which they were not strong enough to resist, they retired to a village three miles off. Here, in the early morning of the 6th of June, they were unexpectedly attacked by the Swiss, who, seizing the French artillery, turned the guns upon their former owners. After a

sanguinary struggle, the French were completely routed. They hurriedly crossed the Sesia in a state of complete disorganisation, and lost no time in placing the Alps between themselves and an adversary who had proved his superiority, not only in generalship, but in the power of actual fighting. Cardona proceeded to occupy several towns, and to impose a heavy fine upon the Genoese. He even approached Venice itself, defeated one of the Venetian generals as he sallied out from Padua, and retired in safety to Verona in the early days of autumn.

The Italian policy of Louis XII. was thus completely frustrated, and he had at the same time to encounter a renewed invasion by the English, who, notwithstanding a naval defeat off the port of Conquet on the 25th of April, 1513, when Sir Edward Howard lost his life, succeeded in landing at Calais. Terouenne, in Artois, was besieged by the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert in the following June, and Henry himself, with the main body of his army, took the field shortly afterwards. In the camp before Terouenne he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian, who, describing himself as the "soldier" of the English King, had the meanness to receive a daily payment of one hundred crowns. As an old and experienced general, he assumed the actual conduct of the siege, though Henry enjoyed the nominal command; but the town might hardly have been so soon reduced, had it not been for a sudden panic among the French men-at-arms, who, perceiving some large bodies of troops at a distance on the 16th of August, set spurs to their horses, and galloped off in terror to their camp at Blangi. This is the second Battle of the Spurs recorded in history: the first was the disastrous encounter with the Flemings at Courtrai in 1302. A great many captains were taken prisoners; Terouenne immediately surrendered, and was destroyed. Louis XII. even felt alarmed for the safety of Paris, and the assistance of the Scots, on which he had counted, failed him in his need. James IV., in answer to appeals from the French court, had invaded England with a large army; but at the battle of Flodden, fought on the 9th of September, his forces were entirely defeated by the Earl of Surrey. Tournay surrendered to the English on the 24th of the same month, and Henry returned to England on the 21st of October. A few days later, Louis XII. reconciled himself with the Apostolic See, and, renouncing the Council of Pisa, acknowledged all the decrees of the Lateran. The various parties to the late war made mutual approaches, when the usual mercenary arrange-

ments of royal marriages, devised solely with a view to the acquisition of territory, led to the conclusion of a general truce, which was provisionally signed on the 13th of March, 1514. The war in Italy, however, continued during the year, and the Spanish commander, besides gaining some successes over the Venetians, drove the French out of the few places they still held in that country. Throughout these operations, Pope Leo X. abstained from any active interference; but he watched the progress of events, and secretly took measures to frustrate the contemplated union between the Austrian Archduke Charles and the French Princess Renée—a marriage which would have resulted in too vast a concentration of power to suit the views of the Popedom. Feeling equally distrustful of Germany and Spain, Leo turned his eyes towards England, and entered into negotiations with Bambridge, the Cardinal-Archbishop of York, at that time English Ambassador at Rome. The aim was to effect a close alliance between the French and English monarchs; and this design was encouraged by a very remarkable man, now rising to predominance in England.

Thomas Wolsey was the son of obscure parents at Ipswich, in Suffolk, where he was born in 1471. Though his father seems to have been poor, he was able to give his son a good education, and at Magdalen College, Oxford, the future Cardinal was distinguished by his attainments when not more than fifteen. His youth appears to have been somewhat wild; but he possessed great ability, together with that imperious temperament which determines on success in life, and rests not until the end has been obtained. At an early age he entered the Church, almost the only sphere of action for a scholar in those days. Having been introduced to court in the reign of Henry VII., he had already gained a position of some importance before the death of that King in 1509; but it was not until after the accession of Henry VIII. that the ambitious churchman rose to the height of power. He was a man of splendid tastes, of elegant scholarship, of accomplished address, of great adroitness in the management of affairs, of dignity in the conduct of ecclesiastical business, and yet of a thorough worldly-mindedness, which enabled him, without difficulty or scruple, to comply with all the inclinations of a youthful, gay, and sensual monarch. As the almoner of Henry VIII.—a position to which he was appointed through the agency of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who hoped in this way to foil the influence of his rival, the Earl of Surrey—he was constantly near

the royal person, and omitted no opportunity of making himself necessary both to the business and the pleasure of the sovereign. Without entirely relinquishing his hold on public affairs, Henry was desirous of an easy and self-indulgent life; and this disposition was encouraged by Wolsey, that he might accumulate the greater power in his own hands. He was soon enriched by valuable gifts, and, on the death of Bambridge, who was poisoned by his servant in July, 1514, succeeded him in the Archbishopric of York, having already passed rapidly through the lower gradations which lead up to that eminence. Such was the position attained by Wolsey shortly after the commencement of the negotiations which had been opened between France and England through the instrumentality of the Pope.

The result of these deliberations was that Louis XII. agreed to marry Henry's sister, the Princess Mary, and to abandon Tournay, which the English had taken by siege in the previous year. Three treaties were signed at London on the 7th of August, 1514, of which the general objects were to establish an alliance, offensive and defensive, between England and France, to arrange the contemplated marriage, and to secure the annual payment to Henry, for a term of ten years, of 100,000 gold crowns, in discharge of the arrears of a debt contracted by Charles VIII. to Henry VII. The nuptials of Louis XII. and the Princess Mary were solemnised at Abbeville on the 9th of October, 1514; but the occasion was in truth little more than a prelude to the King's death. Louis was fifty-three years of age, and in feeble health; he had long been accustomed to a life of regularity; and the gaieties consequent on the royal marriage brought on an attack of illness, which terminated fatally on the 1st of January, 1515. The foreign policy of this monarch had been utterly devoid of conscience, though it was no worse than that of most contemporary Powers; but his internal administration was just and beneficent, and his death was universally regretted. The several departments of the State were managed with integrity, and with a due regard to economical expenditure; yet art was encouraged, and a large number of magnificent buildings were added to Paris, and to the other principal cities. The French Renaissance, which derived its principles from that of Italy, dates from this reign; and at the same time agriculture and commerce received so great an extension that the wealth of the country was largely increased, notwithstanding the constant drain of the Italian wars.

As Louis XII. left no male issue, the crown

passed to Francis of Angoulême, Duke of Valois, whose father was first cousin of the late King, and grandson of Louis of Orleans, assassinated by Jean, Duke of Burgundy. His mother was Princess Louisa, daughter of Philip, Duke of Savoy; and he had married the Princess Claude, daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany. Francis was a man of handsome presence, personal bravery, and brilliant gifts, fond of chivalrous exercises, and no less attached to those lighter enjoyments which are indispensable to a popular court. His better qualities were perhaps more apparent than real, while the inferior side of his nature showed the vices of extravagance, of sensualism, and of levity. But there was much in his disposition and bearing which recommended him to the French people, and his accession to the throne was hailed with general enthusiasm. Being not more than twenty years of age when the sceptre of the French monarchy thus passed into his hands, he was still under the influence of his mother, by whose direction the first appointments of the new reign were made. But Francis was not without his own ideas of policy, and his love of military glory determined him to attempt the reconquest of the Duchy of Milan. That he might conduct this expedition with the greater probability of success, the French army was enlarged and reorganised, and the King procured the services of Pedro Navarro, one of the most eminent of the Spanish generals, who was then a prisoner in France, and whose ransom, owing to some misrepresentation, Ferdinand had refused to pay. As Navarro was a Basque, he had no strong national feeling towards Spain, and was as well pleased to serve a French as an Aragonese monarch. Throwing himself with enthusiasm into his new task, he raised a large body of infantry in the Cevennes and the Pyrenees, and gave them the military formation which had made the Spanish army one of the most formidable in the world. That he might not be left without allies, Francis concluded treaties with several Powers, and, in March, 1515, effected an offensive and defensive alliance with the Archduke Charles of Austria, who, though only fifteen years of age, had assumed the government of the Netherlands, in place of his aunt Margaret. The youthful Charles did not, indeed, bind himself to actual hostilities against his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon, but nevertheless assumed towards that monarch a position the reverse of friendly. Ferdinand had always been jealous of his daughter's son, who was one day to succeed him on the Spanish throne; and the boy-prince knew this fact, and undertook not to give any assistance to his progenitor in the ensuing

war. The friendship of England was secured by Francis, and the Venetians remained faithful to the French alliance. The Doge of Genoa undertook to abdicate as soon as the French army had entered Italy; but, on the other hand, the Swiss were inclined to the Spanish interest, and the Pope stood doubtfully between the two.

When all his preparations were complete, Francis named his mother Regent during his absence, and assembled his army in Dauphiné in July, 1515. The chief commanders were the Constable Bourbon, Marshals Trivulzio and Lautrec, La Tremouille, and the Chevalier de Bayard; and under the orders of these experienced generals was an army of 60,000 men, with an immense train of artillery. The Prince of Milan, Maximilian Sforza, had procured the services of 20,000 Swiss, commanded by Prosper Colonna, one of the illustrious Roman family of that name, who brought with him a picked body of Papal cavalry. These troops were drawn up in the defiles of Mont Cenis and Mont Genève, which were considered the only routes into that part of Italy of sufficient width to admit the passage of an army. The French, however, were not content to assume the impossibility of any other approach, and, under the guidance of chamois-hunters and shepherds, a new road was opened by Barcelonnette and the gorges of Monte Viso. The way presented difficulties of an appalling character, which were overcome by the ingenuity and courage of Navarro. "Enormous masses of rock," says a modern authority, "were blown up with gunpowder; bridges were thrown across unfathomable abysses; heavy guns were hoisted immense heights, and swung with ropes from peak to peak."* The Swiss were wholly unaware of what was being done, or they might have annihilated the French in the midst of those inhospitable wilds. The invaders, however, pursued their perilous work without interruption; the left of the enemy's position was turned; and, on the fifth day after the mountains had been entered, the French descended on the plains of Saluzzo, the Marquis of which territory was friendly to their project. While the infantry and the guns were pursuing their road across Monte Viso, a small division of cavalry, to which Bayard was attached, penetrated by a more northerly route, and over paths which were thought to afford no foothold to horses, in the direction of Villa Franca, where Prosper Colonna and seven hundred of his men were taken by surprise, and captured without striking a blow. Out-flanked and out-generalled,

the Swiss retreated on Novara and Milan, and a large extent of country, including the city of Genoa, fell into the hands of the French.

With their usual treachery, the Swiss entered into negotiations with the invaders directly they found themselves in a situation of difficulty—a situation due in no small degree to their own want of vigilance. Money, of course, was demanded and promised; but another body of mercenaries arrived from Switzerland shortly afterwards, and their predecessors thought more of securing the French gold than of rendering the military service to their late enemies which they had undertaken to perform. Francis was now stationed with his army at the village of Marignano, or Malegnano; his Venetian allies had advanced as far as Lodi; the Spanish and Papal forces were at Piacenza; and the Swiss, under the directions of Cardinal Sion, were in possession of Milan. Not more than ten miles separated the treacherous mountaineers from the French position; and on the 13th of September, stimulated by the furious exhortations of the Cardinal, they quitted the city, and poured down on the legions of Francis. A fierce encounter extending over two days, resulted in the complete success of the French, who at the last moment were reinforced by a small body of Venetians. As these advanced, with their customary cry of "San Marco! San Marco!" the Swiss were impressed with the idea that the whole Republican army had suddenly appeared upon the field. They consequently began an immediate retreat, but in such good order, and with so menacing a front, that the French feared to compromise their success by a pursuit which might have drawn them into renewed peril. The King, writing to his mother immediately after the action, said that for two thousand years there had not been so fierce or so cruel a battle. This was the exaggeration of a youthful hero, to whom battles were not familiar; but that the contest was really desperate is evident from the testimony of Marshal Trivulzio, who had been in eighteen pitched battles, and who remarked that all other fights were but children's sport in comparison with that of Marignano, which was a struggle of giants. In the course of the conflict, Bayard displayed such extraordinary valour that Francis begged of him the honour of knighthood, which he received upon the field.

The results of the battle were important. Albeit a very small number of the Swiss quitted Italy the day after their defeat. Cardinal Sion fled into Austria. Milan surrendered on the 4th October, and Sforza, accepting a pension of 30,000 crowns, retired into France, where he died in 1530.

* Dyer's History of Modern Europe.

Leo X. opened negotiations with the victorious monarch from beyond the Alps, and contrived to impose upon him terms which were much more favourable to the Papal See than to the French kingdom. The Italians at that time were the most subtle diplomatists in the world, and the position of the Pope gave him exceptional advantages, which no occupant of the Apostolic throne had ever been disposed to waive. Leo and Francis met at Bologna in the following December, when an alliance between the two potentates was ratified, and the inferior position of the French sovereign was made visible to all eyes in the humility with which Francis supported the Pope's train, and presented him with water and a napkin. Leo was bent on securing the Duchy of Urbino for his nephew Lorenzo, and in private conversation persuaded Francis to sanction the appropriation. He also obtained a Concordat from the French King, which seriously diminished the rights of the Gallican Church. By this time, Leo had fully imbibed the corruption which seems inseparable from his office. He sold the dignity of the Cardinalate; imposed arbitrary sentences, and revoked them for money; and in various ways showed that he had no higher ambition than to establish a temporal power which should be equal to the greatest monarchies. A conspiracy was formed against him in the College of Cardinals; and even after the suppression of the plot, the fears of the Pope were so extreme that he surrounded himself with guards, even during the celebration of the Mass.

Having concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the Swiss, Francis disbanded the greater part of his army, and returned to Paris in February, 1516. His Italian expedition was to some extent a success, for he had gained the battle of Marignano, and re-established the French power in Milan. But he had been outwitted by Leo X., and, even before he quitted Italy, had raised up against himself a host of jealous feelings, which found their most powerful expression in the designs of Ferdinand and Maximilian. Those two monarchs formed an alliance against their French brother, and Henry VIII. of England was induced to join the scheme. Wolsey, who had now been made a Cardinal, persuaded his royal master to set himself in opposition to Francis; but hostilities were delayed by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, who expired on the 23rd of January, 1516. Francis had already contemplated an expedition against Naples, and the removal of the Spanish monarch seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for annexing that kingdom to the crown of France.

From this enterprise he was diverted by the action of Maximilian, who entered the territory of Milan in the spring of 1516. His army consisted of Swiss, Germans, and Spaniards, and for a little while their progress was so rapid and striking that the Emperor anticipated the most brilliant and substantial results. His funds, however, were quickly exhausted, and the commander of the Swiss contingent threatened that, if all arrears were not immediately paid, he and his comrades would go over to the French. The Emperor had no means of furnishing the required amount; the Germans and Spaniards in his service were not strong enough to overpower the Swiss; and Maximilian, pretending that he could obtain the money at Trent, started for that city with the full intention of never returning. The Germans followed when they found there was nothing to be gained by remaining; the Swiss repaid themselves by sacking some of the towns; and the ill-regulated expedition came to an end. Maximilian, who in his youth had been a brave and often successful warrior, was so overwhelmed by disgrace that he never again took the field; and indeed his life was not destined to be much prolonged.

As the Emperor was thus sinking into an old age of imbecility, his grandson, who has previously appeared as the Archduke Charles, was beginning to assume that position which afterwards made him the most conspicuous figure on the European stage. When Ferdinand expired, his grandson, the heir both to the Spanish and the Austrian dominions, wanted about a month of sixteen. He was born at Ghent on the 24th of February, 1500, and, having been brought up in the Netherlands, was almost as little a Spaniard, notwithstanding his maternal descent, as any other native of the Low Countries. His tongue was Flemish, and, though he understood Spanish, together with German, French, and Italian, he had mastered those languages simply as a foreigner. His abilities, though not contemptible, were neither brilliant nor quick; his disposition presented some good qualities, but it was not of a character to recommend him to the Spaniards; and he showed considerable reluctance to identify his fortunes with the country he was to rule. Immediately on the death of Ferdinand, Charles was proclaimed King of Spain, in conjunction with his mother Joanna, to whom the power had really descended, but the condition of whose mind unfitted her for taking part in public affairs. Cardinal Ximenes sent pressing exhortations to the youthful sovereign to enter his dominions without delay; but Charles was in no hurry to quit his native land, and it was fully a

year and a half before he set out. In the meanwhile, the administration of Castile was conducted by the veteran Cardinal with unflinching resolution and firmness, and that of Aragon by Alfonso, Archbishop of Saragossa, a natural son of the late King.

Ferdinand the Catholic was persuaded by Ximenes to revoke this will ; but its effect might nevertheless have been seen in a disputed succession, if the person it favoured had been a few years older, and endowed with a more aspiring mind. The



FRANCIS I. (After the Portrait by Titian.)

The tardiness of Charles might have been attended by results fatal to his sovereignty, had his younger brother, Ferdinand, been more ambitious, or less scrupulous. Ferdinand was in Spain at the time of his grandfather's death ; he had been educated there ; and the late King had at one time made a will by which he bequeathed the government of Castile and Aragon to the younger prince during the absence of Charles. It was only a few hours before his death that

grandees of Castile looked with extreme distaste on the accession of a Flemish youth to their proud and ancient monarchy ; and had it not been for the amazing vigour of Ximenes, who laid a firm grasp upon the helm, though nearly eighty years of age, an aristocratic rising might have deprived Charles of those prospects to which he was legally entitled. Madrid had now become the seat of government for the united sovereignties ; and here the administration was

carried on by the energetic old monk, who was determined that the boy Charles, though he yet lingered in the Netherlands, should succeed to his inheritance. The time was one of danger and uncertainty; for not only was it doubtful whether the union between Aragon and Castile would be maintained, but it appeared for a moment as if the recent acquisition of Navarre would be torn away. Jean d'Albret made an attempt to recover his

country already in possession of the Spaniards; and Charles was to purchase this favour by a heavy annual payment. Other and more substantial advantages were secured by the same treaty; and shortly afterwards the Peace of Brussels, signed on the 4th of December, 1516, re-established a state of amity between the German Emperor on the one part, and the French King, with his Venetian allies, on the other. Tranquillity was thus restored



THE FOUNTAIN OF CYBELE, MADRID.

kingdom, but was quickly defeated, and compelled to fly. Ximenes, in whose religion humanity found a very subordinate place, destroyed a vast number of towns and villages in that unfortunate country, and reduced the land to little better than a desert.

While still remaining in the north-western parts of Europe, Charles concluded a treaty with the King of France, by which, although he had already engaged himself to Renée, second daughter of Louis XII., he undertook to espouse Louisa, the infant daughter of Francis, when she should attain the age of twelve. The dowry of this princess was to consist of the rather illusory concession of the French claims on Naples—a

to some of the most important regions of Europe, which had been cruelly devastated by contending armies. In consideration of the sum of 200,000 ducats, Maximilian restored to the Republic of Venice nearly all the places he had taken during the last few years; but the contest had inflicted an irreparable injury on the great Adriatic Power, already seriously damaged by the transfer of commercial supremacy to the Portuguese. The State had been burdened with debt to meet the expenses of the war; the public revenues were mortgaged; and any one with money at command could purchase the highest administrative offices. The subject towns on the continent of Italy were impoverished, and in some cases almost ruined, by

a long course of hostilities; and Venice, which for ages had been courted by monarchs, and dreaded by the greatest military nations, entered on a period of decline, which in a later age resulted in the loss, not only of prosperity and predominance, but of independence itself.

The personal interests of King Charles were represented in Spain, before his arrival in that country, by the Flemish counsellors whom he sent over to counteract, as far as possible, the excessive power of Ximenes. They were able to do little in this respect; but they signalled their presence by the sale of many offices in Church and State, by which they were themselves the gainers. In September, 1517, Charles embarked with his Flemish court for the future scene of his regality, and on the 17th of the same month landed at Villa Viciosa in the Asturias. Ximenes started from Madrid to meet him, but fell ill on the road, and, on the 8th of November, died at Aranda, after receiving from Charles a frigid letter of thanks and compliments, which in fact was tantamount to a dismissal. It is not improbable that the end of the illustrious Cardinal was hastened by this unkindness; but he had reached the age of eighty, and was worn out by years of incessant labour and rigorous asceticism. It was therefore not in the nature of things that he should endure much longer, and in some respects it was well that he quitted the scene when he did. His intellectual attainments, and his powers as an administrator, were extraordinary; but he governed as a despot, declined to assemble the Cortes, and infused into the proceedings of the Inquisition a spirit of remorseless bigotry which is said to have hurried to the stake no fewer than 2,536 victims, besides condemning an immensely larger number to minor, but yet severe, punishments.

Still, whatever the faults of Ximenes, the ingratitude of Charles was gross and flagrant, since it was undoubtedly owing to the resolution and skill of that great minister that the young King was able to take possession of his dominions at all. Even as it was, he encountered a large amount of passive opposition, both in Castile and Aragon. The legislative bodies of those realms showed the greatest distrust of their Flemish ruler, and acknowledged him only on the condition that he should resign power to his mother, if she should at any time recover her reason. With this understanding, they voted him funds for the maintenance of his state and dignity; but the people were soon incensed by the rapacity of the Flemish courtiers, who in less than a year extorted from the Spaniards more than a million ducats, which

were sent out of the country into the Netherlands. It was almost as if the land had been conquered by a foreign enemy. The most important offices were bestowed on Flemings, and the evil at length grew to such a height that the leading cities of Castile formed a league to defend their nationality from these gross injuries. A remonstrance, complaining of the favour shown to foreigners, the increase of taxes, and the drain of coin to other countries, was laid before the King; but nothing was done for the redress of grievances, and Charles became so widely unpopular that a very little spark would at once have kindled the general insurrection which afterwards broke out. To the Spaniards, however, as indeed to most nations at that period, hereditary right was a strong claim on loyalty; and it was not long before Charles acquired that additional power which was to accrue to him, in the course of nature, from the inheritance of the Austrian Archduchy.

On the 12th of January, 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died at Wels, in Upper Austria, apparently from over-fatigue in the enjoyment of his favourite amusement of hunting. He was only in the sixtieth year of his age, and, being for the most part a healthy and vigorous man, might have fairly anticipated a longer term of life. Yet he had for some time expected a premature decease, and was in the habit of carrying about with him his coffin and his shroud. This, perhaps, was due more to the romantic and fantastical nature of the man than to any deeper sentiment; but, with a really serious feeling, Maximilian had been recently taking great pains to secure for his grandson the succession to the Imperial crown. His negotiations with this object were very incomplete at the time of his death, and after that event two candidates for the vacant honour, besides the King of Spain, came forward to urge their cause. These were the sovereigns of France and England, both of whom corrupted the electors by large sums of money. Of the two, Francis had the better chance; but the prospects of neither bore any comparison with those of Charles. The Imperial dignity had long gone with the House of Austria, and many had begun to consider that the Empire belonged to the Archduchy by hereditary right. Nevertheless, the Spanish monarch thought it prudent to meet the tactics of his opponents by an equal resort to bribery. In one respect he was at as great a disadvantage in Germany as in Spain: he was not a German by birth, and he spoke the language imperfectly, and like a foreigner. Moreover, it was feared that the concerns of Spain would

engross the greatest share of his attention, and that those of the Empire would suffer in consequence. In the first instance, Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, was chosen for the Imperial office; but he refused to accept it, and threw his influence into the scale in favour of Charles, whom he described as best fitted, by reason of his position as an Austrian prince, to resist the

advances of the Turks. The young Fleming accordingly succeeded to the Empire under the title of Charles V. The event was of great importance to the future history of Europe; for it concentrated under the sway of one man a dominion of immense extent, of varied population, and of resources capable of being applied with terrible cogency to the greed of universal dominion.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

Advent of the Reformation—Decline in the Power of the Papacy—Assumption of Political Functions by the Pontiffs—Collisions with the Secular Power—Grant of the States of the Church by Rodolph of Hapsburg—Union of Spiritual and Temporal Power—Resistance of Free Religious Communities to the Dictation of Rome—Change in the European Mind after the Eleventh Century—Increasing Claims and Growing Weakness of the Popes—The Great Schism and its Effects—Precursors of the Reformation—The Sale of Indulgences—Origin and Development of the Practice—Birth and Early Life of Luther—His Visit to Rome in 1510—Corruption of the Priesthood in the Capital of the Western Church—Effect on the Mind of Luther—Tetzel and the Traffic in Indulgences—Form of Absolution granted to Contributors to the Papal Funds—Indignation of Luther—His Collision with Tetzel—Publication of the Ninety-five Theses at Wittenberg—Rapid Spread of Luther's Views—Days of Controversy—Attempts of the Pope to obtain a Recantation of Luther's Heresies—The New Opinions adopted by a Large Number of the Germans—Submissive Address of Luther to the Pope—Dispute with Eck concerning Free Will, and other Doctrinal Points—Further Advance in the Anti-Papal Convictions of Luther—Friendly Conduct of the Elector Frederick of Saxony—Violence and Bitterness of the Reformer—His Opinions formally Condemned by Leo X. and the Roman Cardinals—Burning of the Papal Bull at Wittenberg—Excommunication of Luther and his Followers—Growth of the Reforming Movement—Luther Cited before the Diet of Worms—Enthusiastic Reception on the Road—Adverse Judgment of the Emperor Charles V.—Personal Danger of Luther—His Friendly Arrest by the Elector of Saxony, and Detention in the Castle of Wartburg.

WHILE the events just recorded were in progress, —while kings and priests were convulsing Italy by their equally selfish intrigues, and France, Germany, Spain, and the Popedom, were alternately using and betraying one another for purposes which did not even profess to have any regard for the interests of humanity,—a movement of a far more important kind was growing up in the North of Europe: a movement destined to produce the most permanent results, to affect the faith and habits of several nations, and even to mould the character of communities not then begun. The reforms instituted by Luther give a new complexion to the history of the world, for they inaugurate the era of free thought, the era of successful revolt against the tyranny of Rome. The bloody struggles in Italy and other countries favoured the earlier developments of the Reformation, by drawing off the attention of rulers, lay and clerical, and exhausting their strength in the contests of a barren ambition. But the outburst must have taken place under any circumstances, and the madness of potentates only hastened the inevitable day. All thoughtful observers saw that a change of some kind was

impending. The Papacy had lost its hold on the intellectual republic. People had ceased to believe in it, partly because it had ceased to believe in itself, partly because of its corruption, its manifest deceit, its insincerity, and its lack of power. Cruel it had always been; but experience teaches the lamentable fact that cruelty combined with strength never forfeits the respect of men. It is the imbecility of malevolence that invites attack.

The assumption of political rule, and the claim to universal dominion, though vastly increasing the influence of the Roman Church for several ages, were among the principal causes of its ultimate decline. As long as the Pontiffs restricted themselves to matters of faith and morals, their authority was surrounded by a kind of mysterious awe, which could neither be pierced nor dissolved. But when they entered the common arena as sovereign princes, they brought themselves to the test of hard and positive facts, by which they were not unfrequently discredited. They became the rivals of other princes, and often the unsuccessful rivals. Men found that, in some matters at least, they were human and fallible, and began to suspect that their

fallibility might reach in many directions. Yet it cannot be denied that the Papacy gained in worldly grandeur, and therefore in the more obvious and tangible forms of power, by the acquisition of secular regality. The desire to shine as monarchs was developed in the heads of the Church at a rather early period. Spiritual predominance seemed to require external support; dictation to the soul must be enforced by the arm of the flesh. The approaches, however, were gradual and masked. The first step was to rule through the agency of other sovereigns, whom Gregory IV., in 832, claimed the right to depose at pleasure—a right which his successors continually asserted, and which, in theory at any rate, made the King a mere viceroy of the Pontiff. The second was to acquire dominion as an Italian Power.

It was not until the time of Gregory VII., in the latter part of the eleventh century, that the Popedom was seen in active and vehement opposition to the temporal sway, as represented by the German Emperor, Henry IV. Thenceforward, the power of the Church rapidly increased through many successive Pontificates. The Popes no longer considered their election dependent on the ratification of the Emperors, which had previously been usual, though perhaps only as a form. From having occupied a subordinate position, they advanced not merely to an equal, but to a superior. The thirteenth century was the time of their greatest predominance, and no one carried his pretensions farther than Innocent III., whose rule dates from 1198 to 1216. It was he who first gave to the Papacy the character of a territorial principedom, by obtaining actual possession of the large domains in various parts of Italy which had been bequeathed to the Church by the Countess Matilda of Tuscany in the time of Gregory VII. and Pascal II., but which until then had been withheld. This delivered the Pontiffs from the control of the Imperial Prefects at Rome, and placed them in the most favourable position for exercising a paramount authority over the kings and commonwealths of Christendom. Rome, indeed, paid nominal obedience to the so-called Western Emperors until 1278; but there was no reality in the power thus acknowledged, and in that year it ceased altogether. Cardinal Gaetani, having been elected to the Popedom in 1277, as Nicholas III., applied to the German monarch, Rodolph of Hapsburg, to grant a charter, defining the States of the Church, and separating them for ever from those dependent on the Empire. This was done by letters-patent, dated May, 1278, in which the States of the Church were described as extending from Radicofani, on the Tuscan bor-

ders, to Ceprano, on the frontiers of Naples, and from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, including the former Duchy of Spoleto, the March of Ancona, and the Romagna. By the same document (which was confirmed by the Electors and Princes of the Empire), Rodolph released the people of the places mentioned from their oath of allegiance to the Imperial authority, relinquished all rights over them which might pertain to himself, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the same to belong to the See of Rome. The Popes were now monarchs in every sense of the word; and their position in this respect acquired a certain legality from the grant of Rodolph I., ratified as it was by the chief authorities of the Empire.

The power thus gradually established by the Roman Pontiffs—a power claiming to be absolute, universal, and peculiar—was by themselves based on a donation by the Emperor Constantine the Great which cannot be shown to have ever existed, and which would have been illegal if it had, and on the celebrated Decretals of Isidore, which are now known to have been forged.* Their spiritual dominion was traced back to the delivery of the keys to Peter, and to the alleged visit of Peter to Rome, which has never been clearly proved. By adding the temporal to the sacerdotal authority, the Bishops of Rome created a power before which princes and nations bowed the knee, and which long menaced the independence of all Europe. Yet the assumptions of the Popes were never at any time admitted by the whole of Christendom. The Greek community repudiated the dictation of a body which they deemed heretical, and all attempts to effect a union of the Eastern with the Western Church proved abortive. Even in those countries which lay within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the Popes, the spirit of freedom was perpetually breaking forth,—the despotism of the priest was frequently defied. Several monarchs resisted the extravagant claims of Rome, and Frederick II. of Germany is said to have carried his opposition to the extent of complete religious scepticism. In Italy, the party of the Ghibellines controlled, in some degree, the predominance of Rome, and the Republic of Venice was often disobedient to the Apostolic See. The feeling here was chiefly political; but the theological aspects of the question were visible from time to time in various quarters. The Paulicians in the ninth century, the Albigenses in the twelfth and thirteenth, the Waldenses in many succeeding ages, are only some among the

* The Decretals of Isidore, and the Donation of Constantine, are described on pp. 166, 377 of the previous volume.

numerous sects which maintained—not always without violence and folly—the liberty of the human judgment on questions of doctrine and of morals. Contact with the Mohammedans (especially during the era of the Crusades) created a doubt in several minds whether the religious sentiment was not capable of divers manifestations, which precluded the absolute predominance of any one. Certain it is, that a movement which sprang from the very extreme of fanaticism ended by giving the greatest blow to religious exclusiveness that it had received for a thousand years. A change came over the European mind after the eleventh century. It was the Sepulchre of Free Thought that Peter the Hermit was redeeming, though he knew it not; and out of that sepulchre the immortal spirit rose up from its long trance.

Whether from some instinctive sense of coming change, or from the pride of old ascendancy, great institutions often multiply their pretensions, and increase their tone of command, as the tide of success begins to turn. Boniface VIII. could assert that he was “the vicar of Jesus Christ, sitting on an elevated throne, to whom all power had been given, both in heaven and on earth,” at a time when men were doubting the sacredness of his person; could celebrate an insolent Jubilee at Rome, when kings and nobles were setting his edicts at defiance. After the death of Boniface, in 1303, the ecclesiastical power rapidly sank. The interference of the Popes in the elections to the Empire was successfully repelled, and the vaunted unity of the Church was disproved by internal broils. The removal of the Papal court to Avignon, where it remained from 1309 to 1377, led to a veritable division, during which the Italians, and particularly the Romans, denounced the French Pontiffs as impostors. This episode was followed by the Great Schism, when the allegiance of the Western nations was shared by rival Popes. The Council of Constance, which met in 1414, and in which the European princes were represented by their ambassadors, took a very bold stand in declaring that the authority of General Councils was superior to that of the Popes individually. A Committee of Reformation was appointed, and, although nothing material was done, it had at least been made evident that the conscience of Europe was awakening to the enormity of Papal abuses. The wild exhortations of Savonarola, towards the close of the century, afforded further proof of the same fact.

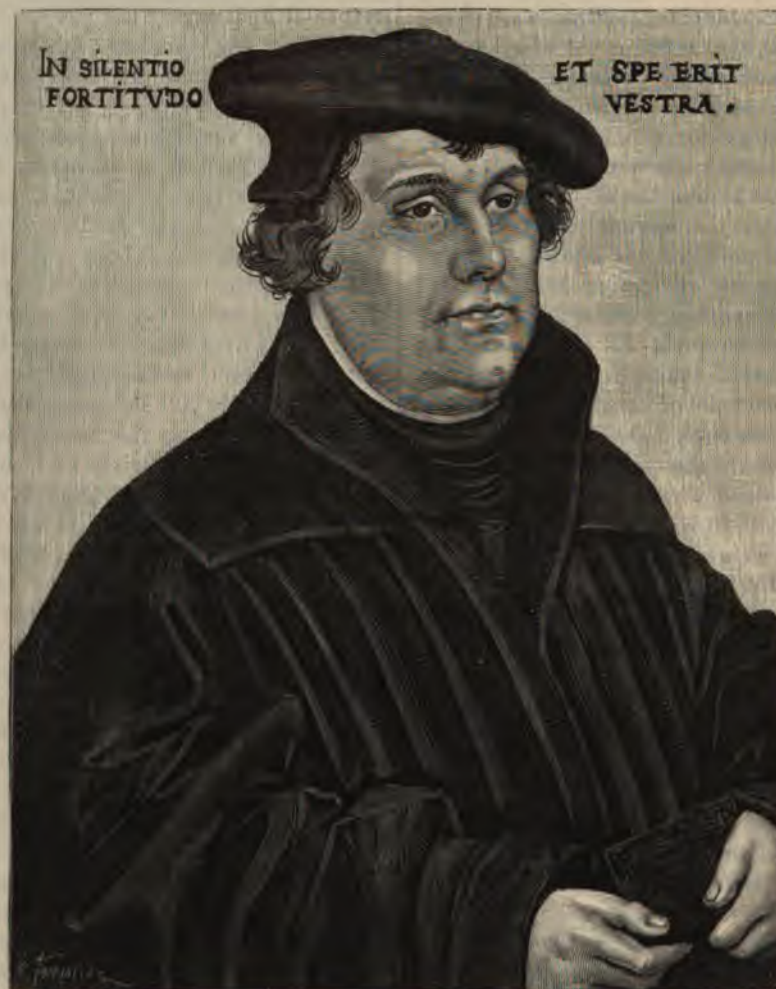
The infallibility of the Romish Church in matters of doctrine had already been challenged by the English reformer, John Wyclif, who,

deriving many of his principles from the still earlier thinker, William of Ockham, gave a definite impulse towards the Reformation, which was continued, in spite of bitter persecution, by his disciples, the Lollards. The marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia carried the doctrines of Wyclif into that country, where they found a congenial soil among the people; and the result was seen, a few years later, in the zeal and resolution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who testified their sincerity at the fiery ordeal of the stake. That the Bohemian movement was mainly due to the English, is proved by the close intercourse of the two nationalities, and by the fact that Wyclif was the predecessor of the others. Jerome of Prague had been a student at Oxford, and some of the Wyclifites found refuge in Bohemia when compelled by tyranny to quit their native land. Yet, from whatever cause, the principles of religious reform, at this particular period, spread more vigorously in Bohemia than in our own country. With us, the movement was nearly suppressed by the severities of Henry IV. and his son; but the subjects of King Wenceslaus maintained for several years, under the leadership of John Ziska and others, a war of extermination against the priests. The excesses of the reformers would have ruined a weaker cause; but they did not ruin the cause of religious freedom. At all times, and in all countries, that cause had its supporters. Even in France, which was not inclined to any extreme innovations, the freedom of the Gallican Church from undue interference was asserted by so devout a Catholic as Louis IX., and repeatedly afterwards. The Council of Bâle (1431–43) made further attempts to restrict the power of the Popes; the revival of learning strengthened the tendency to inquire and to doubt; and at the Council of Pisa, in 1511, convoked by the Emperor Maximilian and Louis XII. in opposition to the Papal pretensions, a decree was passed, describing Julius II. as a sower of discord among the people of God, a rebel to the Church, a public incendiary, and a bloodthirsty tyrant. By the same instrument, the Pope was suspended from all spiritual and temporal administration, and the faithful were thenceforward forbidden to acknowledge or obey him. The blow, it is true, was ineffectual; but that it should be dealt at all, showed a great advance in independence.

One of the most flagrant abuses of the Romish religion was the increasing sale of indulgences. In the early ages of the Church, a severe course of penitential observance was imposed on all who had committed any grievous sin, and a portion of

this punishment was remitted, or its severity was softened, if the offender showed symptoms of contrition. At that time, the indulgence was applicable only to those who had been guilty of an offence for which the Church had excommunicated the wrongdoer; but at a later period these

this was bad enough; but at any rate there was a pretence of advancing the interests of religion. The practice received a somewhat different character when Boniface VIII. promised indulgences to all who should aid in celebrating the Jubilee of 1300. The grant was on this occasion degraded to mere



MARTIN LUTHER. (After the Portrait by Louis Cranach.)

advantages were extended to persons who had not incurred any special censure, but were simply regarded as partaking of the common frailty of human nature. Indulgences thus became articles of barter, which the Popes exchanged for some required service. At the Council of Clermont, in 1095, Pope Urban II. promised plenary indulgences to all who took part in the Crusade then being organised in Western Europe. The same favour was afterwards found a most efficient means of enlisting warriors against the various heretical bodies which arose from time to time. All

purposes of ostentation; yet the lowest depth was not reached until a later period.

The doctrine of Purgatory, the exact formulation of which is referred to the tenth century, proved a useful help to the issue of indulgences; for the sufferings of the intermediate state could be curtailed by the act of the Pope, who, for a consideration of some kind, granted the desired privilege. Another support of the practice was found in what a theologian of the thirteenth century called "the Treasure of the Church." According to this conception, all the good works

of the saints, together with the merits of Jesus Christ, were deposited in one inexhaustible treasury, the keys of which were committed to St. Peter and his successors, who might open it at pleasure, and, by transferring a portion of the supererogatory merit therein contained to a particular person, could secure either the pardon of his own sins, or a release from the pains of Purgatory for any one in

regarded as a substitute for *all* penance—should be reserved to the Pope alone, though partial indulgences might be issued by the Bishops. A little before the period of the Reformation, however, the sale was carried on by the friars (especially in Germany and Switzerland) in as unrestricted a way as if indulgences had been ordinary articles of merchandise. Even amongst Romanists them-



THE MARKET SQUARE, WITTENBERG.

whose happiness he was interested. At first, the granting of these indulgences was controlled by several checks, and the fourth Lateran Council condemned an indiscreet and superfluous use of them; but the custom was peculiarly liable to abuse, since it offered facile opportunities for purchasing the co-operation of persons not otherwise very zealously inclined to the furtherance of Papal ends. During the Western Schism, the rival Popes outbid each other in the prodigality with which they dispensed their interested favours to the most notorious sinners. Innocent III. had declared that the power of granting plenary indulgences—that is to say, indulgences which were

themselves, many thoughtful and conscientious persons were scandalised by this flagrant abuse, and the Council of Trent, which sat, with various interruptions, from December, 1545, to December, 1563, decreed that moderation should be observed in the granting of such boons, "lest, by excessive facility, discipline should be enervated." But the reader will observe that this wholesome provision was not enacted until after the Reformation had made considerable progress. Earlier in the century, Pope Leo X., who had but little belief in any of the doctrines of the Church he ruled, published a plenary indulgence, available for any who should contribute to the funds for the erection of

the new church of St. Peter at Rome. For a time, the trade in Germany was divided amongst several orders of friars; and the Augustinians were highly indignant when a monopoly of this valuable privilege was granted to their rivals, the Dominicans.

Matters were approaching their worst when, on the 10th of November, 1483, Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in Upper Saxony. He was the son of a miner and worker in metals, but received a good education, first at Magdeburg, then at Eisenach, and finally at the University of Erfurt, though, when a boy of thirteen, he was so desperately poor that he was compelled to earn his bread by singing hymns about the streets. His father intended him for a lawyer; but the sudden death of a fellow-student, who was killed by lightning at his side, threw his mind on serious thoughts, and he determined to be a monk. On the 17th of July, 1505, Martin entered the Augustine convent at Erfurt, and his ordination took place two years later. His intellect was vigorous and penetrating, and when, in his twentieth year, he first began to read the Bible, his thoughts took a new direction from the presentation of ideas very different from those which had moulded his earlier life. The nature of the man marked him out from the ordinary crowd of monks and friars. On the one hand, he was not a mere ascetic; on the other, he was very far from being an easy hypocrite. He was, in short, a human being of a strong, rough, somewhat coarse type, yet liable at times to fits of lonely abstraction, which had almost the character of visionary trances; a conscientious student, sometimes jovial and light-hearted, at other afflicted by profound melancholy, and besetting doubts as to his own salvation. By his energy and self-devotion he made such rapid progress that in 1508 he was appointed Professor of Theology in the University of Wittenberg, in Upper Saxony, and in that scholastic retreat lectured on the writings of Aristotle, with a degree of freedom in his comments that in those days was considered scarcely less heretical than disagreement with the dogmas of the Church.

The year 1510 was a turning-point in the career of Luther. It was then that he went to Rome on some business connected with his Order, and it was at Rome that his mind was first opened to the tremendous corruptions of the Western Church. The monks and ecclesiastics whom he had known in his own country were a decent set of people—not, perhaps, very saintly for the most part, but undistinguished by any glaring vices. In the capital of the Church he beheld a state of things which rivalled, if it did not surpass, what had existed in the same place under the worst of the

Emperors. The reigning Pope was Julius II.—a man less depraved than Alexander VI., who had died only seven years before, but an ambitious and worldly-minded prince, wholly unscrupulous in his actions, and blamable in many ways. Luther perhaps expected more than the weakness of human nature could justly promise. He believed that in Rome he should find the very source and fount of holiness, and his dismay was overwhelming when he found that he had tumbled into a sty of vice. The whole of Italy was involved in the same reproach; but in Rome the fact was more glaring and conspicuous, from the vastness of the city, and the contrast of its supposed character as a sacred spot. Not merely the secular nobility, but, to an equal if not a greater extent, the clergy, were given up to the most extravagant immoralities, which were practised with scarcely an attempt at concealment, and even with a laughing disregard of comment. Scepticism had spread widely and deeply amongst all classes. Many of the priests were avowedly atheists, and would scoff at the Mass as they administered it. The more scholarly of the Italian ecclesiastics used to identify Jehovah, Jesus Christ, and Mary, with the deities of the Greek and Roman Pantheon; and it may be doubted whether two Romish priests of that date could have looked each other in the face without laughing, any more than two Roman augurs of the ancient days. The vices of the system were its profligacy on the one hand, and, on the other, its hypocritical profession of a faith which was no longer held. Yet all this dishonesty, negligence, and corruption, had one good characteristic. The Roman hierarchy of the sixteenth century was largely tolerant of other forms of belief. Jews and heretics were safe in the Papal city, though doubtless on the understanding that they did not interfere with the wealth and grandeur of the privileged order. A toleration such as this, is of course the toleration of indifference; but the dearest interests of humanity have suffered so much from persecution, that a remission, however obtained, is not without its compensating value.

At that time a faithful son of the Church, Luther was shocked and terror-stricken by all he saw and heard. To his rugged Teutonic nature, there was no consolation in the splendid buildings and noble works of art which he beheld on every side. The new fabric of St. Peter was rising from its foundations; but the foundations of the Church itself seemed to his melancholy glance to have suddenly become rotten. He remained no longer than a fortnight in the metropolis of the Western world; but his brief visit produced memorable effects. In after years, the great reformer used to say that he

would not for a hundred thousand florins have missed his journey to Rome, for without it he should never have seen the full corruption of the Romish system, and should constantly have feared that he was doing an injustice to the Pope. Yet his experiences in that seat of corruption had not the immediate effect of detaching him from the Church. He returned to Germany saddened and astounded, but still a Catholic. He became a doctor of divinity in 1512, and shortly afterwards Provincial Vicar of Meissen and Thuringia. His zeal for the maintenance of discipline in the various monastic houses which came under his supervision, and the fervour and moral purity of his own life, showed the perfect sincerity of the man; while the gloomy mysticism of his speculations, which induced him to regard the visible world as an illusion, essentially evil and misleading, revealed a nature ill at ease with itself and its surroundings, but one from which great deeds might be expected, whenever a great occasion should substitute the life of action for the dreams of reverie.

Such an occasion arose in 1517, when Pope Leo X. authorised the sale of indulgences in Germany, as Julius II. had previously authorised it in France, Poland, and other countries. The professed object of this measure was to obtain funds for rebuilding St. Peter's Church at Rome, and for supporting a league of Christian Powers against the Turks. The Papal commission for the sale of these indulgences in Saxony was addressed to Albert, Elector of Mainz and Archbishop of Magdeburg, who appointed a Dominican monk named Tetzel as his agent for the purpose. Tetzel was an able, but thoroughly unscrupulous, man. He saw that he could make large sums of money out of his commission, and his master, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, who was heavily in debt to the Fuggers of Augsburg, perceived an equally good opportunity for enriching himself. As a matter of fact, the larger part of the money collected went into other hands than those of the Pope. Albert, and Tetzel, and the various subordinates, intercepted as much as they could in decency divert from the professed objects of the collection; and the balance was paid over to his Holiness. The exploit necessitated a good deal of hard work, and a vast amount of impudence; but Tetzel was equal to both requirements. The Fuggers had provided him with a coach and three horses, with which he drove about from town to town, preceded by the Papal Bull, which rested on a splendid cushion, and followed by a mob of priests, monks, magistrates, burgesses, and others, carrying flags and wax tapers, and singing hymns. This impudent impostor—a man of licentious morals and

transparent dishonesty—was gifted with a certain effective eloquence, which answered his purposes extremely well. The sale of his indulgences was conducted in the churches to which he repaired, and where, after enlarging on the terrible sufferings of Purgatory, he expounded the virtue of his nostrums, and assured his auditors that the ring of their coin at the bottom of the basin would at once transport their deceased friends to heaven.

In the execution of his task, Tetzel appears to have gone much beyond the doctrines of the Romish Church with respect to indulgences. The form of absolution which he granted to the contributors contained a statement that, by the authority committed to him in those parts, he absolved the sinner, first from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they might have been incurred, and next from all sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they had been, even from such as were reserved for the cognizance of the Holy See. He then continued:—"And, as far as the keys of the Holy Church extend, I remit to you all punishment which you deserve in Purgatory on their account; and I restore you to the holy sacraments of the Church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which you possessed at baptism; so that, when you die, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if you should not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when you are at the point of death." The indignation of Luther was aroused at the levity and extravagance of Tetzel's promises, and at the effect produced by them on persons of licentious lives. Some of his penitents refused to undergo the punishments he had enjoined, on the ground that Tetzel had released them from the consequences of their sins. The conscientious monk refused to admit any such excuse, and denied absolution to those who declined the ordinary forms of penance. Tetzel, in reply, threatened with spiritual and temporal punishment all who denied the efficacy of his indulgences.

The matter was thus brought to an issue, and Luther felt himself the more free to act, as the Elector of Saxony had forbidden Tetzel to enter his dominions; not, indeed, from any very exalted motive, but because the persuasions of the Papal agent were diverting to a foreign country much of the gold and silver of his subjects. Tetzel, however, had established himself in a village on the border, and numerous Saxons went there with their coin, and came away with their indulgences. It was certain, therefore, that a vigorous denunciation of these practices would meet with no opposition

from the angry and outwitted Elector; and on the 31st of October, 1517, Luther nailed up, on the door of the Castle-church at Wittenberg, a document, written in Latin, in which he maintained ninety-five theses, or propositions, concerning indulgences. The general substance of his argument was to the effect that there was a distinction between the canonical penalties inflicted by the Church on the penitent sinner, and the penalties required, here or hereafter, by divine justice; that the Pope had the power of remitting the former only; that no indulgences could affect the condition of the dead; that true contrition of heart, and actual amendment of life, would obtain pardon without any indulgences whatever; that the true "treasures of the Church" were contained in the Gospel; and that if indulgences were needed at all, they should be distributed gratis to the poor, and not made articles of traffic. The publication of the Theses was the real beginning of the Reformation; for, although Luther was still a Catholic and a monk, he gave expression in these celebrated propositions to the distinctly Protestant conception of responsibility to God, irrespectively of priests, and to the sufficiency of the Gospel for spiritual guidance and satisfaction.

Copies of the ninety-five Theses were enclosed by Luther to the Elector of Saxony, and to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the latter of whom he earnestly besought to suppress the scandalous practices of Tetzel. From the Archbishop he met with no encouragement; but in Frederick of Saxony he had a friend, proud of his abilities as a Professor of Wittenberg University, and unwilling that he should suffer in the course he was now pursuing. News of the monk's propositions spread throughout Germany with extraordinary swiftness: it is said that they were known from one end of the country to the other in a fortnight from the day on which they were posted up. Luther had invited public disputation on the views propounded in his written paper; and controversy was not long in arising. From the pulpit, and by means of numerous tracts, the reformer again and again unfolded the ideas which had taken possession of his mind. Theologians came forward to controvert them, and in a little while the subject was discussed more thoroughly, perhaps, than it had ever been discussed before. The principle, that indulgences could remit only the canonical and not the divine penalty, was soon accepted throughout Germany, and Tetzel found his trade suddenly failing him. In accordance with the petulant habit of those days, he publicly burned the Theses of Luther; the students of Wittenberg burned the counter-propositions

of Tetzel; and Leo X., smiling at the controversy from the serene heights of the Vatican, described it as nothing more than a quarrel between two monks. Still, he found it necessary, after a while, to take some notice of the clever and audacious disputant who had raised such a commotion in his native land; and Luther replied in a submissive letter, written in May, 1518. He was summoned to appear at Rome within sixty days; but the Elector of Saxony obtained for him the favour of being examined within the bounds of the German Empire, where he would be judged in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of that dominion.

The person appointed to conduct the inquiry was Cardinal Gaetani, the Papal Legate at the Diet of Augsburg. At that city Luther appeared in October, 1518, and a long discussion ensued. The reformer maintained that the Pope had no privilege of infallibility; that St. Peter himself had erred; and that Councils of the Church had sometimes decided wrongly. Cardinal Gaetani asked him how it was possible for a humble monk to struggle successfully against the Pope. The doctrine of justification by faith, which Luther now put forward, he treated with scorn; and the antagonist of Tetzel became at length so much alarmed at the possible consequences of his daring, that he suddenly quitted Augsburg, dreading lest the fate of Huss should be his own. But he had made his mark at Rome itself; for, almost immediately afterwards, Leo X. issued a Bull, confirming the doctrine of indulgences, and asserting that the Pope had power to deliver from all punishments due to sin those who had repented, and were in a state of grace, whether they were alive or dead. On the whole, this was a decision against Luther; but it was very far from being a complete justification of Tetzel, since it made the efficacy of the indulgence dependent on the contrition of the person to whom it was granted. Nevertheless, Luther would not accept a conclusion which was in the main unsatisfactory. On the 28th of November, he appealed to a General Council of the Church, and the matter looked so grave that the Pontiff made special efforts for effecting a reconciliation between the troublesome monk and the Church to which he still belonged. For this purpose he employed a Saxon named Miltitz, Canon of Mainz, Trèves, and Meissen, and one of the Papal Chamberlains, who was to argue the matter with Luther, and endeavour to overcome his scruples.

A conference between the two took place at Altenburg in the early part of 1519; but, in passing through Germany, Miltitz had found that a large majority of the people were in favour

of Luther's views, and that Tetzel was so generally hated that he dared not quit the walls of Leipsic. It was necessary, therefore, to make some concessions, and the Papal agent threw the blame of the recent dispute on the ignorance and profanity of the dealer in indulgences. All controversial matters were avoided, and the offender consented to write a submissive letter to the Pope. In this communication, which bore date the 13th of March, 1519, Luther acknowledged that he had carried his zeal and animosity too far, and promised to observe in future a profound silence on the matter of indulgences, provided his adversaries would do the same. He never intended, he observed, to deny the authority of the Pope, and would always exhort the people to honour the Roman See, which he had simply laboured to clear from the impious exaggerations of others. It is difficult to believe that Luther was quite sincere in the composition of this epistle; yet we must allow something for the influence of transmitted and habitual beliefs, and it is also possible that the reformer himself was alarmed at the logical results of his own principles. He had begun to doubt many of the most essential doctrines of the Catholic Church, and he may have feared the ruin of the whole system from a further prosecution of the path he had opened. At any rate, his controversial animus was for a while suspended, and it was the re-opening of the strife by his opponents which again called him into the field.

A disputation concerning Free Will—the most vexed and difficult subject in the whole range of metaphysics—brought the adversaries into renewed collision. Dr. Eck, a distinguished scholar and theologian, had given expression to opinions on this subject which speedily summoned Luther into the lists, and ultimately led to a discussion about the true headship of the Church. Eck said that the head of the Church was the Pope; Luther maintained that it was Jesus Christ himself. The argument extended over a large number of other subjects, including the doctrine of Purgatory, and the efficacy of indulgences; and a good deal of rhetorical and dialectical fervour was exhausted in the contest. The disputants were well matched, and the Rector of the University of Leipsic, with whom the decision lay, found it so difficult to arrive at any conclusion that he referred the matter to the Universities of Paris and Erfurt. Luther's opponent was a man of great ability and vast erudition, and on some points he appears to have had the best of the argument. Opinion, however, was much divided, and feeling ran so high on both sides that it was considered necessary to station

armed watchmen at the inns, to prevent battles between the respective partisans. Undeterred by any amount of opposition or of danger, Luther continued to publish several works on the questions dearest to his heart, and it was no longer a matter of doubt that he denied the absolute authority of the Romish Church, and dissented from several of its doctrines. This in itself would have mattered little; but the movement which Luther had started was gathering force, not merely among the populace, but among some of the most learned and profound thinkers of the time, such as Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Melancthon, and others. Even men of high social position took sides with the insurgent monk, promised him a refuge in their castles, and proffered military force for his protection. The Elector Frederick, who had formerly been an enthusiast in all the received dogmas of the faith, and had made a collection of saintly relics, which he had purchased for large sums of money in various parts of the world, confessed himself a follower of the new doctrines. He even ventured to address a warning to the Papal court, in which he assured the Pope and his ministers that any attempt to put down Luther by force would produce serious injury to the Church itself. This was written on the 1st of April, 1520, and before the close of that year matters had reached a crisis.

It was now evident that the sword had been more than half drawn on both sides, and Frederick of Saxony, notwithstanding his admiration for Luther, exhorted him to greater moderation in his conduct of the dispute. For this exhortation there was unquestionably some need. Only five days after Frederick's letter to the Pope, one was despatched by Luther himself to the same potentate, who was addressed in a strain of exasperating irony, combined with furious denunciations of his court, which could not fail to destroy the last chance of compromise and reconciliation. Luther, indeed, desired no middle path, and doubtless he was in the right; but some who may have been disposed to travel the greater part of the way with him, and whose co-operation would have been valuable, were shocked and alienated by the virulence of his invectives. The question of indulgences had receded into the background. Tetzel, after being severely reprimanded and threatened by Miltitz, had died of fear and vexation, and the controversy had widened so as to cover the whole ground occupied by the ancient Church. Leo X., with all his indifference and all his innate scepticism, had no choice but to accept the challenge. He assembled a congregation of Cardinals, before



LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS. (After the Picture by Dolpertz.)

whom he laid the works of the rebellious German ; and by their advice a Bull of condemnation was drawn up, and published on the 15th June, 1520. In this document (the celebrated Bull "Exurge, Domine!"—"Let God arise!"), forty-one propositions, extracted from the writings of Luther, were solemnly condemned as heretical ; the writings of the offender were ordered to be publicly burned ;

communion of the Church, the reformer felt himself at liberty to give complete expression to all he felt with reference to the older forms of religion. His language every day became more acrimonious and unmeasured. The Pope was described as Anti-Christ, and all who upheld his cause were assailed with that vehement objurgation of which the disputant was an acknowledged master.



LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON.

and Luther himself was summoned to confess and retract within the space of sixty days, under pain of excommunication. The reformer answered by a renewed appeal to a General Council of the Church, and in the meanwhile kindled a great fire on the open ground outside the walls of Wittenberg, where, in presence of a vast multitude, he committed to the flames, not merely the writings of his opponents, but Leo's recent Bull, and certain decretals and canons relating to the Pope's supreme jurisdiction. This famous act occurred on the 10th of December, 1520, and, on the 3rd of January, 1521, Luther and his followers were solemnly excommunicated by Leo, with bell, book, and candle. Being now formally expelled from the

Luther had made great advances since the nailing up of the memorable propositions against the sale of indulgences. In less than three years, broken by a brief period of suspended controversy, he had passed from the mental condition of a Romish monk, shocked at a particular abuse of the Papal authority, but still reverencing the Pope himself as "the most Holy Father" of an infallible Church, to that of a daring innovator, who rejected most of the peculiar doctrines of that religion. In the summer of 1520, he had published treatises denying the sacrifice of the Mass, and reducing the seven sacraments of the Church to three—viz., Baptism, Penance, and the Lord's Supper. By the commencement of 1521, he had adopted a still more uncom-

promising attitude; yet he found his supporters in the North of Germany more numerous and enthusiastic than before. The Emperor (Charles V.) ordered that Luther's writings should be delivered up to the magistrates to be burned; but the States assembled at the Diet of Worms pointed out that the doctrines of the reformer had sunk so deeply into the hearts of the people that it might be dangerous to take such a step. They recommended that Luther should be summoned before them, and should be asked, without allowing any opportunity for disputation, whether or not he would recant. Yet the members of the Diet were themselves alive to the necessity of reform. While suggesting that Luther should be dealt with after a somewhat peremptory fashion, they required that the abuses of the See of Rome, which they described in a list of a hundred and one grievances, should be amended. The Emperor accepted the advice of his councillors, and summoned Luther to appear at Worms within twenty-one days from the date of the citation.

The journey of the reformer brought out in striking colours the extraordinary effect he had produced on the people of Northern Germany. The town of Wittenberg presented him with a coach, in which to travel from that place to Worms; the citizens of Erfurt went forth to meet him on foot and on horseback; everywhere he was received like a monarch or a hero; even at Worms itself, which he reached on the 16th of April, 1521, he was conducted to his lodgings by a body of nobles and citizens. Before the Diet, he at first exhibited some appearance of trepidation; but on the second day he refused to make any recantation of his opinions, unless refuted by the evidence of Scripture. The Emperor delivered his judgment on the 19th of April. It was entirely adverse to Luther, who, however, was permitted to depart, in virtue of a safe-conduct which he had previously received. Nevertheless, he was to be treated as a heretic, and the Emperor declared that it was the duty of the States to come to a Christian resolution on the subject. Attempts were made to induce Luther to accept some compromise; but he indignantly rejected every species of equivocation with his conscience. He had now accepted the Bible as the sole rule of faith, and would not depart one tittle from what he regarded as the correct interpretation of its teachings. The popular feeling was so manifestly in his favour that his adversaries were obliged to act with caution. Franz von Sickingen, a powerful Franconian knight, had a large force ready to protect the reformer, should any attempt be made to seize his person. Notwithstanding the

safe-conduct, Luther was outlawed in a decree known as the Edict of Worms, which was signed on the 26th of May, in the Emperor's private apartments, and after several of the Electors and princes had left, though the document was dated the 8th, in order to give it the appearance of having been sanctioned by the whole Diet. The Edict described Luther as a heretic, and declared that whoever sheltered him, printed or published his books, or bought or read them, should incur the penalty of outlawry which had been pronounced against himself.

The return journey of Luther was distinguished by the same marks of general regard as those he had experienced during his progress to Worms. In one important respect, however, it differed very considerably. On entering a tract of woodland near Altenstein, the carriage was stopped by a party of armed horsemen in masks, one of whom seized the reins, while another held his javelin to the breast of Luther, and told him he was a captive. They then placed him on horseback, and rode off into the depths of the forest. The seizure was a device of Luther's friend, the Elector of Saxony, who, fearing that he should not be able to protect the reformer after the ban of the Empire had been published, resorted to this method of removing him from danger. After travelling through the woods for some hours, the party arrived, near midnight, at the solitary castle of Wartburg, seated on a lofty and umbrageous hill in the vicinity of Eisenach—an ancient building, formerly belonging to the Landgraves of Thuringia, and still remaining, though doubtless with some alterations. The utmost secrecy was observed as to the identity of the seeming prisoner. Even the warder of the castle believed him to be some brigand of the forest, who had been apprehended by the Elector's men-at-arms. Adopting a secular habit and manner, he went by the name of Squire George, and his only attendant was the youthful son of a nobleman, who brought him his meat and drink, and from whom all knowledge of the truth was carefully concealed.

By the outside world it was generally believed that Luther had been murdered; but a good many years of life and vigorous action still remained to him, and his stay at Wartburg, where he remained nearly a year, was distinguished, among other things, by the commencement of his translation of the Bible into the vernacular. He called Wartburg his Patmos, and certainly he was not without visions while in that place of security and retreat. Intense study, want of sufficient exercise (though he sometimes went out to hunt and shoot), and

perhaps the heavy feeding to which he was addicted, appear to have thickened his blood, and increased the brooding melancholy which was always an element of his nature. In his study at the castle of Wartburg, travellers are still shown a stain upon the wall, where the great reformer is said to have thrown his ink-pot at an appearance of the devil. He afterwards told his friends that on one occasion a black dog appeared suddenly in his bed; that he heard mysterious noises at night; and that Satan was busy either in tempting or in scaring him. Yet, on the whole, that enforced seclusion in the solitary castle, looking down green Thuringian valleys, and over leagues of forest,

must have been one of the happiest periods in the stormy career of Luther. It was a period of rest and quiet study; a period of safety from the open violence or secret plots of his enemies. His pen was busy with many literary works which he knew would have important effects, even beyond the limits of Germany. He was throwing his ink, not merely at the phantoms of an overwrought brain, but at the great oppressor of the minds of men, seated proudly on the seven hills of Rome. He was gathering fresh strength for the struggles that yet awaited him; and when he issued forth from the walls of his friendly prison, it was with thunder and lightning in his grasp.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The Reformation in Switzerland—Views of Zwingli—Opposition to the Sale of Indulgences—Progress of Dissent from the Received Opinions—Dubious Position of Erasmus—Disputation before the Legislative Council of Zurich on Propositions submitted by Zwingli—Decision in Favour of the Reformer—Abolition of Image-Worship and of the Mass in various Parts of Switzerland—Continued Work of Luther—Spread of the New Principles in Northern Germany—Extravagant Opinions of some of his Followers—Return of Luther to Wittenberg, and Quarrel with Carlstadt and the Zwickau Prophets—Services of Melancthon to the Reformation—Progress of the Movement in Germany—Effect of Popular Institutions in Switzerland in Favouring the Cause—Failure of the Reformation in Bavaria—Death of Leo X. under Suspicious Circumstances—Unpopularity of his Successor, Adrian VI.—Turbulence of Sickingen and the Rhenish Knights—Suppression of the Robber Chieftains—Measures against the Reformation taken by Adrian VI.—Growing Independence of the German States—Meeting of Princes and Prelates at Ratisbon—Rising of the Peasantry and the Anabaptists—Death of the Elector Frederick of Saxony—Marriage of Luther—Prussia converted into a Temporal Duchy—The League of Turgau—Rescript of the Emperor Charles V.—The Diet of Spires, 1526—Suspension of Proceedings against the Reformers—Altered Position of Luther towards the German People—His Methods of Church Government, and Opinion of Clerical Celibacy—Second Diet of Spires, 1529—Hesitating Decision of the Committee on Religious Affairs—Protest of the Reformers, and Rise of the Term "Protestants"—Division between Luther and Zwingli on Points of Doctrine.

It was not alone in Germany that the spirit of religious reform was active in the early years of the sixteenth century. In Switzerland—where, however, the population was mainly of German origin—a strong movement against the corruptions of Rome began at the same time that Luther was arousing the minds of his countrymen. The leader of this movement was Ulrich Zwingli, who was born on the 1st of January, 1484, at Wildenhäusen, in the county of Toggenburg and canton of St. Gall, and became a priest in the neighbouring canton of Glarus in 1506. From the very commencement of his life, Zwingli regarded with distrust some of the leading principles of the old religion, and made little reference in his sermons to the intercession of the saints, to images and relics, or to fasts and pilgrimages. His mind was always more impressed by questions of morals than by subtleties of religious dogma; and having,

in 1515, accompanied one of the Swiss contingents to Italy, as chaplain, and been present at the sanguinary battle of Marignano, he afterwards addressed to the authorities of the several cantons an earnest entreaty that they would put a stop to the practice of foreign enlistment. In all things, we see in Zwingli the operation of a conscientious, humane, and considerate mind, prone to regard the simple elements of right and wrong, rather than the plausible equivocations of the world. Every year he advanced farther on the path of religious dissent. Prayers to the Virgin were discouraged; the Bible was put forward as the sole rule of faith; and in 1516 Zwingli made representations to Cardinal Schinner and to the Bishop of Constance, touching on the urgent necessity of reforming the discipline of the Church, lest the people, disgusted by the corruption of the priesthood, should lose all respect for religion itself, and proceed to dangerous

extremes. This position was assumed by the Swiss reformer even before the posting-up of Luther's theses at Wittenberg, on the 31st of October, 1517. It is clear, therefore, that he did not arrive at his conclusions in consequence of the German movement, but obeyed, in common with Luther, an impulse which was then affecting many thoughtful minds.

The sale of indulgences made the same impression on Zwingli as on his contemporary. A Franciscan friar of Milan, named Bernardin Samson, conducted this particular business in Switzerland, as Tetzel conducted it in Saxony; and his audacity exceeded even that of Luther's opponent. He told his auditors that a liberal outlay on indulgences would ensure them immunity for future sins—a doctrine which, to do it justice, has never been authoritatively declared by the Romish Church, and which was far in excess of what the agent had any right to preach. Scandalised by this monstrous promise, and by the whole system of trafficking in such exceptional privileges, Zwingli took his stand in the church-gate of the Abbey of Einsiedlen, and, supported by the abbot, and by Theobald, the economical administrator of the house, refused to admit the vendor of indulgences. His bold conduct drew the attention of the higher authorities to an abuse which they would probably have passed over in silence but for the reformer's initiative; and Samson was compelled to quit the diocese of the Bishop. He made a good harvest elsewhere, however, and, on leaving Switzerland in 1519, took with him, it is said, about 800,000 crowns. The views of Zwingli, not merely on the immediate question of indulgences, but on many points of doctrine, were shared by some of the best thinkers of the time, who, by gradations indeed, but with extraordinary rapidity, arrived at all the chief conclusions of Protestantism. Erasmus, a native of Holland, then living at Bâle, agreed to a large extent with the reformers, but could not go with them to the length of denying the authority of the Pope. But, though a great scholar and an acute thinker, Erasmus was a timid man, fond of peace, and not at all ambitious of the honours of martyrdom, as he himself confessed.

It was not long before Zwingli and his friends fell under the cognizance of the Court of Rome; and, in consequence of representations received from that quarter, the Bishop of Constance forbade the preaching of the new doctrines. A public discussion of those doctrines was appointed by the Legislative Council of Zurich in 1523, and Zwingli (who had removed there some time before) pub-

lished a list of articles for discussion, the opinions embodied in which give so summary a view of the position even then taken up by the Swiss innovators, that it may be as well to quote a passage of some length. "It is an error," said Zwingli, "to assert that the Gospel is nothing without the approbation of the Church, and to value other instructions and traditions equally with those contained in the Gospel. The Gospel teaches us that the observances enjoined by men do not avail to salvation. The Mass is not a sacrifice, but a commemoration of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The power assumed by the Pope and the Bishops has no foundation in Scripture. God has not forbidden marriage to any class of Christians: therefore it is wrong to interdict it to priests, whose forced celibacy has become the cause of great licentiousness of manners. Confession made to a priest ought to be considered as an examination of the conscience, and not as an act which can deserve absolution. To give absolution for money is simony. Holy Writ says nothing of Purgatory: God alone knows the judgment which He reserves for the dead; and, as He has not been pleased to reveal it to us, we ought to refrain from indiscreet conjectures on the subject. The jurisdiction exercised by the clergy belongs to the secular magistrates, to whom all Christians ought to submit themselves. No person ought to be molested for his opinions; it is for the magistrates to stop the progress of those which tend to disturb the public tranquillity." From these sentences it will appear that, as early as 1523, Zwingli had departed widely from the most cherished doctrines of Rome. The progress of his mind had been rapid, steady, and consistent; and, while preserving a far greater evenness of temper, he soon advanced to bolder conclusions than those of Luther.

The discussion, which took place before the Council of Two Hundred, was mainly between Zwingli on the one part, and Faber, the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Constance, on the other. Stated briefly, the contention of the latter was, that in any case of doubt the doctrines of religion were to be decided by a General Council of the Church, to whose rulings every one should implicitly submit; while the former maintained that the Councils had often given contrary decisions, and were no more infallible than the Bishops and the Cardinals. Even the Fathers of the Church frequently disagreed with one another; so that God alone could determine what was the truth. At length, the assembled burghers and ecclesiastics came to the conclusion, "That Zwingli, having been neither convicted of heresy nor refuted, should continue

to preach the Gospel as before; that the pastors of Zurich and its territory should rest their discourses on the words of Scripture alone; and that both parties should abstain from all personal reflections." This was a very important decision for the reformers. It conceded the most essential part of their case, and showed how wide and general a reception the new principles had found. Nevertheless, the old forms of worship continued for the present to be observed; and when some men of extreme views pulled down a crucifix standing in one of the gates of Zurich, the offenders were arrested, and charged with sacrilege. The question thus raised led to a second conference, during which Zwingli argued that the worship of images was unscriptural. The Council adjourned its decision until the following year, but in 1524 ordered that all pictures, statues, relics, offerings, and similar ornaments should be removed from the churches of Zurich. Other cantons followed in later years; but portions of Switzerland remained faithful to the Romish traditions. The Mass was abolished in Zurich at the beginning of 1525, and the Lord's Supper was soon afterwards celebrated according to a form prepared by Zwingli.

While the Reformation in Switzerland was passing through its earlier stages, Luther was quietly working in the castle of Wartburg. Most people supposed that he had either been assassinated, or captured by his enemies; but, as we have seen, he was really in the custody of a friend, and turning his retirement to the most effective purposes. Besides commencing his translation of the Bible, he wrote several treatises against auricular confession, monastic vows, clerical celibacy, and prayers for the dead. By the aid of the printing-press, then becoming a formidable power in all the most civilised European States, these writings were spread broadcast over the whole of Germany. It was in the North, however, that they produced the greatest results. Large numbers of monks quitted their convents, and married; the Augustinian friars abolished the Mass. It may seem extraordinary that after the condemnation of the new opinions by the Diet of Worms, and the sentence pronounced against Luther himself by the Emperor, those opinions should have been suffered to take root; but the fact is in some degree explained by the absence of the Emperor, who, shortly after the conclusion of the Diet, proceeded first to the Netherlands, and then to Spain, where he remained several years. The Imperial Government had been placed by him in the hands of his brother Ferdinand, who was so young as to possess little influence; and one of the principal personages in the

Council of Regency was the Elector Frederick of Saxony, the tried and faithful friend of the reformer. Indeed, the majority of the Council were favourably inclined towards the new views; so that no measures were taken against the propagation of opinions which so many were inclined to accept, or at least to tolerate.

The return of Luther to the world was determined, not by any persecution of his followers, but by the extreme and injudicious lengths to which some of those followers were endeavouring to carry the movement. A person named Carlstadt, who occupied the chair of Theology at Wittenberg during the absence of Luther, gave considerable scandal by marrying under circumstances of great parade and ostentation, and soon afterwards offended large numbers of persons by demolishing the images in the Church of All Saints, forbidding the elevation of the Host, admitting communicants without confession, and proposing that all books, except the Bible, should be banished from the University. It was likewise one of his theories that every one should do a certain amount of manual labour, either in the fields, or in the workshops of the city; and this injunction he followed himself, and induced many others to follow. Carlstadt had joined a number of fanatics, whose leader was a clothier named Storch, and one of whose principal members was a certain Thomas Münzer, who believed, or pretended, that he was favoured by visions and supernatural revelations, and who had made numerous converts at Zwickau. Luther received intelligence of these extravagances, and, fearing that the cause of religious reform might be ruined by such startling and impracticable novelties, quitted his retreat, and again appeared at Wittenberg. In pursuing this course, he unquestionably ran considerable risk; but he knew that he could now reckon on the services of many enthusiastic supporters, and to their faithfulness and valour he committed his liberty, and perhaps his life. His return to Wittenberg was in the early part of 1522, and his presence produced the desired effect. Preaching on eight consecutive days, he reassured the community, and restored the instinct of moderation which had for a time been destroyed. Yet he was unable either to persuade or intimidate the more fanatical of the religious innovators. Carlstadt denounced him as an idolater, because he still affirmed the real presence in the Sacrament (a view which Zwingli had abandoned), and disparaged him as a courtier, for living on terms of intimacy with princes. After a number of angry disputes, Carlstadt was banished from Saxony, as a person who

had endangered social order by affirming the principle of natural equality. He retired into Switzerland, and the Zwickau prophets, though treated with great leniency, thought proper to withdraw from Wittenberg, covering their retreat with a volley of reproaches directed against Luther. For this resort to violent language, it must, however, be admitted that they had abundant excuse in the practice of the reformer himself. The custom of

which the former could hardly have effected so well. It was Melancthon who at a subsequent period drew up the celebrated Confession of Augsburg—a document generally recognised in Germany as containing the most authentic expression of the new opinions in religion. About the close of 1522, Luther published his German translation of the New Testament; in 1523 he preached against the Mass; and his definitive condemnation of



LUTHER'S HOUSE, WITTENBERG.

the period—and of a much later period too—was to import the utmost virulence into theological discussion; and we should not be justified in visiting any special condemnation on either Luther or his opponents.

In the formulation of his doctrines, Luther was greatly assisted by the learned, moderate, and gentle-hearted Melancthon, Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg. The real name of this distinguished man was Schwarzerdt: Melancthon was the Greek equivalent of that patronymic, the meaning of which, in English, is "black earth." Luther and Melancthon became intimate and attached friends, and the greater scholarship of the latter enabled him to accomplish many purposes

monastic institutions, together with his abandonment of the monastic dress, followed in 1524. The abolition of the Mass created some tumult among those who could not so easily throw off all the old customs of the ancient faith; and it was not until Christmas Eve, 1524, that the reformer succeeded in establishing his new service. The German innovators were now usually called Lutherans, as those of Switzerland were termed Evangelicals. The two movements were simultaneous, but entirely distinct, and the Swiss reform, though really going farther than the German, was characterised by greater moderation. This is perhaps attributable to the circumstance that the government of the cantons was popular and feeble, and that the

isolation of the country, owing to the massive barriers of its mountains, offered a better protection against Papal interference, and therefore permitted the current to flow more evenly, and with less antagonism. The Germans had to struggle against Imperial predominance and Papal dictation ; and

not merely at a reform of religious abuses, but at a reconstruction of society itself. On the 5th of March, 1522, the Bavarian Dukes issued a mandate commanding their subjects to abide by the ancient faith, and attaching severe penalties to disobedience. Bavaria and Austria entered into a compact against



LUTHER PREACHING. (After a Woodcut by Allenburgi.)

the natural consequence was extreme bitterness in the conduct of the dispute.

Nevertheless, the Reformation made steady progress in the northern parts of Germany. In other directions it was not so successful, and in Bavaria, after a brief movement in its favour, the ruling authorities put a stop to all further development of Lutheran doctrines by an arbitrary exercise of power. They appear to have been alarmed by the extravagances of Carlstadt and the other fanatics, and it is not difficult to understand their fears when it is recollected that the enthusiasts aimed

the Lutherans, and the Apostolic See rewarded the fidelity of the former State by granting it several privileges. The triple crown had by this time passed from the brows of Leo X. to those of Adrian VI., an ecclesiastic of Utrecht, who had formerly been the preceptor of Charles V., and had recently acted as Regent in Spain during the absence of the sovereign in Germany. The death of Leo occurred on the 1st of December, 1521. His illness had been rapid, and his death came so suddenly that there was no time to administer the *viaticum*. As in the case of so many other Popes,

the use of poison was suspected, apparently on good grounds; and the day after Leo's decease, his cup-bearer was arrested on a charge of causing the fatal illness. This person, however, was soon afterwards released by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, avowedly because he feared that some great prince might be mixed up in the matter, and that he would make for himself an implacable enemy, should he pursue the inquiry any farther. Rumour pointed to Francis I. (whom Leo had excommunicated, in consequence of circumstances yet to be related) as the instigator of the crime; but there is no proof of the French sovereign's guilt, and we must be content to place the death of Leo amongst the dark and inscrutable problems of Italian history. The late Pope was about forty-six at the time of his decease, and had enjoyed his exalted position nearly nine years. His intellectual character was far from mean, and his temper, for the most part, seems to have been mild and equable; but his habits were notoriously licentious, and, as a ruler, he had some of the worst faults of his age. His love of art contributed to the adornment of Rome; but his extravagance was so great that when he died the treasury was empty, and the wax tapers used at his funeral were, from motives of economy, the same which had already been employed at the obsequies of a Cardinal.

The election of Adrian as the successor of Leo astonished nearly every one. It was generally believed that the new Pope would be either Giulio de' Medici, or another Florentine, belonging to the family of the Soderini. Charles V., according to a promise he had previously given, recommended the appointment of Cardinal Wolsey; but that distinguished Englishman did not obtain more than twenty votes—six fewer than were necessary to the election. The proceedings of the conclave were disorderly and violent, and the name of Adrian seems to have been suddenly proposed, and as suddenly accepted, from a feeling of weariness and despair. The appointment was very distasteful to the Roman populace, who had long been accustomed to regard the Pontificate as belonging exclusively to Italians. The Cardinals were for a time afraid of leaving their houses, lest the people should attack them for electing a foreigner. When Adrian arrived at Rome, he did not even seek to remove the unpopularity by which his advent was heralded. He was a devout, conscientious, but rather severe old man, entirely out of sympathy with everything dearest to the Italian heart. Parsimonious even to meanness in his habits, strict in his life and discipline, ignorant of the Italian language, disregarding of Italian policy, a puri-

tanical hater of the arts, and a solitary student who could hardly be induced to give ordinary attention to the affairs of his office, Adrian VI. was precisely the man to make an exemplary monk in some northern city, but the very last person to satisfy the brilliant, acute, ambitious, and pleasure-loving spirit of the Romans.

The cause of the Reformation in Germany was imperilled, not only by the fanatical excesses of men such as Carlstadt and Storch, but by the violence of some of the nobles. It has been related in previous pages that measures were taken by successive Emperors against the lawless acts of the great feudal families, who endeavoured to perpetuate the worst features of the Middle Ages. These efforts had been attended by considerable success; but, after the commencement of Luther's agitation against Rome, several of the German knights, taking advantage of the general disturbance, renewed their former turbulence and rapacity. Merchants and other persons were attacked on the high roads; property was seized to an extraordinary amount; and the right hands of prisoners were usually cut off. The head of the Rhenish Knights was a chief named Sickingen, a person of great wealth and power, who had acted as the Emperor's counsellor, chamberlain, and general. In 1522, Sickingen incited his fellow-knights to enter into a combination against the Swabian League, which had been formed with a view to defending the public peace against the attacks of lawless adventurers. But considerations of religion were mixed up with the more political and social motives of the body. Sickingen had adopted the reformed faith, and was as violent in his hatred of priests as John Ziska and his Bohemians a hundred years before. Luther and his friends were regarded with great favour by the confederates; but the reformer, fully comprehending the evils of such an association, refused to support the robber-chieftain of the Rhine, and even exhorted him to pacific conduct. Sickingen was not disposed to accept such advice, and openly declared a feud with the Archbishop and Elector of Trèves. He threatened this exalted personage with punishment for divers acts which he accused him of having committed against God and his Imperial Majesty; and he promised to help the people to evangelical freedom, and to release them from the anti-Christian law of the priests. A veritable war ensued, for Sickingen was enabled to collect a large army both of horse and foot. He commenced the siege of Trèves, but was obliged to abandon it in a week, owing to the failure of assistance which he had expected from other sources. Retiring to his

castle of Landstuhl, he was attacked there in April, 1523, by a powerful combination of his enemies. The castle walls were twenty-four feet thick, but the powerful artillery of the allies soon reduced them to a crumbling mass of ruins, and Sickingen, wounded, and at the point of death, capitulated on the 7th of May. When addressed by his conquerors, he answered in language such as might have been used by an English Puritan in the army of Cromwell; and, being asked by his chaplain if he would confess, replied that he had already, in his heart, confessed to God. With this refusal of the customary offices of the Church, Sickingen passed away; and shortly afterwards all the twenty-seven strongholds possessed by himself and his friends were battered to pieces by the leaguers. The robber-chieftains of Northern Germany were now finally suppressed, and the Swabian League, which had been instituted for the removal of a great abuse, was dissolved ten years later.

Leo X., whether from indifference or preoccupation of mind, had taken but little notice of the Reformation; but his successor, Adrian VI., was a more conscientious churchman, and he had not long been seated on the Pontifical throne before he turned his thoughts to the spiritual revolt which had already made such formidable strides in Germany. In November, 1522, he complained to the Diet assembled at Nuremberg that the Edict of Worms had not been enforced, and that the arch-heretic Luther received encouragement from some of the princes, especially from the Elector of Saxony. He therefore demanded that the rebellious monk should be at once committed to the flames, unless he publicly recanted his errors. But one very remarkable testimony to the effect which Luther's teachings had already produced is to be seen in the fact that Adrian, while requiring the death of that reformer, acknowledged that many abuses existed in the Church, and signified his intention to effect a reform. The States replied by again presenting the list of grievances which had been drawn up in a previous year; and, to the demand of the Papal Legate that Luther should be punished, and the liberty of the press be restricted, they curtly replied that they were busy with other matters. This answer indicates an immense advance in independence since Luther began his agitation; and the same effect was still more powerfully manifested in 1524, under the Pontificate of Clement VII. (Giulio de' Medici, who had succeeded to the tiara on the death of Adrian in the previous year), when Cardinal Campeggio, on entering Augsburg, was received by the populace with undisguised ridicule and contempt, and, on proceeding to Nuremberg,

considered it advisable to lay aside his Cardinal's hat, and live in the utmost privacy. On this occasion, much discussion ensued as to the Edict of Worms and the list of grievances; but Campeggio found the Diet inflexible, and saw that he must take some special measures for counteracting its rebellious spirit. Another Diet was to be held at Spire in the following November, at which the German demands for a redress of abuses would be again discussed; and he checkmated the design by convoking at Ratisbon, for the previous June, an assembly of the princes and prelates who favoured the Court of Rome. The consequence of this movement was that the Emperor addressed a letter to the States, in which he forbade the contemplated Diet at Spire. The Powers assembled at Ratisbon bound themselves to take every possible measure for the extirpation of heresy; but they also talked of reforming abuses, and it may perhaps have been hoped by the more sanguine that this tardy concession to justice and reason would stifle the bolder demands of Luther and his friends. The actual effect was of course the very reverse. Luther became every day more bold in his opinions, more independent in his acts: it was immediately after the assembly at Ratisbon that, as already related, he set aside his distinctive habit as a monk. The opposition to his work which Campeggio had originated, and which received its final shape at Ratisbon, was not invariably supported even by those who were professedly adherents of the ancient Church. The Imperial cities declined to join in the crusade; so also did some of the Electors; but the Houses of Bavaria and Austria united their forces for the extirpation of heresy, and this alone was a powerful combination against the cause of the reformers.

The contest had now become embittered on both sides, and the violence which is seldom absent from such struggles broke forth in several directions, and with many deplorable results. A Dominican priest in Swabia hanged as many Lutherans as he could find. Judicial executions took place in various cities, and a frantic attempt was made to trample out the new opinions in fire and blood. On the other hand, the peasants of Upper Germany commenced a movement which was partly political, partly religious, and which led to some terrible excesses. The poor, in that part of the country, had suffered much from oppressive laws, exorbitant taxation, and the private feuds of the nobles. Twice before, in the earlier years of the century, they had ineffectually risen against their oppressors; and the somewhat intemperate language of Luther, in condemning the action of the Emperor and the

Catholic princes, rekindled the flame at the beginning of 1525. The demands of the peasantry were mostly political and social; but they had some reference to religious abuses too, and Luther was consulted as to the course the agitators should adopt. The reformer, while admitting their grievances, urged them to show proper respect to the municipal authorities; but his advice did not answer their expectations, and they commenced a species of civil war under the leadership of the expelled Duke of Wurtemberg, who had been deprived of his territory by the Swabian League. Abbeys and castles were burned down by the insurgents; prisoners were led to summary execution; and Luther, unexpectedly siding against the peasantry, denounced them in language of intemperate vehemence. The conflict was bloody and remorseless; but it ended, as all such struggles do, in the triumph of law, and the complete subjection of the ignorant, ill-disciplined, and furious insurgents. By the middle of the year, the rebellion was at an end; yet, in the short period of about five months, a hundred thousand persons had been exterminated, and many fertile districts were reduced to the condition of deserts. The convulsion was intensified by the savage incitements of Thomas Münzer, who, after his expulsion from Wittenberg, had gone from place to place, preaching community of goods, equality of conditions, and the necessity for establishing a theocratical government, of which he was himself to be the chief. Münzer was a follower of Storch, the head of the Anabaptist sectaries—so called because they taught that the baptism of infants was unscriptural, and that all persons really desiring to be Christians should be baptised in mature life, when they felt impelled by the Holy Spirit. Storch went about attended by twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples; and Münzer was one of the number. Persons of even greater ferocity than Münzer soon acquired a hold on the excitable peasantry, and many atrocious acts were committed before the organisation of the fanatics was shattered by the greater power of the princes and the cities. This result was not effected without a desperate battle near Frankenhausen on the 15th of May, 1525, when the irregular levies of Münzer, trusting in the miraculous protection which their leader had promised, were defeated with terrific loss. Some of the principal Anabaptists were executed; but Münzer himself, who had been examined under torture, received a pardon, on returning to the Roman Catholic faith.

The Elector Frederick of Saxony expired on the 5th of May, 1525, during the progress of these dis-

turbances. We have seen that he was the friend of Luther, who appears, however, to have placed no great dependence on his goodwill. The reformer represented him as simply acquiescing in what was done by others; and probably Frederick never desired or intended to separate himself completely from the Church of Rome; but he seems to have acted with fidelity to the cause, and, when he died, he was succeeded by his brother John, surnamed the Steadfast, who gave active assistance to the innovators. The reformed faith made additional progress after the accession of this prince, and Luther, emboldened by his support, married Catherine von Bora, who had formerly been a nun. The Romanists were of course greatly scandalised by such conduct, and many stories were circulated to the discredit of Luther, and of the nuns who had come under his influence. The insurrection was by this time over; but the victors were ferocious in their reprisals, and Luther, who had condemned the excesses of the rebels, now equally blamed those of their conquerors.

In the course of 1525, the new religion found a home in that part of Germany which belonged to the Teutonic Knights—the country known as Prussia. By the Peace of Thorn, concluded in 1466, a large part of Prussia had been handed over to Poland, while the remainder was held by the Knights as a fief of that kingdom. Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, who was now Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, had recently been defeated in an attempt to throw off the feudal subjection of his country, and to recover Polish Prussia from the grasp of the Slavonic monarchy. A truce for four years was concluded in 1521, through the mediation of the Emperor Charles V.; but, in the meanwhile, Albert endeavoured to obtain assistance for a renewal of the war. He was disappointed in his expectations, and saw little but ruin before him, as the Order was weak and poor, and the Knights, owing to the immorality of their lives, their incompetence as rulers, and their oppression of the ruled, had fallen into general contempt and hatred. Some had adopted the principles of Lutheranism, and Albert, in returning from Nuremberg to his own dominions, consulted Luther himself on the state of his affairs. The advice of the reformer was that he should marry, dissolve the Teutonic Order, and convert Prussia into a temporal principality. It must be recollected that the corporation of the Knights was a monastic body, that its members were bound together by a religious vow, and that celibacy was one of their obligations. The recommendations of Luther were therefore of a very sweeping character,

and involved a revolution at once secular and spiritual. Albert was evidently impressed by the prospect thus opened to his eyes; but he proceeded with circumspection. The Church service was cautiously and gradually reformed, and on the expiration of the truce, in 1525, the Margrave went to Cracow, concluded a definitive peace with the Polish monarch, Sigismund I., and received from him the eastern part of Prussia as a temporal duchy, in feudal dependence on the adjacent kingdom. In the following year, Albert married a daughter of the King of Denmark, and Lutheranism flourished on the distant shores of the Baltic. The Catholic worship was now abolished over a large part of Germany, and neither the Emperor nor the Council of Regency seemed able to stop the growth of the new doctrines.

Disturbed by the rapid progress of the Reformation, several of the Catholic princes assembled at Dessau in July, 1525, to concert measures of defence. This was met on the other hand by the conclusion of the League of Turgau, which was ratified in that city on the 4th March, 1526. Very shortly after the conclusion of the League, a rescript from the Emperor was received in Germany, in which, after much violent invective against the reformers, Charles promised that he would shortly proceed to Germany, and assist in the extermination of the heretics. The letter was written from Seville on the 23rd of March, so that there was time to make some preparation for resisting the threatened danger. The principal champion of the Evangelical cause was the Landgrave of Hesse, and, by his activity and perseverance, a powerful alliance was concluded by the end of June. On the 25th of that month, the Diet of Spire commenced its sittings. Matters had altered considerably since the date of Charles's rescript, for the Pope and Emperor were at issue with one another on political grounds, and the latter now addressed a missive to his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, instructing him to suspend the penalties enjoined by the Edict of Worms, to refer the questions at issue to the decision of a Council, and to obtain, if possible, a vote for the formation of an army to repel the inroads of the Turks. The Imperial policy thus formulated was an immense assistance to the Lutherans. It afforded them a breathing time, during which they could organise their forces, and extend their principles; and this period lasted two years, owing to the attention of the Emperor being directed to other matters than the restoration of Imperial and Papal supremacy in his German dominions.

Since his confinement in the castle of Wartburg,

Luther had become in some respects a very different man. In the earlier stages of his career, he had relied almost exclusively on popular support; now, on the contrary, he was forming alliances with the petty sovereigns of Germany. A good deal of his popularity disappeared in consequence. The princes had at first suspected him as a revolutionist, who would gladly overthrow all constituted authorities; at a later stage, they found him emphatically declaring that every ruler was appointed by God, and responsible to him alone for the manner in which he exercised his power. This made a great alteration in the sentiments of the Dukes and Electors in the northern parts of Germany, many of whom embraced the principles of the Reformation, not so much from any religious impulse as from the hope that they might thus deliver themselves from subjection both to the Pontiff and the Emperor. The change in their views was in one sense an assistance to the cause of Luther; but it was also an injury, since it imported a great deal of base and selfish ambition into a movement which should have been concerned with higher issues only. The unpopularity of the Emperor is not difficult to understand. He was a Spanish monarch, and dwelt in a distant country, where little attention could be paid to German affairs. But this consideration had very slight influence with Luther. Though glad to avail himself of temporal help, the great reformer was still mainly concerned with changes that had no reference to politics. He promoted the education of the people by assigning to that purpose a large part of the income derived from ecclesiastical foundations, which now became the property of the State wherever the principles of Lutheranism were accepted. The decision, in controversies touching matters of discipline and faith, was handed over by the reformer to the civil magistrate. Bishoprics were suppressed in Saxony, and the former episcopal authority was vested in a mixed commission, partly lay and partly clerical. Melancthon desired to retain the institution of episcopacy, and Luther himself afterwards regretted that he had given so much power to the temporal magistrates. In other respects, his great object was to provide a religious service in the language of the people. The celibate system amongst the clergy became the subject of some of his most scathing denunciations. "As for you, Pope and Bishops," he exclaimed in one of his writings, "who can curse you as you deserve? Who can sufficiently execrate your blindness and tyranny in teaching and wishing for such a system?" The system had undoubtedly been productive of evil results, and Luther did

well to strike it down wherever his power extended.

The next important event in the history of the Reformation was the assembling of the second Diet of Spires in 1529. The recess, or closing decree, of the previous Diet in the same place, had relegated the settlement of disputed questions to a

recess of the previous Diet at Spires was annulled. Such an announcement was almost equivalent to a declaration of civil war. It was at any rate a defiance which the opposite party were not slow to accept. John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse proceeded to Spires at the head of considerable forces, and the Evangelical service was performed at their



KAROLINEN-STRASSE AND CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, NUREMBERG.

Council which was to assemble at some future time, leaving the several antagonists at liberty to follow their own ways in the meanwhile. In the latter part of 1527, Charles had settled his differences with the Pope, and he now undertook to extirpate the Lutheran heresy with all the power at his command. Accordingly, on the 1st of August, 1528, he issued an Imperial decree for a Diet to be held at Spires in the following year. In this document he declared that he would no longer permit his commands (those, that is to say, contained in the Edict of Worms) to be disregarded. All innovations in religion were strictly forbidden, and the

hotels in the presence of numerous auditors. The Diet held its first sitting on the 15th of March, 1529, when the religious question was referred to a committee, which decided that a general council of the Church should be held in some German town within a short period of the existing date; that if an ecclesiastical Council was impossible, an assembly of all the German States should be summoned for the settlement of religious disputes; that the Edict of Worms should continue to be obeyed wherever it had been admitted; that in all other places further religious novelties should be excluded as far as possible; and that the doctrines

and practices of Luther should not be sanctioned by the States of the Holy German Empire. | to accept the resolutions of the committee; but it is to be feared that their own suggestions were



DOOR OF THE MAMELUKES, THE CITADEL, CAIRO.

In the formation of the committee thus deciding, the Roman Catholics predominated, and the Lutheran princes and States strongly opposed the recommendations of their antagonists. They refused

characterised by too strong an inclination to impose their views on others, and to assume as a postulate the infallibility of their conclusions, as if the sole object of the Reformation were to establish

another Papacy. The objections met with no approval, and the malcontents drew up, on the 19th of April, a protest against the decisions of the majority. It was from this protest that the Lutheran representatives at Spires received the name of *Protestants*, though it was not until a later period that the designation was applied to the whole body of reformers. It was the Papal Nuncio, Contarini, who first used the word in this wider signification; but ere long the dissenters from Rome accepted as an honour what had been first employed against them as a gibe. The word "*Protestant*," however, can scarcely be regarded as a good appellation for a religious body which assumes to be in possession of positive truth. It is a purely negative description, and, strictly speaking, means nothing more than that the persons so called condemn the errors of certain other persons. Nevertheless, the term has acquired such general acceptance, and is associated with so much that a large proportion of Christendom has learned to value, that to object very seriously to its use, or even to disregard its existence, raises a not unnatural suspicion that the objectors are secretly dissatisfied with every principle that gives the cause of religious freedom its peculiar vividness and force.

The protest of the reformers was signed by the Lutheran princes, and by the representatives of fourteen Imperial cities; and it was required that the document should be inserted in the acts of the Diet. The subscribers were informed that they must submit to the majority, and they were requested not to publish their protest, for fear of its occasioning renewed troubles. They were permitted, however, to insert the protest in the proceedings of the Diet, and to forward a copy to the Emperor; and it was subsequently published by the reformers, together with a renewed appeal to the judgment of a General Council. Charles, who was then in Italy, declined to receive the manifesto of the Lutheran party, when a deputation from Germany sought to present it to him at Piacenza. The grandson of Ferdinand the Catholic was now acting in accordance with what might have been expected of one in whose veins flowed the blood of Isabella. The Protestant envoys were thrown into prison for the offence of submitting to him a religious treatise with which they had been entrusted by the Landgrave of Hesse; but they managed to effect their escape some time after. The position of the reformers was at this time beset

with difficulties. The first enthusiastic impulse of the movement had in some degree spent itself. The Emperor and the Pope were in alliance, and at the head of compact and powerful forces for the suppression of the new opinions. Divisions had opened in the ranks of the innovators, and the Protestant rulers were not agreed as to the best mode of proceeding. Some were in favour of an immediate appeal to arms; others dreaded the results of such a course; and much discussion ensued, but to little purpose, amongst the different sections of the party. In Southern Germany, several of the towns inclined rather to the views of Zwingli than to those of Luther, and the separation between Northern Germany and Switzerland, with regard to certain tenets, became every day more obvious and pronounced.

The Landgrave Philip of Hesse, seeing the danger to the cause which might ensue from this disunion, tried to effect an agreement between Luther and Zwingli. He invited them, as well as other authorities in the Protestant world, to meet at Marburg, and endeavour, by friendly conference, to arrive at an understanding. The interview took place at the beginning of October, 1529, and extended over three days. Little was to be hoped from the attempt, since it was well known that on all such matters Luther's mind was rigid and uncompromising to the extent of bigotry, and that his temper could not be relied on for a conciliatory discussion of any topic with respect to which his convictions were already formed. He regarded Zwingli's opinion touching the merely symbolical nature of the Eucharist as in the highest degree profane; though his own view was so far distinct from that of the Romish Church that he talked of *Consubstantiation* instead of *Transubstantiation*. On other questions also he was at issue with the Swiss pastor, and, although the latter offered, for the sake of harmony, to make concessions on fourteen points out of fifteen, Luther exhibited no corresponding liberality on his own part. The meeting was suddenly broken up by the outbreak of a pestilence; but, even had it been indefinitely prolonged, a favourable result could scarcely have been attained. Such was the position of Protestantism twelve years after the publication of the celebrated *Theses* of Luther. It is now time that we turn aside from the further progress of its fortunes, to relate events of a different nature which were happening in various countries of the globe.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFLICTS OF THE EAST AND WEST.

Progress of Turkey—Rise of the Sophi Dynasty in Western Persia—Conquests of Ismail Shah—Formation of a New Persian Empire—Abdication and Murder of the Turkish Sultan, Bayazid II.—Succession of Selim I., and Cruelty of his Rule—Successful War with Ismail—Persecution of the Shiites by the Sunnites—Conquest of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt by Selim—Transfer of the Caliphate from Cairo to Constantinople—Bitter Animosity of Selim to Persia—Servile Conduct of Hungary and Venice—Feeble Rule of the Hungarian King, Ladislaus VI.—Decline of the Monarchy—Ineffectual Attempt of the Pope to Excite a Crusade against Turkey—Death of Selim I.—Unpopularity of the Emperor Charles V. in Germany and Spain—Threatened Insurrections—Visit of Charles to England—His Position towards other Potentates—Insincere Alliance between Francis I. and Henry VIII.—Meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold—Subsequent Understanding of the English King with the Emperor Charles—Measures of the Emperor in Germany—Discontent in Spain—The Santa Junta, or Holy League—Demands for the Reformation of Abuses—Refusal of Charles, and Outbreak of Civil War—Suppression of the Rising by the Royal Troops—Mutual Antagonism of Francis I. and Charles V.—Invasion of Navarre by the French—Irrregular War in the Low Countries—Rapacious Policy of Leo X.—His Intrigues with France and Germany—Offer of Henry VIII. to Mediate between Francis I. and the Emperor Charles—Conference at Calais—Bad Faith of all the Parties—Excommunication of Francis I.—Henry VIII. honoured with the Title of "Defender of the Faith"—Renewed Attack on Navarre by the French—Rupture of the Conference, and Outbreak of War between France and Germany—Weak Position of the French in Lombardy—Powerful Coalition against them—Unfortunate Campaigns of 1521 and 1522—The French Lose Northern Italy—Charles V. again in England—Declaration of War against France by Henry VIII.—Unsuccessful Campaign of the English.

TURKEY was pursuing her own designs as a conquering monarchy while the chief nations of Christendom were seeking to destroy one another, and the Christian system was threatened with disruption by internal throes. We have seen that Bayazid II., though naturally an unwarlike sovereign, was engaged in hostilities with several of the European Powers, especially with the Republic of Venice. But the Turkish Sultan had to consider the East as well as the West. Persia was again becoming a strong and important State, after a period of weakness and obscurity. The dynasty established by Timour in 1381 lasted in the eastern parts of the country until the latter years of the fifteenth century; but the land was minutely divided and subdivided among the descendants of the great conqueror, and none of the petty dominions thus formed acquired any importance from the historic point of view. The only one of Timour's posterity in Persia who occupied a position of dignity and grandeur was his fourth son, Shah Rokh Behadir, who died in 1448, after a splendid reign of forty-three years. It was then that the disintegration of the empire began, and the process went on with fatal rapidity. The western half of Persia was seized by a tribe of Turkomans, who rather devastated the country than established any settled government; the eastern broke up into the wretched little principalities to which allusion has been made. Such a condition was not destined to last very long, and the contemptible rulers of Eastern Persia were soon swept away by the Uzbeks, a people of Turkish race, who added the conquered territory to

their newly-founded Khanate of Khiva. A few years later, a powerful warrior arose in Western Persia, who to some extent restored the faded glories of an ancient sovereignty.

Ismail Shah, the founder of the Sophi dynasty in Persia, asserted his descent from the fourth Arabian Caliph,—Ali, the cousin, the son-in-law, and the favourite disciple, of Mohammed. Though himself a Turkoman, Ismail followed a different branch of the Moslem faith from that of the Turkish nations generally, being, as became his ancestry, a follower of the Shiites, who recognise the divine commission of Ali. The family of Ismail had established strong claims on the gratitude of certain Turkish tribes, who supported the young hero in his attacks on the Turkomans then prevalent in Western Persia. Azerbaijan, the seat of their power, was captured about 1495; various other successes followed; and by 1500 Ismail was recognised as the sole monarch of an extensive region. In 1511, he took Khorassan and Balkh from the Uzbeks of Eastern Persia, and his position then became truly formidable to neighbouring princes. Bayazid II. saw that a rival was growing up on his eastern border; but his character was indolent and sensual, and his life was approaching its close. After making peace with the Venetians, in 1502, Bayazid had subdued Karamania; but in 1512 he was confronted by a serious rebellion, before which he ultimately succumbed. The Sultan wished to appoint his favourite son, Achmet, as successor to the throne. The eldest son, Kurkud, resisted, and a period of disturbance ensued, ending in the supreme power being obtained by neither of those princes, but by

Selim, the youngest son, a favourite of the Janizaries.

Selim compelled his father to abdicate in his favour, and the old monarch proceeded towards Demotica, in Roumelia, where he had been born, and where he proposed to pass the remainder of his life. On the third day of his journey—the 26th of May, 1512—he died of poison, administered by a Jewish physician, at the instigation, it is alleged, of the very son on whose behalf he had renounced the splendours of royalty. The crime, revolting as it was, is quite in accordance with the habits of an Oriental despot, acquiring the throne in a violent and irregular manner; and Selim afterwards secured his power by the customary slaughter of his relations. His two brothers, and five of his nephews, the sons of Achmet, were murdered by order of the new Sultan; and the reign thus beginning with assassination was carried on in a spirit of remorseless tyranny. The system of government established by Selim I. was one of pure terrorism; but it was administered with great ability, and it was attended by success. The power of Ismail in Persia was a menace which the Sultan was not likely to leave unchallenged, and events supplied him with many pretexts for war. The Shah had supported the cause of Achmet; he had encroached on the Turkish dominions; and he had persecuted the Sunnite Mohammedans (the sect to which the Turks belonged) with great severity. Their mosques had been destroyed, and the tombs of their saints violated; so that Selim had abundant reason, according to generally-received ideas, for declaring war against the Persian sovereign.

The armies of the Sultan entered Persia in 1514, and suffered much in the dry and parching deserts bordering on the Euphrates. At length, however, the Persian army was encountered under the command of Ismail himself, and completely routed. Nevertheless, the losses of the invaders were so great, that when the Sultan ordered his legions to advance in pursuit, they refused to penetrate any farther into a naked and waterless land, which had yielded them nothing but barren victory and honourable death. Ismail rallied his forces, and, marching against the enemy with augmented powers, compelled Selim to retire behind the Euphrates, hotly pursued by the Persians, who slew large numbers of his men. On the whole, this first campaign was unfavourable to the Turks; but the second, which was undertaken in the following year, proved more successful. Diarbekir was seized, Kurdistan overrun, and Turkish supremacy established throughout the mountainous country bordering on the

province of Van, together with the vast territory comprised within the peninsula of Mesopotamia. Forty thousand Shiites were put to the sword, and the Grand Mufti declared (with the confident blasphemy which is never wanting to fanaticism) that the death of one heretic was more agreeable to God than that of seventy Christians. These excesses are but slightly palliated by the previous cruelties of the Shiites to the Sunnites; for the only true counteraction to religious bigotry is the firm administration of impartial justice, with a view to perfect tolerance. But the nations of Europe are in no position to be superciliously virtuous in such matters; and it is a singular fact that this outbreak of persecution in the Moslem world was almost coeval with the division of Western Christendom into two bitterly hostile camps, consequent on the reformation inaugurated by Luther and Zwingli.

Encouraged by his good fortune, Selim next invaded Syria, a dependency of Egypt, which was then governed by a line of Mameluke sovereigns to whom old English writers give the title of Soldan—evidently the same word as Sultan. Beneath the sceptre of these monarchs dwelt the descendants of the Arabian Caliphs, whose secular rule at Baghdad was destroyed by Holagou, the grandson of Genghis Khan, in 1258. The spiritual power of the Prophet's successors was renewed and perpetuated by an uncle of Mostasem, the last of the Abbassides, who in 1261 found refuge in Egypt, and re-established at Cairo the Popedom of the Moslem faith. Although these Egyptian Caliphs were held by the Soldans in a species of captivity, they were treated with the highest reverence, and their custody, or protection, conferred on the Mameluke princes an honour which Selim may have desired for himself. But the immediate occasion of the war was an alliance which had been concluded between the Soldan and the Shah, and the object of which was hostile to the Turkish sovereign. An obstinate and hard-fought battle near Aleppo, on the 17th of August, 1516, terminated in a victory for Selim, whose forces, however, in the earlier part of the action, were nearly overwhelmed by the fiery charges of the Mameluke cavalry. The Soldan died of rage, despair, and exhaustion, and the whole of Syria quickly submitted to the Turkish rule. Palestine placed itself in the hands of the conqueror on the first appearance of his victorious banners, and the tide of invasion swept on into Egypt. The desert of Cairo, which had been rendered less suffocating by abundant rains, was traversed by the Ottomans in ten days; and in the vicinity of Cairo itself another action was fought in the spring of

1517. The Egyptians were again defeated, and their commander, Touman Bey, retired into Cairo, fortified the gates and avenues, and collected his strength in the chief street. Selim, however, burst into the city, and, by dint of desperate fighting, surmounted a series of barricades and trenches, notwithstanding a furious defence, which lasted two days, and in which even the women and children took part. During this horrible conflict, a portion of the city was set on fire by the assailant, who almost despaired of victory; but at length another division of the Turkish army broke in from a different direction, and the Mamelukes, finding their enemies both in front and rear, abandoned further resistance. Touman Bey escaped in disguise, but was ultimately captured and executed; and Cairo was given up to general pillage and slaughter. The Sultan, after visiting Mecca and Jerusalem, returned to Constantinople, taking with him Mohammed XII., the last representative of the Abbasside Caliphs, from whom he extorted the scimitar, standard, and mantle of the Prophet. The possession of these venerable insignia has ever since been supposed by the Sunnite portion of Islam to confer on the reigning Sultan the spiritual headship of all true believers; but the claim is of course entirely repudiated by the Shiites.

Although, after his conquest of Egypt, the Turkish sovereign received a species of submission from Ismail, whose ambassador saluted him, on his way back, by the title of "Emperor of Emperors," Selim made a public vow at Constantinople that he would never rest until he had utterly subverted Persia, and extinguished a people odious to God and man. The attention of the conqueror, however, was diverted towards European politics, and Ismail, seeking to indemnify himself for his recent losses, attacked and subdued Georgia in 1519. The brilliant and rapid successes of Selim, in Persia, Syria, and Egypt, gave considerable uneasiness to Hungary and Venice, the two Powers most exposed to Turkish attack. Both considered it advisable to conciliate so formidable a warrior, and the Venetians slavishly congratulated Selim upon his subjugation of Egypt, in the hope that they would thus obtain a confirmation of their ancient trading privileges. The tribute of eight thousand ducats, which had been paid to the Mameluke Soldan for the right of holding Cyprus, was transferred to Selim, and the peace formerly entered into with Bayazid II. was confirmed on the 17th of September, 1517. Hungary was not so fortunate. Her borders were subjected to frequent though petty attacks, and the dread of a more

serious invasion perpetually hung over her. The country had for some years been declining in strength and prosperity, and the rule of Ladislaus VI., who expired in March, 1516, had largely contributed to its misfortunes.

Ladislaus was a man of exemplary character and remarkable amiability, but so indolent, so incapable of energetic self-assertion, that a rank crop of evils grew up beneath his sceptre, and flourished undisturbed. The martial spirit of his subjects decayed; the laws were not enforced; and Hungary, which had occupied a brilliant and commanding position in the east of Europe, relapsed into a state of semi-barbarism. Poverty invaded even the royal household, and the condition of the people was so wretched that in 1514 a peasant-war broke out, which was suppressed with much bloodshed, and avenged with unparalleled ferocity. The more permanent results of the struggle were that the serfs were reduced to a state of slavery, compelled to pay taxes to their masters, and forbidden the use of arms. The chief agent in the suppression of the revolt, and the terrible punishment of the insurgents, was John Zapolya, Count of Zips, who had been appointed Voivode of Transylvania in 1510. Ladislaus was mainly indebted to this family for his election to the throne, and, after his death, John Zapolya aimed at a degree of power which drew upon him the enmity of the nobles, who compelled him to fly. The late King's son, Louis II., then a boy of ten, succeeded to the throne, and the duties of the Regency were discharged by the Hungarian Council. But the Government thus established was weak and factious; the degeneration of the country continued; and by the feebleness of Hungary the whole south-east of Europe was laid open to the Turks.

Alarmed at the fierce ambition of Selim, though his successes had been obtained at the expense of other Mohammedan Powers, and he had conducted hardly any operations against Europe, Leo X., the reigning Pontiff at Rome, decreed a religious war in the last session of the Lateran Council, which was held on the 16th of March, 1517. With a display of humility which in his case must be described as hypocritical, he walked barefooted to the church of Santa Maria in Minerva, and celebrated a High Mass in furtherance of his design. For the same purpose, he levied a tithe on all ecclesiastical property in Europe, and published a Bull, enjoining Christian princes to observe a five years' truce. It was an attempt to repeat the costly and sanguinary follies of the Middle Ages; but the spirit of the world had changed, and there was no reality or earnestness

in the contemplated Crusade, though Europe was actually threatened by a serious danger. The German Emperor was appointed Generalissimo of the Christian army, and flattered by a promise that the kingdom of the East, which existed only

Rome; and in Spain even the clergy refused to obey the Pope's mandate. Had Selim made a determined attack on Hungary, he would probably have carried everything before him. But frequent revolts among his Janizaries compelled a more



THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

in imagination, and never arose out of that phantasmal state, should be made an Imperial fief. Maximilian, in the romantic and sanguine spirit which was natural to him, immediately caused a medal to be struck, in which he figured as Emperor of the West and of the East. But the proposed expedition collapsed for want of funds. The German States refused their co-operation; in England, the Papal collector was obliged to swear that he would send no remittances to

peaceful course, and he did little else than watch the progress of events in Europe with a view to future action. While preparing an expedition against Rhodes, an outbreak of plague induced him to leave the capital; but on his way to Adrianople he expired of the dreaded malady, on the 21st September, 1520. In the torments of his last illness, he reproached himself with the blood he had shed; and certainly there have been few sovereigns who, in so short a period, have

committed so large a number of violent and sanguinary acts.

The Emperor Maximilian, as the reader knows, had died early in the previous year, and a large part of Christendom was now united under the sceptre of his grandson, Charles V. This appeared to confer a great advantage on the champions of the Cross; but the gain was much less than it seemed to superficial observers. The union of Spain with the Germanic Empire was a fact which both parties regarded with distaste. Each

Germans were secretly distrustful. The feeling was particularly strong in Castile and the adjacent territories, where several of the towns drew up a remonstrance against Charles's quitting the kingdom. The nobles and citizens of Valentia organised an armed brotherhood, called a *Hermidad*, for the preservation of the Spanish nationality. Valladolid was almost in a state of insurrection, and Charles, fearing to remain there, summoned the Cortes to meet at Compostella, in Galicia. This only intensified the general discontent, and



KING HENRY VIII.

considered that its interests would be sacrificed to those of the other, and the Electors of Germany were so suspicious of encroachments on their liberties that they imposed very strict terms on the new Emperor. Immediately after the death of Maximilian, the Elector Palatine, and the ecclesiastical Electors of Cologne, Mainz, and Trèves, formed an Electoral Union of the Rhine for their common protection, and the first of those dignitaries was now despatched to Spain, to invite Charles to Germany as soon as he had attached his signature to the articles by which he was to be bound. The Imperial crown was tendered to him on the 30th November, 1519, at Barcelona. It was of course accepted, for so grand a position falls but seldom to the lot of any man. But the Spaniards were as openly dissatisfied as the

for a time the position of the sovereign was menaced by a veritable revolution. Ultimately, however, the Cortes voted the supplies required by the King, but only on condition that he excluded the Flemings from all offices of State. Charles quitted the peninsula in the latter part of May, 1520, leaving his Spanish dominions in a state of turbulence which might well have excited grave apprehensions for the future. On his route to Germany, he landed in England, in order to persuade Henry VIII. not to form an alliance with France, as he had reason to believe was contemplated. There had in truth been some movements in that direction; but the plans of Henry were really far from amicable towards King Francis, since he cherished the ambition of recovering for the English crown all the continental possessions

which had once belonged to the Plantagenets. In these intrigues, Wolsey acted an important part, and was not ashamed to receive large gifts of money, first from the French, and afterwards from the Spanish, monarch. Charles's stay in England did not extend over more than four days, nor was it productive of any important results. So far, the grandson of Maximilian and of Ferdinand had not begun his reign very prosperously. Whether intentionally or otherwise, he had given offence in many quarters. As if to complete the measure of his provocations, he had omitted to pay the usual homage to the Pope on his election to the Imperial crown; and the custom, once broken, was not resumed. This omission must have seemed particularly ungrateful to Leo, as that potentate had dispensed with a provision of his predecessor, Clement IV., which ordained that the kingdom of Naples should not be united with the Empire.

Notwithstanding the hostile designs which he secretly entertained towards Francis I., Henry VIII. continued for a while to make a hypocritical pretence of friendship for that sovereign. Shortly after the visit of Charles V. to the English monarch, the latter crossed from Dover to Calais, near which city he had a pompous interview with Francis in what is popularly known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, though "camp" would be a more correct expression than "field." The two sovereigns met on the 7th of June in a neighbouring valley, and, alighting, walked hand in hand to a pavilion of golden cloth, situated on a plain between Ardres and Guisnes. On the 9th, they viewed the camp, or place of arms—an enclosure three hundred yards long, and one hundred and six broad, with scaffolds on each side for the spectators. In the middle were set up two artificial trees, bearing the arms of the French and English monarchs and their assistants, together with the articles of the jousts and other games. On the 11th of June, and the next four days, the two Kings, with seven companions each, encountered all comers in the martial exercises of chivalry. After a temporary suspension, the sports were resumed—on one day, with so much reality that four of the assistants were hurt. The rougher pleasures of the tilting-field were varied with balls, masquerades, ceremonial visits, and other diversions; but the cordiality was overdone, and manifestly hollow. On the 24th of June, after many compliments, embraces, and rich presents, the monarchs took leave of one another, and, the play being over, affairs returned to their natural, or at least their predetermined, course. Charles V. observed all

these exaggerated civilities from a distance, and, instead of proceeding at once to the Flemish capital, lingered at Gravelines, in the Low Countries, where shortly afterwards he had another interview with Henry. He had already completely gained over Wolsey to his interests; partly by promising him the succession to the Papal tiara, so far as his interest could procure it, and partly by direct gifts of money, including the episcopal revenues of Badajoz and Placentia. He now proposed that Henry should be the arbiter in any dispute between himself and Francis. The bait was contrived with great adroitness, for it flattered the self-importance of the English King. Henry accepted the perilous honour; and all the fairy lights of the golden camp darkened instantly before the strategy of Charles. At the same time, Henry promised that he would make no engagement hostile to the Imperial interests.

The Emperor was consecrated at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 23rd of October, 1520, by the Archbishop of Cologne, and received the Roman crown from the three spiritual Electors of Germany. His first Diet was held at Worms in January, 1521, when attention was directed to the rebellious acts of several princes and prelates, who had committed frequent breaches of the public peace, and were now put under the ban of the Empire. The most extreme case was that of Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, who had ill-treated the peasantry to the extent of provoking an insurrection. After the suppression of this movement, and the granting of a constitution which was soon evaded, Ulrich resumed his former tyranny, and, thinking himself secure in the heart of his forests, defied the power of the Swabian League. He was successfully attacked, however, expelled from his dominions, and driven to a wandering life, in which he vainly sought assistance in various quarters. Charles confirmed the sentence on this insolent and despotic prince, and handed over the vacated territories to his brother Ferdinand, who, ten years later, received the title of Duke of Wurtemberg and Teck. In other respects, the Emperor exhibited a just and impartial spirit in the conduct of German affairs. Several abuses were reformed, and a Council of Regency was appointed to represent the Emperor during his absence from Germany. The greater part of Charles's Austrian territories were ceded to Ferdinand, who in 1540 obtained complete and hereditary possession of them. It was before this Diet of Worms that Luther was summoned to appear, as already related; and it was by the same body that the celebrated Edict was issued, which condemned the

heretical opinions of the reformer, and placed him in the position of an outlaw.

While these events were proceeding, Spain was in a state of violent agitation, resulting from the unconstitutional acts of the Cortes assembled in Galicia, and from the unpopularity of a King who had little of the Spaniard in his composition, and was now absent in his German realm. Several of the principal cities were in open insurrection, and the forces of the Regent, Cardinal Adrian (who afterwards became Pope in succession to Leo X.), were for a time unable to cope with the growing danger. The town of Medina del Campo, however, was taken by storm, and the royal commander, Antonio de Fonseca, committed such extreme cruelties that the flame of disaffection spread to several parts which had previously remained loyal. In July, 1520, the principal Castilian cities formed an association, called the Santa Junta, or Holy League, which decided that Adrian, as a foreigner, could not legally hold the Viceregal office. The King's mother, Joanna, was still living at Tordesillas, in that state of mental incompetency which had commenced several years before. Her person was now seized by Don Juan de Padilla, one of the principal leaders of the insurrection; and, in a momentary gleam of reason, resulting, it may be, from the necessity of taking action which events had thrust upon her, she authorised Padilla to adopt any measures he might consider requisite for the safety of the kingdom. Thenceforward, the Junta acted in her name. The seals and public archives at Valladolid were appropriated by Padilla; Adrian was deposed; and Charles issued circular letters from Germany, making great concessions to the Castilian cities. The Junta replied by a long list of grievances and demands. They required that the King should not reside out of Spain, nor marry without the consent of the Cortes; that foreigners should be excluded from all offices of power; that foreign troops should not be brought into the kingdom; that the Cortes should be held at least once in three years; that the members of that body should not be placeholders nor pensioners; that the judges should have fixed salaries; that all aristocratic privileges detrimental to the commons should be revoked; that no indulgences should be sold in Spain without the approval of the Cortes; and that the profits should be strictly applied to war against the Mohammedans: with other provisions of less general interest. The formulation of these demands indicates the existence of considerable public courage and independence in the Spanish population of those days, and contrasts very

advantageously with the abject and servile spirit of later generations. But the reader is aware that representative institutions had long existed in the north of Spain, and that a feeling of manly self-reliance—derived, perhaps, from the Gothic element in the Iberian race—had descended to the modern Spaniards from times of greater simplicity and vigour.

Nothing could be more fair or reasonable than the demands of the Junta; but Charles refused to receive them. The result was a civil war, in which the command of the patriotic forces was given to Pedro de Giron, who, in the latter part of November, marched towards Rioseco, where the Regent Adrian had established himself. His design of seizing that functionary was frustrated by the Condé de Haro, who, in the beginning of December, captured Tordesillas, where, as we have seen, Joanna had fallen into the hands of the malcontents. Many leaders of the Junta were taken on the same occasion; yet the movement was not suppressed. Padilla was shortly afterwards appointed to the general command of the "Comuneros," as the adherents of the towns were called; and his wife, Donna Maria de Pacheco, greatly aided him by her spirit and resolution. The royal forces, however, were more than equal to the army of the Leaguers; a large part of Spain fell into a state of anarchy; many of the nobles, who had at first supported the popular cause, deserted to that of the King; and in April, 1521, Padilla was defeated and captured at Villalar. He was executed on the following day; but his heroic widow kept up the struggle at Toledo, after most of the other towns had surrendered. At length, even the Toledans gave in their submission. Donna Maria, however, retreated into the citadel, and held it until the 10th of February, 1522, when she escaped in disguise to Portugal. While these events were proceeding in Castile, another insurrection was raging in Valentia, and Aragon threatened to rise against the royal authority; but the subdivision of Spain into separate States prevented all co-operation. Local jealousy was stronger than the sentiment of national cohesion, and, in the end, the compact forces of the King overcame the scattered resistance of the several provinces.

The rebellion of the Castilians had been encouraged by Francis I.; not, assuredly, out of any regard for the principles of freedom, but as a means of weakening the power of Charles, whom he regarded as a formidable rival, likely at some future period to assert himself in a hostile manner, either with respect to the Duchy of Burgundy, which Louis XI. had taken from the House of

Austria, or in connection with the investiture of Milan, where the French were now established, but which the Germans had always claimed as a portion of the Empire. The French monarch could never forgive his rival for obtaining the German Empire in preference to himself, though, pending the election, he had abounded in magnanimous speeches. If he could destroy the sovereignty of Charles in Spain, he would have all the less to fear; and in pursuance of this policy he invaded Navarre. A small army of Gascons, commanded by Andrew de Foix, was sent into the Pyrenean State in the spring of 1521, during the struggle of Padilla with the forces of Charles V. Navarre was speedily overrun, and de Foix, exceeding his instructions, passed into Spain itself, where he attempted, but without success, to form a junction with the insurgents under Padilla. He afterwards laid siege to Logroño, on the frontiers of Old Castile—an enterprise to which he was invited by Donna Maria de Pacheco. But the people were exasperated by a foreign interference which appeared to them in the light more of an insult than of a service; and de Foix was compelled to retreat with all speed. He retired towards Pampe luna, but was overtaken at Esquiros, defeated, and captured. Shortly afterwards, he expired of a wound received during the action; and Navarre was quickly recovered by the Spaniards. In other respects, Francis, though in a secret and underhand way, exerted all his influence against the supremacy of his opponent; and a petty war on the frontier of the Low Countries, carried on, with the contrivance of France, by Robert de la Marek, Duke of Bouillon and Lord of Sedan, and avenged by the Imperial generals, who even entered the dominions of Francis, gave earnest of the more serious struggles that were reserved for the future.

These intrigues and heart-burnings did not meet with the corrective of a higher example in the capital of the Western Church. Leo X., like some of his recent predecessors, was a mere scheming prince, intent on territorial aggrandisement, at whatever cost of humanity or good faith. The Lords of Perugia and Fermo were in 1530 treacherously robbed of their possessions, on charges of criminality which may have been perfectly just, but which were advanced solely with a view to the Pope's interests as a sovereign. In the following year, Leo entered into a treaty with Francis I., the object of which was the expulsion of the Spaniards from Naples, and the division of that kingdom between the Roman Pontiff and

the second son of the French King. Francis delayed the ratification of the treaty, and Leo secretly entered into an alliance with Charles V. with the design of driving the French entirely out of Italy. By the sixteenth article of this later treaty, the Emperor promised to deal with Luther and his adherents, and to avenge the injuries they had done to the Apostolic throne. It is a curious fact that the document bears the same date as that of the Edict of Worms (May 8th, 1521), which pronounced the outlawry of the German reformer. The price offered to the Emperor for the various services he undertook to render to the Church, was a promise on the part of the Pope that he would forward his claims on Venice. The stipulations appear to have been much more in favour of Leo than of Charles; but the latter was, for the present, actuated by that devotion to the Church which distinguished his grandmother, Isabella of Castile. Some desultory warfare broke out shortly afterwards in Northern Italy, and the Pope secretly encouraged those enemies of France who were willing to act in the interests of the Pontifical State and its Imperial ally.

Matters had now become so complicated between the Emperor and Francis I. that Henry of England considered the opportunity a good one for exercising the powers of arbitration which Charles had voluntarily conferred on him. Both Francis and his rival accepted the offer to mediate, though not without some distrust on the part of the former. A conference was appointed for the 8th of August, 1521, and the meeting took place at Calais. Wolsey was the representative of the English sovereign, and the French Chancellor, Duprat, showed the utmost assiduity in consulting all the whims of the Cardinal, in the hope that his powerful influence might thus be purchased for the King of France. All his efforts, however, were vain, since Wolsey was already the servant of the German Emperor, to whom he was bound by many considerations, both of the past and of the future. The demands of the litigants were extreme and uncompromising. Francis required that Navarre and Naples should be given up to him; Charles insisted on the evacuation of Milan and Genoa, the restoration of Burgundy, and a remission of the accustomed homage for Flanders. It was not likely that either potentate would consent to such terms, and an agreement was therefore hopeless from the first. What Charles sought to obtain was a declaration by Henry that France was the aggressor in the recent hostilities; and he could point to the invasion of Navarre and Spain in proof of this

assertion. So determined was the English King to adopt a policy hostile to Francis, notwithstanding the recent courtesies and overflowing goodwill of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, that he made military preparations for a war against that monarch, even before the commencement of the arbitration. While the negotiations were still proceeding, Wolsey went in state to Bruges, where he had an interview with Charles V., and concluded with him a treaty of alliance. A double invasion of France—at its southern and northern extremities—was the main object of this league, and the treaty was to be kept secret until the time for action had arrived. The project was sanctioned by Leo X., who soon afterwards issued a Bull of excommunication against Francis I., and released his subjects from their allegiance. Before the close of the year, the Pope had himself joined the alliance, though under the pretence of simply advancing the spiritual glory of the Church. Henry VIII. had shortly before written a controversial work against the heresies of Luther—a production answered by the German reformer in a strain of contempt, but which gave so much satisfaction to the Pope that he conferred on its author the title of “Defender of the Faith.” It was one of the vanities of Henry that he was a master of dialectics; yet he felt no scruple, at a later period, in acting against his expressed convictions, when his wishes pointed in a different direction. The strangest result of the incident, however, is that to this day the Protestant sovereigns of England retain the title bestowed upon their predecessor for the very reason that he had done his utmost to destroy the groundwork of Protestantism.

The bad faith of Henry and his Imperial friend, in thus secretly plotting against France while a congress was sitting with a view to equitable and pacific arbitration, requires no comment; but it cannot be said that Francis I. was guided by any higher principles. Before the termination of the conference at Calais, the French King had despatched an army into Navarre, which succeeded in recovering that part of the kingdom, north of the Pyrenees, which is still included in France. The invaders also took Fuentarabia, or Fontarabia, a place famous in the legendary histories of Charlemagne for a terrible defeat inflicted by the Saracens on the Paladin Roland. The position was important, since it exposed the whole of Biscay to the attacks of France; and Charles V., supported by his English ally, demanded its immediate restoration. Francis refused, and the conference came to an end. War at once broke out on a larger scale. Francis took the field in person

against the Count of Nassau in Flanders. The town of Hesdin was captured by the French, who, on the other hand, lost Tournay, which, after a blockade of six months, surrendered to the Imperialists about the close of the year. The struggle thus arising between the Houses of France and Austria established a state of permanent ill-feeling, which led to frequently-renewed hostilities, and did not finally terminate until the early part of the eighteenth century. It is melancholy to reflect upon the loss of life, the injury to material interests, the exasperation of national feeling, the waste, the cruelty, and the innumerable evils, which resulted to large sections of the human race from the rivalry of two sovereigns, of whom it cannot be said that either had a clear moral title to that which he claimed.

The position of France was particularly vulnerable in Northern Italy, for the French occupation of Milan had been characterised by all the insolence of successful invaders. Lautrec, the military governor of the Milanese, had offended that high-spirited people by the severity and self-seeking of his rule. Half the principal inhabitants of the city were banished, and their estates were divided between the French crown and the family of Lautrec. Marshal Trivulzio, then a veteran of eighty, and a soldier who had distinguished himself by brilliant services to France, although a native of Lombardy, was so haughtily treated by the Viceroy that he went to Paris to lay his complaints before the King. Through the powerful influence of the Countess of Châteaubriand, a sister of Lautrec, he was denied an audience, and expired soon after, before he could return to his own country. Had he lived only a little longer, he would have been amply avenged by the reverses which Lautrec suffered in Italy. Those reverses were mainly due to want of money, and the remittances which Francis had despatched to his commander were intercepted by no less a person than the King's own mother, the intriguing and dissipated Louisa of Savoy, who entertained a vindictive feeling towards Lautrec, and was also glad of the sums which she thus dishonestly appropriated.

The war in Italy commenced in August, 1521, when Lautrec found himself opposed by the forces of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Florentine Republic. The chief command of the allied armies was in the hands of Prosper Colonna, who acted with too much caution, and lost valuable time in undecided movements. As usual, the mercenary Swiss were found on both sides. A large portion of Lautrec's forces consisted of those

martial, but faithless, mountaineers ; and the Pope had engaged the services of several thousands on his own side. Colonna at length crossed the Po on the 1st of October, and advanced towards Cremona, near which city Lautrec awaited his

was doomed once more to be the victim of treachery. The allies were informed that a night attack on Milan would be aided from within by the Ghibelline party—the faction which supported the Empire against the Pope. The Marquis of Pescara,



THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. (After the Portrait by Bartholomew Beham, 1531.)

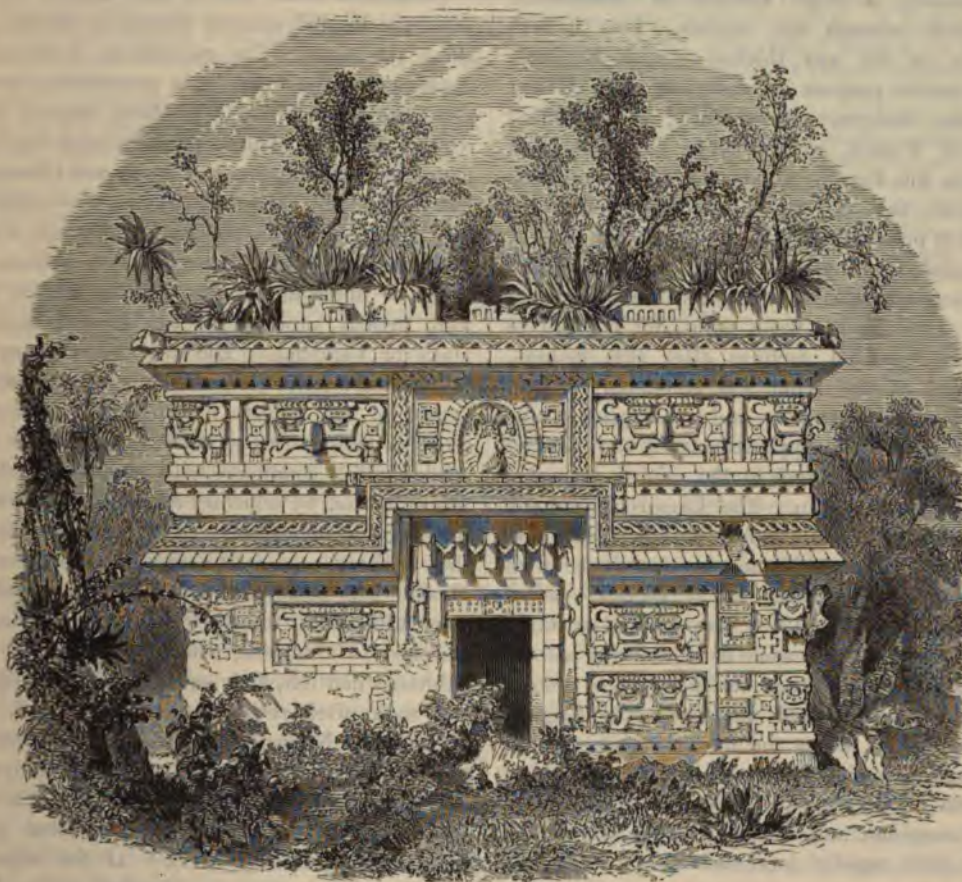
assault. Unfortunately for the French general, he discovered at the last moment that he was leaning on a broken reed. Offended by his arrogance, disappointed of their pay, and apparently somewhat ashamed of fighting against their own brethren, the Swiss under his command listened to the intrigues of the enemy, and suddenly deserted the French camp. Some even went over to the Imperialists. Lautrec retreated into Milan, but

with the Spanish infantry, advanced upon the city on the 19th of November, and the Porta Romana was thrown open according to promise. With some difficulty, Lautrec escaped with the remainder of his army, and the whole of Lombardy, excepting only a few towns, submitted to the victorious allies. The campaign had not lasted more than three months ; yet by a succession of intrigues, and a complication of treacherous

manœuvres, the French were utterly defeated, without even the honour of a decisive struggle. It was almost immediately after this great success that Leo X. expired under the suspicious circumstances previously related; and the exasperation of Francis I. at his ignominious reverses gave a colour of plausibility to the rumour that he had procured the Pontiff's death by poison.

The war was resumed in the spring of 1522,

legions were assured that some money would be found. Colonna, however, intercepted him at a position between Milan and Monza. The French general hesitated to attack; but the Swiss imperiously demanded to be immediately led against the enemy, dismissed from their service, or paid the arrears which were yet owing. The assault took place on April 29th, and resulted in a heavy defeat. The remnant of the Swiss retreated into



FAÇADE OF NATIVE PALACE IN YUCATAN.

after the election, in January, of Pope Adrian VI. as the successor of Leo. Some positions in the north of Italy were still held by Lautrec, and a fresh army of 10,000 men was quickly raised in Switzerland. Want of funds, however, crippled the French commander, while the forces of the allies were augmented by 5,000 Germans; so that the prospects of the former, though not desperate, were far from promising. He still had some forces in the citadel of Milan, and these he endeavoured to relieve, but without success. Being equally unfortunate in an attempt to reduce Pavia, he retreated upon Arona, where his mutinous Swiss

Switzerland; Lautrec returned to France, and the war was continued by his brother Lescun. Nothing, however, could be effected under such disastrous conditions, and on the 26th of May Lescun entered into an agreement with Colonna, by which he undertook to evacuate the whole of Lombardy, excepting the citadels of Milan, Novara, and Cremona. Genoa was soon afterwards taken by some Spanish and German troops, who, finding a breach in the walls, entered without resistance, and, deposing the Doge, set up another who was content to act as the servant of the Pope and the Emperor. Thus, for the third time within twenty

years, the Duchy of Milan was snatched from the grasp of France. The acquisition of that territory was the object dearest to the heart of the French monarch; and in the pursuit of a hopeless prize he suffered numerous defeats, and even compromised the honour of his name.

Immediately on the conclusion of the war, Charles V. resolved to return to Spain, where, although all active resistance to his power had been crushed, a large amount of disaffection still lurked beneath the surface. But it was necessary, on his way thither, to visit England, for the double purpose of conferring with Henry on ulterior designs, and soothing the irritated temper of Wolsey, who saw, in the election of Adrian to the Papacy, a breach of the Emperor's engagement that he would use his utmost endeavours to procure the exalted position for himself. The English Cardinal was a man sufficiently pliable when approached with gifts of money; and Charles, knowing his weak point, did not fail to solace his wounded feelings after this fashion. The vanity of the King was pampered by profuse expressions of respect, and the English people were pleased by the appointment of the Earl of Surrey as High Admiral to the mighty sovereign of Germany and Spain. The Emperor spent six weeks in England, and, before he left, Henry had declared war against France, in accordance with the terms agreed upon when Wolsey visited Charles at Bruges in 1521. The war had certainly been contemplated for some time, and the seizure of Fuentarabia by France was simply the pretext with which events had furnished the English monarch. Even when the two Kings were flattering and caressing one another on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, their hearts were filled with mutual suspicion and distrust. This feeling had steadily and rapidly increased ever since, and Francis was so well aware of the hostile designs entertained by Henry that he had recently put an embargo on English ships, and was now endeavouring to incite the Scots to make one of those irruptions into English territory by which

they were always ready to abet the designs of France. The Northern invasion, when it came, ended in failure, and Francis was mean enough to disavow his agent, the Duke of Albany, a Scottish nobleman in his service. Henry replied by a letter in which he flatly accused the French monarch of falsehood; and the personal relations of the two rulers were thus embittered before the commencement of the war which was now inevitable.

Hostilities broke out in the summer of 1522, when the English entered France at various points along the coast. The expedition, however, was distinguished by very little generalship, and had more the character of a piratical descent than of regular warfare. The Imperialists and the English joined their contingents in Picardy and Champagne; but neither the Count de Buren, who commanded for the Emperor, nor the Earl of Surrey, who had the direction of King Henry's forces, achieved anything of importance, although the united armies were greatly superior to the French under the Duke of Vendôme. The war was very unpopular in England; for it seemed devoid of any reasonable excuse, or any objects in which the national interest or honour was concerned. Indeed, it threatened English commerce with serious injuries, and was supported by arbitrary exactions which aroused considerable opposition. Any detailed account of the military operations would be superfluous. Hesdin was besieged by the allied generals, who were ultimately forced to retire. Thence they marched to Dourlens, which, finding that the inhabitants had left, they set on fire. The Imperialists soon after retired into Artois, and, at the beginning of November, the English were compelled to quit France, owing to an outbreak of dysentery—that scourge of great armies, which in former times ruined many enterprises better planned than that of Henry VIII. At the same time, the French commander, Marshal de la Palisse, forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Fuentarabia; so that up to this point the arms of Francis were rewarded by a measure of good fortune which afterwards proved illusory and vain.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF AMERICA.

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NORTH AMERICA, Central America, and South America, are spoken of in geography as one Continent; and these regions collectively, with the islands of the West Indies, in the archipelago discovered by Columbus nearly four centuries ago, have been often called, in modern history, the New World. But there is as much difference, comparing the three regional divisions of that Western Continent with each other, in the manner and effects of their colonisation from Europe, and in their subsequent political experiences, as in their physical aspects. A glance at the map shows that almost the whole of the broader part, covering from fifty to eighty degrees of longitude in the width of the United States and Canada, has been occupied by people of the English race, with a remnant of French on the shores of the St. Lawrence and of the Lower Mississippi. This is what may properly be distinguished as North America, including nearly all that is situated north of the tropical line; while Mexico seems rather to belong to Central America, where the mainland, cut into by a huge gulf of the Atlantic Ocean, is diminished to narrow proportions, dwindling farther to a slender isthmus before it joins the vast peninsula of South America.

The Spanish nation, early in the sixteenth century, achieved the conquest of Central and a great part of South America; and those countries are to this day in the possession of communities descended from the old Spanish settlement, mingled with a

large proportion of native races. A western section of South America, known as Brazil, was allotted to the Portuguese by a Papal decree of geographical division, which arrangement survived the long dynastic union and eventual separation of the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. But, with this exception, Central and South America remain mostly Spanish in the civilised communities, though, like the former English colonies in North America, transformed into States which have won Republican independence, and are not likely to be annexed or absorbed by any other nation. It was in 1498 that Columbus first saw the mainland of South America, near Trinidad, six years after his first discovery of the islands named the West Indies. In the course of the next twenty years, the government of the Spanish monarchy passed into new hands, and its American policy was much altered by the deaths of Isabella and Ferdinand, the imbecility of Joanna, and the accession of Charles V. The Spanish dominion at that period comprised the two large islands of Hispaniola (otherwise named Hayti, or St. Domingo), and Cuba, with a settlement in Jamaica, some of the Bahama and Caribbee Isles, some projecting points of mainland coast on the Gulf of Mexico and the northern coast of South America, and the Isthmus of Darien. The Pacific Ocean was discovered in 1513 by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, marching across from Darien, and a maritime station was formed at Panama, which became afterwards the stepping-

stone to the conquest of Peru. The pearl-fishery of Cubagua was found a lucrative pursuit; but the chief attention of Spanish colonists at that time was devoted, following the Portuguese example, to the cultivation of tropical produce by slave-labour. This practice involved terrible cruelty to the defenceless Indian population—cruelty which roused the indignation of a benevolent ecclesiastic, the brave and honest Catholic missionary Las Casas, who spent his lifetime in persevering efforts to obtain a reform of the system. Unhappily, after great multitudes of the natives of the mainland and of the islands had perished of fatigue, disease, and ill-treatment, in work for which they were physically unfit, both at the plantations and in the mines and pearl-fisheries, the system was superseded by the importation of negro slaves from Africa, first commenced in Brazil by the Portuguese. But in 1518, the date of the expedition which opened Mexico to the Spaniards, there already existed in Hispaniola and Cuba a substantial colony of planters and traders, many of whom might have remained content with the profits of their business, not dreaming of the conquest of golden realms and splendid cities beyond, but for the fresh arrivals from Spain of a class of needy and restless adventurers, who had no turn for industry or commerce, who knew no arts save those of irregular warfare and miscellaneous intrigue, and who brought to the West Indies an eagerness for the quest of unknown lands, to be subdued and plundered.

This disposition of a certain class among the fortune-hunting and place-seeking Spaniards, who surrounded the Colonial Government in both the large settled islands, fell in with the views of those official persons who wished to gratify their superiors in Spain. The rulers of that kingdom, after the death of Cardinal Ximenes, were less scrupulous, and more greedy both of revenue and of power, than Ferdinand and Isabella had been in their time. The young monarch's attention was engrossed by his election to the headship of the German Empire, and by large schemes of European ambition. Money was imperatively called for; and it was to be got most quickly, the Spanish Governors thought, by invading any native heathen kingdom where gold was believed to be plentiful, reducing it to subjection, and carrying away from it all they could get of the precious metal. The lawful authority for such proceedings was easily found in the religious duty of overthrowing all idolatrous worship, and compelling mankind to become Christians of the Holy Catholic Church. Every Spanish conqueror could preface his attack upon an unoffending nation by demanding the

formal submission of his victims to the King of Castile, as supreme temporal potentate, and to the Pope of Rome, as Vicar of Christ and Vicegerent of Heaven. But the real object of these expeditions, in the first instance, was simply piratical; it was to enforce the largest possible contributions of gold to the Spanish treasury, deducting certain shares, of course, for the reward of the military collectors, and of the colonial Governors who sent them forth. Divested of the false colours of romance and chivalry, and the conventional pretext of zeal for religion, this is the true character, in their origin, of the Spanish conquests on the mainland of America. It is not to be denied, however, that they put an end to some forms of barbaric tyranny and baneful superstition; and we must admit that the European rule of Mexico and Peru, when settled and improved, was on the whole better for mankind.

The two native kingdoms just named, as well in the prehistoric obscurity of their social and political foundation as in their situation with regard to the other countries and nations of America at the time of their discovery, present a curious object of contemplation. There is some apparent analogy, in this regard, between their condition and that of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria, relative to the other Eastern nations at the dawn of ancient history. The civilisation, such as it was, of Peru, of Mexico, and of Yucatan, where the ruins of prodigious edifices, built by an unknown people, are yet to be seen, is as great a wonder to the archaeologist as any monuments on the Nile, the Tigris, or the Euphrates. It cannot be so ancient by many centuries, but it is quite as far from being clearly accounted for; and it stands out, in two or three conspicuous exceptions, from a Continent then generally inhabited by tribes of simple and primitive habits. We find there existing many great and populous cities, with costly buildings, palaces, and temples, the seats of extensive Empires, of splendid Courts, and of political and ecclesiastical institutions extensively organised, strictly administered, and representing a vast elaboration of social efforts. The wonder of finding such advanced results of conventional polity in those remote parts of the earth is not less, but greater, since we are disabused of the idea that haunted the first discoverers, who imagined that America was somehow geographically connected with India, or with Cathay and Eastern Asia. We do not know, even yet, how the reality which they actually found came into existence. All that ingenious writers relate concerning the migrations of superior races, by land or by sea, from the north-

west by California, or from Japan, or Mongol Tartary, to Central and South America, remains only more or less probable conjecture. The half-mythological accounts gathered by Spanish chroniclers, who were not indisposed to indulge a romantic fancy, have the air of traditional fable. It is rather by a sort of feeling, a sense of affinity, than by induction from positive evidence, that we are inclined to ascribe the Mexican and the Peruvian varieties of civilisation to an Asiatic origin.

The country, including Mexico and the neighbouring parts of Central America, presents great variety of surface. Midway across its central breadth from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, on an elevated table-land which enjoys a temperate climate, though in the tropical zone, rising from 6,500 to 7,500 feet above the sea, is an oval plain or valley, fifty or sixty miles long, thirty or forty broad, and encompassed by lofty volcanic mountains. It is fertile and verdant, and once contained five small lakes, two of which have since been drained. A tribe of natives called the Chichimecs, inhabiting the entire table-land of Anahuac, seem to have been expelled or subdued by several bands of strangers—the Acolhuans, the Tepanecs, and the Aztecs, who came over the mountains from the north-west. These were kindred nations, tracing their common descent from the Toltecs, who are also said to have founded a powerful kingdom at Tula, north of the Valley of Mexico, and another branch of whose stock was established in the peninsula of Yucatan, to the south-west, beyond the Bay of Campeachy. Those who settled in the central upland valley, like the Romans and their Italian neighbours in the narrow plain of Latium, built their fortified towns apart, on the shores of the different small lakes. They had their mutual dealings of war and alliance, until the Aztecs prevailed over the others, and joined them together as one conquering nation. How long it had been so, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, we cannot say, for the native accounts, even if correctly reported, seem hardly worthy of credit. They were found living under the rule of an hereditary king named Montezuma, whose capital was a large town, Tenochtitlan, on the site of the modern city of Mexico. The cities of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, at no great distance, were seats of subordinate or federated governments; but Montezuma occasionally resided in them. He was master of a considerable army, and maintained imperial pomp, surrounded by thirty feudal vassals, each of them a prince owning lordly domains with numerous tenants, fighting-men, serfs, and slaves. Counsellors of State, judges and magistrates, tax-

collectors, and other State officials, were employed in the regular administration.

The Mexicans, as we may call this ruling nation, had their arts and learning, their historical, legal, didactic, and poetical compositions, but used hieroglyphic picture-books instead of an alphabetical literature. The priesthood, as in ancient Egypt, held the keys of knowledge, directing the education of youth, acting as guardians of the social and political institutions, possessing a vast amount of landed property, and ranking above the secular nobles. Their altars, called *teocalli*, were enormous square pyramids of earth cased with fine masonry, presenting some resemblance to those of Babylon, and those found in Java and Eastern Asia. The structure had four or five terraces, of diminishing breadth, raised one above another, running all round, with steps of ascent in one corner, and small temples on the summit, where fires were kept perpetually burning in front of the images of their gods. Thirteen greater personal deities, male and female, of whom the one most fervently adored by the Aztecs was Huitzilopotehli, the god of war, were the objects of public worship. The Tezcucans, a people of milder spirit and more cultured intelligence, had introduced the worship of Quetzalcoatl, the divine patron of agriculture and the useful arts, the author of peace and plenty and of social order. There was a tradition in Mexico that this beneficent personage, after instructing the nation in the means of promoting their welfare, had been driven away by the jealousy of the other gods, and had embarked on the eastern sea. He was expected some day to return, first sending a powerful precursor, a white man with fair hair and flowing beard, to inaugurate the new Saturnian reign of universal happiness. In the meantime, horrid rites of human sacrifice, on a scale that is scarcely equalled in Ashantee or Dahomey, were continually paid to Huitzilopotehli and some other dreaded divinities, whose wrath it was thought needful to avert. All prisoners of war, besides great numbers of ordinary slaves, men, women, and children, and occasionally persons of a higher class, selected by the priests through a method of pretended divination, were slaughtered upon the high altars, by cutting open their breasts and taking out their hearts, in full sight of the assembled people. This was done by the priests of all the temples in the country, and so frequently at their numerous sacred festivals, and with such wholesale massacres upon some extraordinary occasions, that the average yearly slaughter was to be reckoned by tens of thousands. A very revolting custom which usually attended these sacrifices

remains to be mentioned. Portions of human flesh, consecrated by a peculiar religious ceremony, from being a savage nation. They were skilful arithmeticians and chronologists, having sufficient



HERNANDO CORTES. (After the Portrait in the Hospital of the Purissima Concepcion, Mexico.)

monial, were eaten at sacramental banquets, not in gluttony or wanton insolence, but as a mystical act of faith.

The Mexicans, however, despite this atrocious feature of their heathen superstition, were far

acquaintance with practical astronomy to frame an exact system of measurement of time; their buildings were vast and solid, though seldom of more than one storey, and were internally adorned with fine polished woods: their sculpture and painting,

if not in pure taste, showed much technical skill. They manufactured fine cotton cloth, often beautifully dyed and embroidered, goldsmith's work and jewellery of exquisite finish, highly artistic pottery, and utensils or weapons of bronze, as the working of iron was unknown among them. A species of embroidery, interweaving the lovely plumage of birds, or the delicate hair of some animal, with a texture of suitable colours, won the admiration of those who saw it when sent to Europe. The Mexicans were industrious and skilful agriculturists, and were fond of rearing flowers in their gardens ;

capital was foolishly destroyed, from an apprehension that it would hinder the conversion of the nations to the Christian faith.

The story of the rapid conquest of Mexico, achieved by Hernando Cortes, a soldier and administrator not unworthy of comparison with Julius Cæsar, is the most romantic episode in the history of those times. He was a Spaniard of respectable parentage, but of irregular education, who had emigrated to the West Indies in early manhood, and had married and settled as a planter in Cuba. The Governor of that island, Diego Velasquez, was



THE PYRAMID OF CHOLULA.

they were addicted to music, and dancing, and social gaiety. Chocolate, from the fruit or bean of the cacao-tree, was a common article of diet, and was generally flavoured with vanilla ; their chief stimulating drink was the *pulque*, or distilled juice of the great Mexican aloe ; and they were both smokers of tobacco and snuff-takers, like most of the Central American and West Indian populations. But a very favourable idea of the general politeness and intelligence of the Mexicans is presented by the accounts of contemporary Spanish writers. It is to be regretted that no pains were taken to decipher the abundant native literature, a very few specimens of which, translated by Mexicans who learned the Spanish language, are now extant, showing much refinement of thought and sentiment. The bulk of the hieroglyphic books and pictures found in the

intent on schemes of extending the Spanish dominion to the neighbouring continental shores. He sent forth, in 1518, an expedition for preliminary research, under his nephew, Juan de Grijalva, assisted by Pedro de Alvarado, who entered the Bay of Campeachy, and landed on the Mexican coast. They returned to Cuba with glowing accounts of the rich kingdom in the interior, and it was resolved to fit out another expedition, with powers that were not precisely defined. The personal abilities of Cortes were already known to many, and he had acquired some interest among the colonial officials. He had, too, a moderate private fortune, which he now devoted to the object of his cherished ambition, expending all his own money, and all he could borrow from his friends, in the purchase and equipment of five or six small vessels, with

which he volunteered to undertake the service proposed. Velasquez, from the state of the public finances, and from the lack of other candidates likely to perform the task as well as Cortes, had no choice but to give him the appointment. He did so with great misgivings, as he foresaw that Cortes would take an independent line of action. On the eve of the squadron sailing, the Governor made up his mind to stop Cortes, to supersede him in the command, and to put him under arrest. But Cortes was too quick for him, and, having already embarked, with his band of five or six hundred volunteer soldiers, hastened his start from Cuba, disregarding a positive order to delay his voyage. The final departure was effected on the 18th of February, 1519.

He first touched the coast of Yucatan, where he found a survivor of the crew of a Spanish vessel wrecked in 1511, a man named Aguilar, who, having learned the native language, was able to serve as an interpreter. Cortes then proceeded to the southern shores of the Bay of Campeachy, and there landed in the country of Tabasco, which was part of the Mexican dominions. He took possession of the place in the name of his Royal master, Charles V., and of the Pope and See of St. Peter, but not without having to fight for it. Several thousand natives, armed with spears and darts, maces, slings, and bows and arrows, encountered the small band of Spaniards in a marshy plain. They maintained the conflict for an hour; but the musketry, the steel swords, and the field-artillery of the Europeans, wrought havoc among the barbarian host. Cortes had with him five hundred and fifty-three Spanish soldiers, including thirteen arquebusiers and thirty-two cross-bowmen, with fourteen pieces of cannon. The men wore steel helmets, but were not encumbered with heavy plate-armour on their bodies, having thickly quilted waistcoats of cotton which served for defence against the puny Indian arrows. Sixteen soldiers, including the captain, were mounted on horses; and the appearance of that animal, never before seen in Mexico, affected the native people with extreme alarm. After the battle, which took place on March 25th, the Tabascans made their submission to Cortes, and consented to become subjects of his unknown, distant sovereign, and to allow the establishment of a new religion amongst them. The idols were dislodged from the top of one of their great altars, where the image of the Virgin Mary was enthroned with much ecclesiastical ceremony, after long sermons by two monks, or clergymen, who accompanied

the expedition. Twenty female slaves were presented to the conqueror at Tabasco; one of whom, a handsome young woman, of good Mexican family, was baptized in the name of Marina, and taught to speak Spanish, when she proved very useful to Cortes as an interpreter. He re-embarked, and sailed along the coast to San Juan de Ulloa; and on April 21st landed, with all his men, on the beach, where he soon afterwards founded the seaport town of Vera Cruz. This point is nearly two hundred miles from the capital city of Mexico, in the interior highlands.

From April 21st until August 16th, Cortes remained on the sea-coast, occupied in transactions which showed a mixture of courage, dexterity, and keen calculation, such as few leaders have ever equalled. He was soon visited by Mexican officers of State, envoys of the Emperor Montezuma, commissioned to inquire the purposes of the foreigners; but they treated Cortes with great civility. He proposed, and finally insisted, that he should march on to the capital, and have a personal interview with Montezuma. To this, however, the Mexican grandees would not consent; and the protracted interchange of messages, compliments, and valuable gifts, during many days, effected no positive result. Cortes meanwhile was laying out and constructing his fortified military town of Vera Cruz, somewhat on the Roman plan of a permanent *Castrum*; and was securing the alliance of the Totonacs, a strong neighbouring tribe at Cempoalla, to the north of that seaport. The Totonacs had found the Mexican rule very oppressive, and were quite ready to revolt against it. They promised Cortes, in addition, the active assistance of another people, the Tlascalans, who maintained an independent republic under their own chiefs, halfway between the sea-coast and Montezuma's city. But it was needful, before Cortes advanced into the interior, that his own authority with the Spaniards should be placed on a better footing. He was now acting in disobedience of the Governor of Cuba; and there was a party among his followers who demanded that he should return to that colony at once. Cortes professed his willingness to yield, though against his own opinion, to their counsels and views of duty; but he secretly encouraged the more adventurous leaders of the majority, amongst whom were his personal friends, to bring forward the plan of forming a separate colonial dominion on the mainland, free from the control of Governor Velasquez. This proposal was adopted, though not without some dissentients; and ruling officials of the new community were

appointed, with the titles of Alcaldes and Regidores, to whom the civil government was consigned. A vessel was sent to Spain, with two deputies of the colony of Vera Cruz, bearing presents of gold and Indian manufactures, and carrying a letter written by Cortes to Charles V., reporting all that had been done, and praying his Majesty's approval. The next step taken by Cortes was one of an extraordinary character. He felt the danger of leaving to any faction that might again spring up in his little army the opportunity of going back to Cuba. He could not himself return thither with hope of safety; for he had defied the authority of Velasquez, who might order him to be beheaded as a rebel—a fate which had befallen Nuñez de Balboa at the hands of the Governor of Darien. Cortes therefore secretly gave orders for sinking all his ships in the harbour of Vera Cruz. They were his own private property, or that of his personal associates, not of the Government; and it seems that they were of little value, and hardly seaworthy, having been purchased very cheaply. But the address and confidence with which he persuaded the Spaniards to acquiesce in such a desperate measure, proved his great capacity for command.

In the middle of August, having completed his arrangements on the sea-coast, and leaving Juan de Escalante, with a hundred and fifty men, to occupy Vera Cruz, this leader of a most audacious enterprise began his march inland. After crossing the sultry lowlands of the Tierra Caliente, full of the richest verdure, of meadows and forests displaying a variety of tropical fruits and flowers, the band of Spanish adventurers made the toilsome ascent of the steep and rugged passes to the upland country, where their spirits were reinvigorated by a temperate and congenial atmosphere. They stopped four or five days at the town of a neutral chief acquainted with their allies of Cempoalla, and then moved onward to the secluded valleys of Tlascala, where they hoped to obtain powerful assistance for the conquest of Mexico. The Tlascalans were a brave and warlike people, ruled by no king, but obeying their hereditary chieftains or nobles, four of whom at this time divided the governing authority amongst them. There was a difference of opinion in the councils of this oligarchy respecting the policy which they should adopt towards the Spaniards. Some were for readily accepting the aid of those strangers, the fame of whose prowess, of their horses, and guns, and skill in battle, had spread all over the country, and with whom the Tlascalans might be able to overthrow the kingdom of their

enemies, the Aztecs. But an aged nobleman, named Xicotencatl, with his son, a warrior of ardent and impetuous disposition, preferred refusing the alliance of the foreigners, and resisting their approach. A large force of the retainers of this Tlascalan chief, without the sanction of his peers in the ruling Council of State, encountered Cortes when he entered the valley. Several fierce battles were fought, in which Spanish valour and discipline, with the advantage of firearms, steel swords, and cavalry, defeated the vastly greater numbers of a barbarian foe. The city of Tlascala then sent forth an embassy of peace and friendship, and presently received Cortes with what seemed a very cordial and hospitable welcome. He was handsomely entertained there during several weeks; good lodgings and food were provided for his men, and five or six high-born Indian maidens were given as wives to as many of the Spanish officers, being first baptized in the Christian religion by Father Olmedo, the monk who accompanied this expedition. Cortes, while at Tlascala, received from the Emperor of Mexico repeated ceremonious embassies, which expressed amicable sentiments, but entreated the Spaniards not to come nearer the capital, lest its tranquillity should be disturbed. He persisted in declaring to Montezuma's servants that he would go, but with no hostile intent, though in his conferences with the Tlascalan lords he held out different promises. Thus he contrived, with profound dissimulation, to practise upon the mutual animosity of the two States, alternately provoking their hopes and fears as to the part he might finally choose to play between them.

In the meantime, learning the situation of affairs in another province—that of Cholula, about twenty miles south of Tlascala, and owing allegiance to Mexico—the crafty Spanish politician found opportunity for a diversion to secure the goodwill of his new allies. The Tlascalans cherished a particular resentment against the Cholulans, and were desirous to get the Spaniards to inflict either destruction or severe humiliation upon the neighbour city. At the same time, it happened that the Emperor Montezuma, wishing to direct the formidable strangers rather to a provincial town than to the metropolis where he resided, sent word to Cortes that he should go to Cholula, and that arrangements would there be made for his suitable entertainment. Cholula was the great manufacturing and commercial city of the Mexican Empire, and contained also the greatest of the Mexican temples, dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, the god of peace and industry—a pyramid much larger

than any in Egypt, though not so lofty, its height being 173 feet. Cortes entered here, with his Spaniards and Indian servants, in friendly guise, leaving the Tlascalcan army encamped at some distance from the town. The Spaniards were treated with great civility, and supplied with all that was needful for their comfort. But in a few days, somehow or other, mutual suspicions arose between the hosts and the guests. It is asserted on behalf of Cortes, in justification of his conduct at this place, that he discovered a plot among the Cholulans to fall upon the Spaniards, and kill them all. The alleged conspiracy is said to have been revealed by the wife of a chief, or cacique, to Marina, the Indian woman before mentioned, who attended Cortes as interpreter, and lived with him as his paramour. It is difficult to judge the truth of the assertion; but Cortes lost no time in making it the pretext for a wholesale massacre. Having concerted arrangements with the large Tlascalcan army outside the city, he posted his own soldiers, with his cannon, at the gates of a spacious enclosed square, where he requested the Cholulan caciques to meet him in public assembly, that he might take a solemn leave of them. When so collected, with their families, companions, and servants, to the number of two thousand, Cortes sternly upbraided them for the conspiracy which he said he had detected, and then suddenly declared that he would take signal vengeance upon them. He gave the word; and the Spaniards, with their guns and crossbows, poured in deadly volleys of shot, followed by charges with their pikes and lances, and by the onset of the swordsmen, mowing down their helpless victims; while the city was entered in another quarter by the savage Tlascalcan warriors, who encountered the townsmen as they ran to the succour of their chiefs. The carnage that prevailed in Cholula during some hours of that day and night is scarcely conceivable. The Tlascalcan allies of Cortes were gratified by the indulgence of their inveterate hatred, and by unbounded license of plunder. Such were the first fruits of the civilising mission of Cortes in the Mexican territory; and the Christian chivalry of Spain was distinguished by many such actions on the Western Continent. The next scene of action, though not yet of open warfare, was the beautiful city of Tenochtitlan, the capital of Montezuma's rich and splendid empire—a city which may here be called by its modern name of Mexico.

Four or five days' march north-west from Cholula, which stood nearly on the site of the present town of La Puebla de los Angeles, brought the Spaniards within sight of the metropolitan city.

This was built, not unlike Venice, on several islets, or partly artificial banks, amidst the water of a shallow salt-lake, deriving its name from the rival town of Tezcuco on the opposite shore. Three broad causeways, built of stone, with a double aqueduct of fresh water, joined the city to the mainland, several miles distant. The streets and squares of the city were intersected by canals, and relieved by gardens, often raised upon terraces to catch the cool air, by groves of flowering trees, and conspicuous edifices of light reddish stone, which had a charming aspect in contrast with the rich surrounding verdure. The houses were generally low and flat-roofed, like those of an Asiatic city; but the main streets were regular, straight, and cleanly kept, being neatly paved with stone. The canals and the lake were frequented by numerous small boats conveying fruit, maize, or other market vegetables, from the country around. The shores of this lake, and of other lakes situated in the same wide valley encompassed by lofty mountains, were both well cultivated and well peopled: besides Tenochtitlan and Tezcuco, four or five other considerable towns lay almost within sight. The inhabitants of the capital alone cannot be estimated at less than three hundred thousand. The palaces of Montezuma and the princes of Mexico were vast and superbly decorated, but of simple architecture, covering a great extent of ground, with gardens, fountains, fish-ponds, aviaries, and cages for a collection of wild beasts. The temples, the colleges of the priests, and the huge pyramidal altars, were prominent features in a view of the city. Such was Mexico as it appeared on the 8th of November, 1519, the day when Cortes and his little army, the first European visitors, marched along the southern causeway, and over the drawbridge, and through the open gate into the principal street.

The Emperor Montezuma, a magnificent, courteous, and truly generous potentate, met his strange visitors with profuse tokens of friendship. Seated in a golden palanquin, carried by nobles barefoot, he was attired in a fine mantle of embroidered white cotton, decorated with pearls and emeralds, with a long plume of green feathers on his head, and jewelled sandals of gold on his feet. He alighted on the road, and greeted Cortes with exquisite politeness, bidding him a cordial welcome, and ordering the royal attendants to conduct these honoured guests to their appointed lodgings. They were taken to the palace of Axayacatl, a vast building of stone, with a central tower or upper storey, in the middle of a spacious paved courtyard with a strong wall around it. There was

ample room for all the Spaniards in the building itself, which was comfortably furnished, while their Tlascalan and other native followers occupied huts in the courtyard. Food was presently served from the royal kitchens; and, at a later hour, Montezuma, with his principal ministers and courtiers, came to speak with Cortes, when the Indian woman Marina was still their interpreter. Next day, Cortes returned the visit at the Emperor's own palace, and they held long conferences on the supreme authority of the Spanish monarch (whom Cortes fraudulently represented as the lawful Sovereign of the World), and on the divine origin and universal claims of the Christian religion. If we are to believe the evidence of Cortes and of other Spaniards, Montezuma, from the first, willingly acknowledged the Imperial sway of their master, Charles V., and promised allegiance to him, but refused to change his religion, saying that he doubted not the God of the white men was good, but the gods of his ancestors were good also, and they would punish anybody who deserted their worship. A few days after this conversation, he allowed Cortes to climb with him to the summit of the great *teocalli*, and to inspect the altar and temple. It was in vain, however, that Cortes, whose zeal for the overthrow of idolatry seems to have been perfectly sincere, renewed the arguments of theological controversy, while Father Olmedo, the chaplain priest and monk, discreetly forbore to abuse the deities of Mexico, or to ask that they might be cast down. Montezuma gravely and decidedly objected to hear any more upon the subject. He must have considered the Spaniards as in a manner religious infidels; yet he regarded them with superstitious veneration, imagining that they were a superior race of mankind, specially favoured by the mythological divine patron of the early Aztecs or Toltecs, who had gone away to the East over the sea, and had promised to send one day persons of his offspring to establish a happy reign. The kingdom of the Aztecs would then come to an end. Montezuma apparently believed all this, and felt rather glad that the time had arrived. He was a gentle, timid, scrupulous man, wearied of the despotic rule entrusted to him, satiated with pomp and luxury, averse from cruelty, anxious to do right, and altogether of an unselfish disposition, but weak in mind and will.

The Spaniards stayed six months in the capital of Montezuma, but had not been many days there before they inflicted a gross outrage on that hospitable and confiding monarch. Cortes was very impatient to gain actual power in the country, without which he could not hope to justify his irregular

proceedings to the Government in Spain, while he had cause to dread an effectual interference with them by the Colonial Government in Cuba. He had no time to lose in the interchange of mere courtesies with the Mexican Emperor; besides, the cupidity of his soldiers, and the ferocity of his Tlascalan allies, would not be content with staying as peaceable guests in that rich golden city. An incident now took place near Vera Cruz, where Cortes had left one of his officers, Juan de Escalante, with a hundred and fifty men as a garrison, the news of which gave Cortes an opportunity he perhaps desired. Some of them were treacherously murdered by a neighbouring Aztec chief, and a fight ensued, in which Escalante and seven or eight more Spaniards were killed. Cortes, as soon as he heard of this, resolved to hold Montezuma responsible for it, and to make him a prisoner in the Spanish quarters, which had been converted into a fortress. The enormous audacity of this measure is so bewildering as to throw into the shade its insolence and injustice. There is no proof at all that Montezuma had in any way consented to the attack on the Spaniards at the seacoast. Cortes, however, went to the Emperor with some of his officers, and said that the affair required strict investigation, which Montezuma promised, at once sending off his messengers to bring the offending chieftain to the capital. This did not satisfy Cortes, who insisted that the Emperor should, in the meantime, leave his own palace, and live with the Spaniards, where he should keep up the full dignity of his Court, and carry on his government as before. Montezuma protested against such a degradation, and a vehement discussion took place, in which one of the Spanish officers threatened to stab him.

The interview seems to have been conducted in private, and in the absence of the Mexican nobles and courtiers; but it is singular that this great prince should have submitted either to persuasion or to violence, without calling in the help of his native councillors, or of his palace-guard. He must have been weak and timid; or it may have been the personal fascination which Cortes exerted over many persons, the effect of a resolute and energetic will, steadfast calmness of manner, and a crafty plausibility, that for the moment overcame the judgment and feelings of the monarch. At any rate, Montezuma reluctantly consented, and removed his court and household to the other palace, where the Spaniards treated him with ostentatious tokens of respect, but had him under close and constant watch, their armed sentinels being always at his door. This extraordinary situation



RECEPTION OF CORTES BY MONTEZUMA.

of the Emperor continued several months, but was in some degree concealed from the people of Mexico, as he caused it to be said that he chose, of his own free will, to dwell with his friends, who had come from beyond the sea to confer great benefits on the nation. The subordinate chief at the coast, who had perpetrated the assault on Escalante's party,

required, as he said, by his duty to his own sovereign lord. At all other times, Montezuma was approached by the Spaniards with the utmost ceremony, and they did everything to soothe and please their imperial captive. He was permitted to go out under their guard, to perform his rites of religious worship at the *teocalli*, and to enjoy



MONTEZUMA.

was duly brought to Mexico, with his son and fifteen of his servants; all of whom were condemned to death, which was effected by burning in the open square before the palace. While this execution was going on, Cortes suddenly entered the Emperor's presence, affected to reproach him severely for the acts of his subjects, and, seeing his cowed and depressed condition, put fetters on his hands and feet. Montezuma could only weep, and suffer this extreme disgrace. The manacles were removed an hour or two afterwards, when Cortes expressed his regret for a severity

the sports of the chase in his own woodland park. But his intercourse with the Mexicans was restricted, and he was allowed to do nothing, and to see nobody, without the approval of Cortes. A nephew of his, named Cacama, who had got the lordship of Tezcuco, began, in 1520, to form a league for the rescue of the Emperor and the expulsion of the Spaniards. Montezuma was compelled to make proclamation of his disavowal of the plot; and, when Cacama persisted in it, notwithstanding orders to the contrary, his uncle had to arrest him. This was done by some of the people at Tezcuco in

Montezuma's service, who kidnapped the young prince, and conveyed him to a prison in the capital city.

In explanation of the conduct of Montezuma—of his easy submission to the control exercised over him by Cortes, the leader of a small band of strangers who had not yet fought a battle with the Mexicans—some suggestions may be offered; but much obscurity rests upon the motives of these transactions. Montezuma was a man of forty, who had grown indolent and effeminate, and was liable to occasional fits of despondency, even to weeping. He may have been already suffering, in secret, from the bodily disease which put an end to his life not long afterwards, but the precise nature of which is not stated. He was excessively sensitive to harshness or unkindness, so that tears would start in his eyes if he were roughly spoken to. He had long since laid aside the exercises of warfare, and devoted himself to the religious and historical studies of the priestly college. Whether from contempt of this disposition in a king, or from political causes, it appears that Montezuma had become unpopular among his subjects, that the great vassals of the Crown denied him their support, that there was open rebellion in several provinces, and that he commanded little personal attachment even in the metropolitan city. The Aztec Empire seemed on the point of breaking up, apart from the Spanish invasion; and its unhappy monarch perhaps thought that his best chance of securing tranquillity would be to embrace the foreign protector, believing himself destined to be the last of the reigning dynasty, as was foretold by the interpretation of ancient prophecies concerning the advent of a new divine power from the East.

Under these or similar influences, Montezuma not only forbore to resent the arrogant usurpation, but lavished on the Spaniards, more and more profusely, gifts of the glittering treasures laid up by his ancestors, or gathered now by his express command from many towns and gold-mines of his dominion. The opening of a secret chamber adjacent to their quarters in the late Emperor's palace revealed a dazzling hoard of the precious metal; not coins, but ingots of gold, bags of gold-dust, ornaments, utensils, and artistic figures made of gold. When all was collected and delivered to Cortes, the total value was estimated at a sum which would be equivalent to one million and a half sterling in our days. Cortes sent a large share of this to Spain, where it was just then much wanted; and he seems to have taken very little for himself, and to have persuaded his fol-

lowers to be satisfied with a small proportion. He was anxious to obtain the sanction of Charles V., and of the Spanish "Council of the Indies," to all that he was doing in Mexico. With this view, he wrote elaborate despatches to his Government, and prevailed on Montezuma to order changes in the Mexican Empire which seemed preparatory to the establishment of a regular Spanish colony. Lands were granted for the cultivation of maize and cacao; accounts were taken of the mines, the sea-ports, and the fisheries, which he helped to work for the profit of the Spaniards; and, finally, the Roman Catholic religion was legalised and installed, alongside of the heathen worship, in one of the great temples. These measures still further alienated the native mind, especially that of the priesthood, from the unfortunate Montezuma, till he was regarded as a faithless and helpless puppet in the hands of grasping strangers. Disaffection grew apace; and now Cortes became conscious of the real weakness of his position amongst them. Montezuma entreated him to go away quietly, but, fearing for his own safety, began to listen to the proposal, almost the demand, that he should himself leave the country with them, to end his life in peace and honour at the Court of the great European monarch, whose supremacy he had formally acknowledged. After several months of uneasy expectation, news came to Mexico that another fleet and army, twice as strong as the first, had arrived on the sea-coast. It was, as Cortes knew too well, sent by the Governor of Cuba to depose him from his command, and to bring him a prisoner for trial and judgment upon the charge of treason and rebellion.

But the undaunted courage of the adventurer did not fail him in this imminent peril. He considered, and rightly, that if he succeeded in the conquest of Mexico, having communicated directly to the supreme authority in Spain every part of his proceedings, and having sent rich tribute to the royal exchequer there, he would ultimately appear fully justified against the complaints of his official enemies in Cuba. He ventured, therefore, to oppose their force by the force under his own command. Leaving a portion of his little army, under Pedro de Alvarado, to garrison the fortress in the city of Mexico, he hastened with the best and trustiest of his soldiers to encounter the hostile troops of their fellow-countrymen, who were at Cempoalla, not far from Vera Cruz. They were commanded by a rash and careless officer, Panfilo de Narvaez, but numbered fourteen hundred infantry and eighty cavalry, with twenty pieces of cannon, and more than a hundred muskets.

The extraordinary good luck, and the not less remarkable promptitude and dexterity, which characterised the military movements of Cortes, did not desert him upon this critical occasion. In a dark and stormy night, crossing a river which the rain and floods seemed to have rendered impassable, he surprised the camp of Narvaez, and, with very little fighting, made him prisoner; upon which, most of the newly-arrived soldiery agreed very willingly to serve Cortes, thus doubling or trebling his former strength. Having placed garrisons in the towns and forts of the coast, he marched quickly back to Mexico, but heard on the way terrible tidings of what had happened in his absence.

Alvarado, whom he had left in charge, had perpetrated a monstrous crime and enormous blunder, nearly fatal to the existence of the Spaniards in Mexico. It is almost incredible, but the fact is certain, that, on a solemn festival day, when six hundred of the Mexican nobility were assembled to perform a sacred dance in honour of their god Tezcatlipuk, the invaders fell upon them, and slaughtered nearly all. This horrible deed—a worse piece of wickedness than the heathen practice of human sacrifices, our disgust at which has been appealed to in excuse for the perfidy and cruelty of Christians—was not provoked by any injury or offence the Spaniards had received. Alvarado was a sanguinary fool or madman, who dreaded some hostile action of the Mexicans during the time Cortes was away, and therefore supposed it politic to cut off their leading men at one stroke. The immediate consequence was a tumultuary rising of the townsfolk, who, by tens of thousands, besieged the Spanish quarters with cries of vengeance; and the small garrison was hard-pressed when Cortes returned from the coast with his augmented army. This was on the 24th of June, 1520: the ensuing week—a terrible time of daily street-fighting, terminated by a disastrous nocturnal retreat—should be remembered as a warning to military insolence by every nation of Europe or America. The infuriated populace, in countless multitudes surrounding the walled courtyard of the palace where the Spaniards defended their lives, filled the air with darts, stones from their slings, and fiery brands, but could not force the gates or batter down the walls, and were repulsed in every attempt to scale them. Eighty Spaniards were killed on the first day, sixty the next day; and hundreds were sorely wounded. But their cannon and musketry made great havoc in the crowds outside, and Cortes, riding forth with a few score horsemen, cut down large numbers in his frequent sallies. One day, he took fifty of his

bravest swordsmen, and stormed the five successive terraces of the great *teocalli*, driving the Mexicans over its giddy verge, toppling down their idols, and burning the lofty wooden temples. These feats of valour were performed in vain: the swarms of besiegers rather increased, and the garrison were in peril of starving. Poor Montezuma, still a captive, loving his own people, and having never hated the Spaniards, was compelled to show himself on the upper tower, and to bid the insurgents disperse. He was struck on the head by one of their missiles, fell wounded and fainting, was carried to an inner room, and died in a few hours, but apparently of some internal disease, aggravated by sorrow and shame, or we may say of a broken heart.

Cortes sent out the Emperor's corpse, for such a funeral as the Mexicans would give him, and made preparations to quit the fortress and the city. He had timber, tools, and carpenters, and had tried the construction of moving wooden towers, wherewith to fight against the people on the roofs of their houses. He now made a portable drawbridge, to pass the canals which intersected the causeway from the inland city to the nearest shore at Tlacuba. On the dark night of the 1st of July, still called in Spanish Mexico *la noche trista*—"the night of grief"—all the Spaniards and their Tlascalcan allies, with horses, artillery, baggage, and boxes of treasure, many of the private soldiers loaded with as much gold as they could carry, moved out stealthily, while the city slept, through streets cumbered with the slain, and began to pass along the causeway to the mainland. But they found the canals guarded by Mexican canoes; the alarm was sounded, and the fugitives thronging the causeway had to fight their desperate way through assailants in tenfold number from every side. Their portable bridge stuck fast in the first canal, and could not be brought on to the second and third. Many were struck down, many pushed into the lake and drowned; they lost all the cannon, the luggage and the burthen of gold, and nearly all the horses. It was only by wading or swimming that any of the men could escape; and at least half of the Spaniards perished, the number being stated by one writer at 450, by another at 870, with 4,000 Indian auxiliaries, killed in this frightful confusion.

But the city populace of Mexico was not an army; it had no commander and no strategy; it did not think of pursuit. Cortes was defeated, but not destroyed. The Spaniards, with their firearms and their cavalry, were shown not to be invincible; but Cortes resolved to put himself at the head of native forces sufficient to conquer the Mexican

capital. This was the task of the ensuing campaign, after visiting Tlascala, Cholula, Chalco, and other provinces, and using his rare diplomatic talents for a league of warlike powers to overturn the Aztec monarchy. He fought and won several battles in the open country with those who resisted his passage, and lent his services to aid the friendly nations in subjugating minor tribes. The great ability, the perseverance, the versatility, with which Cortes managed political as well as military business, must be fairly recognised; but his whole course was disgraced by trickery, bad faith, dissimulation, and cunning, seldom equalled by the conduct of Europeans in any age of Christendom. It seems, however, to have been a received theological opinion at that period, among the clergy and laity of Roman Catholic nations, that falsehood and promise-breaking were allowable in dealings with the heathen, for their conquest by the Christian State and Church.

The final military achievement of Cortes—the actual conquest of the Imperial city where he had sojourned as a favoured guest—took place in the following year. Having employed six months in the preliminary transactions above described, he led a native army of fifty thousand men, besides the remnant of Spaniards, up to the valley of Mexico, and fixed his headquarters at Tezcuco, on the lake-shore opposite the city. The successor of Montezuma had been his brother, who did not long survive him, and his nephew Guatemozin was now on the throne. The defensive position was one of great strength; but Cortes had built a number of vessels—barges rather than brigantines—to convey parties of his troops about the lake. During the siege, or before its proper commencement, while engaged in capturing the lesser towns around the shore, he obtained considerable reinforcements from Spain, with an official sanction of all he had done. He was now Captain-General and Governor of New Spain, and had only to complete his conquest. The actual siege of the city began on the 30th of May, 1521, and lasted seventy-five days. The besieged fought with devoted loyalty and patriotism, defending their city against an overpowering force, street by street, canal after canal, dying in heaps by sword and spear and shot, while a great multitude perished by famine. On the 13th of August, all was over, and Guatemozin surrendered himself a prisoner. He was at first kindly treated; but, at a later period, this last of the Mexican Emperors was tortured, to wring from him the discovery of a supposed hidden treasure. He was afterwards put to death.

The subsequent career of Cortes as a Governor

and administrator, his visit to Europe, where Charles V. bestowed high honours upon him, his return to America, the rebuilding of the city of Mexico, and the troubles and conflicts attending Spanish colonial establishments in Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, may be here passed over. It will suffice, in general, to observe that the whole of Central America, the Isthmus, the islands, the northern shores of South America, and those of the estuary of the Rio de la Plata, became Spanish dominions. The conquest of Peru, achieved by Pizarro twelve years after the conquest of Mexico, has obtained even greater celebrity. It is a romantic, though not attractive or agreeable, story; but the previous condition of Peru, under its native rulers, is scarcely less worthy of notice than that of the Aztec nation.

This is almost as great an historical and archaeological mystery as the origin of Mexican civilisation. Peru, situated between the western side of the Andes and the South Pacific Ocean, is naturally a very wild country—a country of mountain ranges, deep valleys, and deserts, not easily accessible by land. The most ancient tradition of its inhabitants is that they were miserable savages till their divine teachers, Manco Capac and Mama Oello, the son and daughter of the glorious orb of daylight, came to them over the sea. The Sun, their father, had given to this pair of his children a golden rod, which pointed their way to the site of Cuzco, the future capital of the Incas, their royal descendants, through whom all the benefits of social life were dispensed to the Peruvian nation. A despotism, paternal in authority, generally benevolent and equitable in the spirit of its administration, had been established for ages past when the Spaniards came. A third part of the land belonged to the crown, and defrayed all government expenses; a third to the Church, or priesthood of the Sun; the remainder to the people, who were bound also to work, two months of the year, in cultivating the royal and ecclesiastical domains. The laws were justly administered by a sort of patriarchal magistracy. All able-bodied men were enrolled in a completely organised militia. Roads, aqueducts, and other useful public works, besides palaces and temples of massive and simple architecture, and monuments that still excite the traveller's curiosity, prove the reality of this antique civilisation. It is believed that the State, or the Inca's Government, was the chief capitalist of the nation, owning vast stores of food, to be issued in payment for labour, and of materials for all kinds of manufactures, such as wool or cotton or metal, giving employment

to workmen of every class. The Inca was, like the Aztec sovereign of Mexico, High Pontiff of the national worship, and had about him, besides his nobles and Ministers of State, certain priests, astrologers, soothsayers, and men of letters. Their



GUASCAR, THIRTEENTH INCA.

records and other repositories of learning, instead of written books, or sheets of hieroglyphic drawings, were composed of bunches of coloured threads, the knottings of which represented names and other words. They had some poetry, music, and dramatic plays, of a simple and primitive style. The adoration of the Sun, the least degrading system of heathen religion, was not accompanied with human sacrifices. Peru might have been left in peace, had it not, unhappily, been rich in gold and silver.

At the recent Spanish settlement of Panama, in the year 1524, there was a man, fifty-three years of age, called Francisco Pizarro. He was of obscure birth in Spain, and uneducated, but shrewd, bold, hard, and tough, and insatiably greedy of gain, with no spark of chivalry in his nature—a lower sort of person than Cortes. He had served in the expedition of Nuñez de Balboa. Having, in partnership with one Almagro, made some money by cattle-farming with the forced labour of Indians under Spanish colonial law, this Pizarro conceived the design of fitting out a private expedition down the southwestern coast, in search of countries producing gold. Almagro agreed to accompany him, together with two others, a schoolmaster and a clergyman, who furnished part of the cost, but were to

stay at Panama. They procured two vessels, engaged some hundred and fifty men, with the consent of the Governor, Pedrarias, who was to share the profits or booty, and sailed across the Bay, whence they coasted southward. Landing far north of the limits of the country which we call Peru, they found themselves in the territory of a native chieftain called Biru, whose name, somewhat altered, was afterwards given by the Spaniards to the Kingdom of the Incas, when discovered several years later. These earlier voyages and adventures of Pizarro, to the end of the year 1527, need not detain our attention. He and his companions endured many hardships and dangers by sea and land, proving their true Spanish quality of "toughness," and living the lives of common buccaneers. But he gained from native reports some knowledge of the existence of a land of gold farther south, and reached at length a frontier town, that of Tumbez, where one of the expedition saw a temple and a palace adorned with plates of gold. Pizarro then went home to Spain, announced his discovery to the Court, and was authorised to undertake the conquest, being elevated to the rank of knighthood, and invested with the titles of Governor and Adelantado, together with the command over the coast for two hundred leagues.

Accompanied by his brothers from Spain, and with men and money raised in the old country, he returned to Panama, equipped three small



COYA MAMA CAUANA, EMPRESS OF PERU.

ships, and, in December, 1530, sailed for Tumbez, but stopped on the way at two other places, where he levied contributions of gold. He heard more about the rich kingdom beyond; of Cuzco, which he supposed to be the name of its King, not of

its metropolis, and of Caxamarca, a city only fifteen days' march from him. The reigning prince, Atahualpa, "son of old Cuzco," was then sojourning at Caxamarca. This personage claimed in fact to be the Inca, as a son of Huayna Capac, by the daughter of the conquered prince of Quito; but his succession to the throne was contested by Guascar, a half-brother, of more legitimate birth, who still reigned at Cuzco. The kingdom was thus divided between north and south. Pizarro made up his mind to seek Ata-

At one side of this was a stone building, a fortress, with steps up to its entrance, and with an outlet behind it to the open plain. On the hill above was a rock-fortress of great extent. The temples stood amidst rows of trees outside the town; some of the dwelling-houses were well built, each containing eight apartments; and their courtyards had cisterns of water, supplied by tubes from two rivers outside, over which were bridges to enter the town.

The Inca (for Atahualpa claimed that royal



HOUSE OF PIZARRO, CUZCO.

hualpa at Caxamarca, and to deal with him in such manner as would best promote the scheme of conquest. His Spanish followers, however, numbered less than two hundred men, of whom seventy were horsemen.

On his road over the mountain ranges, he encountered messengers from Atahualpa, offering friendship, and explaining the quarrel between that prince and his brother at Cuzco. To this, Pizarro replied that he was ready for peace or war, but, if Atahualpa was his friend, he would help him to obtain the victory, and to hold his kingdom. The great King and Emperor of the world had sent him, Pizarro, to bring all the people of that country to the true knowledge of God. On the 15th November, 1532, Pizarro entered the city of Caxamarca. There was a large square, enclosed, and with two gates, in the middle of the city.

title) was seated at the door of his tent outside the city, with his courtiers and ladies standing around him. He was a handsome man of thirty, wearing robes and a peculiar head-dress—a broad tassel of crimson wool, with fringes covering half his face. He did not look at his visitors when they first accosted him, but presently, after some mediation of one of the persons with him, relaxed his air of haughty indifference, and conversed with Pizarro through an interpreter. He accused the Spaniards of their ravages on the coast, but promised his friendship, and assigned three halls in the grand square for their lodging. Pizarro occupied the whole of this place, setting guards at every entrance to the square and the adjacent fortress. He had perceived that the Inca was not to be imposed upon by Spanish boasting, and he at once determined to do roughly

and instantly what Cortes had done more ceremoniously—to take the monarch prisoner in the midst of his own subjects. In justification of this outrage, it was alleged that Atahualpa might have intended to put the Spaniards to death; but we must first determine what right they had to be there at all. On the very next day, Pizarro was enabled, with an ease that would almost seem ridiculous but for the hideous bloodshed on one side, to execute his project.

related the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Redemption, and the universal Episcopate of St. Peter and of the Pope, who had “granted the conquest of those parts to Charles V., Emperor of the Romans, King of Spain, and Monarch of the whole earth.” In his name, therefore, Don Pizarro had come to request the Inca to pay tribute, subject his realm to foreign control, and give up the ancient religion of the country. Atahualpa, when this sermon was interpreted to him, groaned,



FRANCISCO PIZARRO. (After a Portrait in the Museum of Lima.)

Atahualpa, in high pomp, carried in a gorgeous litter, with several hundred nobles, priests, livery servants, dancers, and singers, and with a great display of gold and silver, coloured cloth, and parrots' plumage on the persons of the King and his chief attendants, came into the square. He was followed by troops of soldiery, not armed with lances and shields, but with staves or maces; and some of them had their slings and bags of missiles suspended to their breasts, as part of the ordinary uniform.

The Inca seems to have made no preparation for a fight, as he had no cause to expect one. After ceremonial greetings, a conference was begun, on the Spaniards' side, by their priest, Father Vicente, who delivered a long discourse. He

and said “Atac!” which means “Alas!” In the speech which he delivered in reply, he first compared the Christian theology, not without some touch of humour, with the Peruvians' belief in one supreme God, and in the Sun and Moon as subordinate deities, and then declined to admit that his kingdom belonged to Charles V., or to the Pope. He would not pay tribute to either of them; but if he must pay to some one, it should rather be to Jesus Christ, or to Adam the father of men, or to God. Atahualpa then asked to see the book to which the priest had referred as the canonical authority for his assertions. The Bible was put into his hands, and he turned over a few pages, but, as he could not read them, threw the volume on the ground. The priest, greatly

scandalised at this, turned to Pizarro, declaring that they could do no good with such an obstinate heathen. Pizarro had already perceived that the Inca was more disposed to call the Spaniards to account for the violence done to his people on the coast than to become a vassal of Spain. A preconcerted signal was given to the Spanish soldiers; the guns were fired; the horsemen, with their swords or lances, dashed into the square; the crowd of terrified natives was cut up, and driven into the corners like frightened sheep; some two thousand were slain with very little resistance; while Pizarro and his immediate followers dragged the Inca from his splendid vehicle, and put him in confinement in the fortress. It was all over in half an hour from the setting of the sun. Most of the Inca's people and of the townsmen had fled: never was a city, a proud monarch, a great and populous country, so easily conquered.

This amazing outrage, followed by the captivity of Atahualpa, and his death by strangling a few months later, effected the conquest of Peru. The fact is to be explained by a statement of the distracted condition of the kingdom at that moment. There had been a civil war between Atahualpa and his brother Guascar, the rival Inca at Cuzco: in those very days, Cuzco was subdued by one of the generals of Atahualpa's army, and Guascar, falling into his hands, was privately made away with. In the neighbourhood of Caxamarca, where Pizarro remained meantime with the Inca whom he had made captive, the local feeling was rather adverse to the claims of Atahualpa. No insurrection occurred to set him free, or to expel the foreigners, whose character and intentions were little understood by the mass of the people. The authorised and accustomed leaders of the nation were gone; and the forces lately engaged in the civil war, probably a mere short-service militia, had been disbanded. Pizarro, on the other hand, soon obtained an addition to his strength by the arrival of Almagro, his old partner of Panama, with a hundred and sixty more volunteers. He sent his brother, Fernando Pizarro, all the way down the coast to visit the town and temple of Pachacamac, near the present site of Lima, while other messengers were sent to Cuzco; and they found the whole of Southern Peru lay at the strangers' mercy. Atahualpa had been compelled to give orders for the collection of immense quantities of gold, promising to fill a large room with it as high as his arms could reach up the walls. Pizarro got it laid up in piles and heaps, and every Spanish soldier had a share of the booty. A fifth part of

the whole, of course, was sent to his royal master in Spain. There was yet some anxiety, while the Inca lived in durance, lest a native force should be raised, in the northern mountain country, to march to his rescue. Upon rumours of this kind reaching Pizarro's ears, he held a council of war, the result of which was a mock trial of Atahualpa for treason and other fictitious crimes. He was condemned, as a heretic or heathen, to be burnt at the stake, but was allowed, if he would consent to undergo the rite of baptism, a less dreadful mode of capital punishment. The unfortunate sovereign of Peru was fain to accept this gracious alternative; and, having been formally initiated into the Church of Christ, was immediately throttled with a bow-string. The Spanish chaplain thought Atahualpa had made a good end, and his body received Christian burial, "as if he had been a Spaniard." In all the mingled cruelty and perfidy, insolence, hypocrisy, and shameless greed, which characterised the behaviour of the European conquerors of America, there is a grotesque sublimity of perversion, such as the history of the world can scarcely parallel.

Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru, was entered by the Spaniards on the 15th of November, 1533. But, in less than three years afterwards, when it was left in charge of Fernando Pizarro, a great besieging army of the Peruvians, gathered by one of the surviving princes, called Manco Inca, endeavoured to recapture the city. Francisco Pizarro, at the same time, had to contend with another formidable hostile force in the north. He derived most important assistance from his three or four brothers employed in military and official administration in Peru. Almagro, in the meantime, had achieved the discovery and conquest of Chile; but he and his companions were disappointed with their small gains in that country, and returned to Peru in 1537, to dispute its possession with the Pizarro family. This was the beginning of a series of disgraceful quarrels, faction fights, treasons, conspiracies, murders, and civil wars, continued during five years among the Spaniards in Peru. The original question at issue was whether Cuzco lay within the geographical limits of the command bestowed on Pizarro, or in that which had been granted to Almagro. The defeat of the latter in battle, and his execution by order of Fernando Pizarro, did not put an end to the feud. The Pizarros, indeed, obtained rule over Chile as well as Peru, and the chief of their family, who had, like Cortes, been exalted to the rank of Marquis, seemed the most prosperous of men. But on the 26th of June, 1541, he was

assassinated by a party of men from Chile, intent upon avenging the death of Almagro. One of his brothers, Gonzalo Pizarro, engaged in an unsuccessful rebellion some years later, and died on the scaffold. All the Pizarros were brave soldiers, but little deserving of esteem or sympathy in any other respect.

The Spanish dominion on the continent of America, from the northern limits of Florida and California to the southern extremity of Chile, lasted

until a comparatively recent period. Every one of its provinces is now Republican; while but two large islands, Cuba and Porto Rico, are left under the government of Spain. It will appear that the effect of these vast and rich possessions was rather detrimental than advantageous to the monarchy and to the nation at home. Unjust conquest, when not redeemed from the guilt of oppression by a wise and liberal administration, cannot permanently advance the fortunes of a State or people.

CHAPTER X.

INTRIGUES OF POPES AND SOVEREIGNS.

Succession of Solyman the Magnificent to the Ottoman Throne—Condition of the Barbary States—Romantic Career of Horush, called Barbarossa I.—Revival of Piracy in the Mediterranean—Conquest of Algiers by Horush—Succession of Barbarossa II., who makes over his Dominions to the Turkish Sultan—War of Solyman against Hungary—Attack on Rhodes, and Subjection of the Island—Proposal of the Minorite Friars to recruit an Army of Monks—Formation of the League of Rome against Francis I.—Revolt of the Duke of Bourbon—Plan for a Triple Invasion of France—French Invasion of Lombardy, and Repulse by Bourbon—Death of the Chevalier de Bayard—Discomfiture of the English, Spanish, and German Designs on France—Desperate Position of the Duke of Bourbon—His Ineffectual Siege of Marseilles—Francis I. in Northern Italy—His Defeat and Capture at the Battle of Pavia—League against the German Emperor—Harsh Terms imposed on Francis—Deliberate Violation of his Oath—Equivocations of Pope Clement VII.—War declared against France—Successes of the Imperialists—Insubordination among their Troops—Advance on Rome—Capture and Pillage of the City—Atrocious Conduct of the Germans and Spaniards—Surrender of Clement VII.—Revolution in Florence—Degradation of the Papedom—Conclusion of a Treaty between Charles V. and the Pontiff—Renewal of the Alliance between Francis I. and Henry VIII.—Mission of Cardinal Wolsey to the French Court—Italy again Invaded by the French—Blockade of Naples—Mismanagement of the War—Retreat and Surrender of the French—Government of Genoa by Andrea Doria—Personal Quarrel of Francis I. and Charles V.—Fifth Invasion of Italy—Conclusion of Peace between the King and the Emperor—Treachery of Francis to his Italian and Flemish Allies—His Betrothment to Eleanor, Sister of the Emperor Charles—Death of Louisa of Savoy.

On the death of Selim I. of Turkey, in 1520, the Ottoman sceptre passed into the hands of his son, Solyman the Magnificent, usually called the first of that name, though he is regarded as the second by those who place the eldest son of Bayazid I. among the list of Turkish sovereigns. The new monarch displayed from the first the energetic nature of his rule. The Janizaries were at once conciliated and curbed, and the Governor of Syria, who attempted a revolt, was speedily defeated and put to death. Under the reign of Solyman, the greatness of the Ottoman Empire was at its height. Its military power was immense, and the system of government, though despotic, was well adapted to the development of the national genius. The conquest of Egypt by Selim had established the successors of Othman in Africa, as well as in Asia and Europe; and an interesting series of events extended their sway over a portion of the Barbary States. Those States consisted of the five kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; all of which had, in the early days of Islam, been

conquered by the Saracens, who mingled with the native African stock, and produced a people of great physical and intellectual vigour. The whole region had long been famous in history. Greeks, Carthaginians, Mauritians, Numidians, and Romans, successively or simultaneously distinguished themselves in that tract of mountain and valley which has the Mediterranean for its northern boundary. The Saracens introduced a new element, and one which for a time promised important results. But the most conspicuous doings of the Moors were in Spain; and after the conquest of Granada by the Christians, the Mohammedans of Northern Africa shared the general depression of their race. The Spaniards and Portuguese obtained possession of several towns, and the Moslem populations quailed before the attacks of European discipline and enterprise.

But a reaction was shortly to set in. A young Christian, of Greek parentage, a native of the island of Mitylene, changed his religion in 1494, when only twenty years of age, and, assuming the

name of Horush, took service on board a Turkish privateer. His valour soon rendered him the terror of the Mediterranean, where he captured the rich argosies of Italy and Spain, and in time acquired a good-sized fleet, the head-quarters of which were at Goletta, the harbour of Tunis. Muley Mohammed, the reigning Bey of that State, was glad to receive the corsair in his dominions, as he promised him assistance against the Spaniards, who were then threatening hostilities. From day to day, the fame of the renegade increased, and he became known by the historic name of Barbarossa; though it is doubtful whether this appellation was given him by his Christian opponents, because of his red beard, or was a corruption of the Oriental term, Baba (or Father) Horush. Constantly roving the seas, or fighting on land against the enemies of his newly-adopted faith, this enterprising Greek came to be regarded as the champion of all the Moslem sovereignties in the vicinity of Mount Atlas. He lost an arm, in 1512, in the service of a petty Moorish prince; he aided the Algerines in expelling the Spaniards from the little island of Algesiras, where they levied tribute on ships coming to trade; and then, asserting power on his own account, he established himself as the independent Sultan of a vast domain extending as far west as the frontiers of Fez, and including the territory which he had come to protect. This was in 1516; but, two years later, the Spaniards, who had sent a large force against the usurper, defeated and killed him in an engagement on the banks of the Maileh.

The power created by Horush passed, at his death, into the hands of his brother, called by the Turks Khair Eddin, and by the Christians Barbarossa II. Gifted and daring as he was, the new ruler saw that he would not be able to resist the assaults of Spain without the support of some power greater than his own. He therefore offered his dominions to Selim I. of Turkey, by whom they were accepted. Khair Eddin became Viceroy of Algeria, and maintained the authority of the Sultan by a body of Ottoman troops. Such was the state of affairs in Northern Africa when Solyman the Magnificent ascended the throne of his ancestors. The reinvigoration of Mohammedan power in one of the central regions of the globe, and the addition of Algeria to the already vast Empire of the Turks, were important facts in the general condition of the Western world, and went far to compensate the Moslems for the destruction of the Moorish sovereignty in Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella. The conquering energy of the Turkish race drew to itself new forces, and

covered a yet wider field. The city of Algiers was strengthened with vast fortifications; the harbour was protected by a mole connecting the adjacent island with the continent; and from the shelter of this enclosed space issued forth swarms of fleet and well-armed galleys, which almost extinguished the commerce of the Mediterranean. The waters of the inland sea were once more infested by pirates, as adventurous and successful as those whom Pompey vanquished in the latter days of the Roman Republic.

Intent on warlike enterprises—not in the East, like his father, but in the West—Solyman concluded an amicable treaty with Venice, and prepared to chastise the Hungarians for an outrage committed on his ambassadors. The Turkish Sultan had offered peace to Louis II. of Hungary (or rather to those who acted for him during his minority), on condition that that monarch should acknowledge himself a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, and pay yearly tribute—doubtless a very insulting proposition, but one which should simply have been met by a dignified refusal. As it was, the Turkish envoys were put in prison, secretly strangled, and ignominiously thrown into a fish-pond. To avenge this injury, Solyman collected a large army, which marched towards the Danube in three divisions. Louis in vain sought help of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Republic of Venice. His own resources were far too weak to admit of an effective defence. Sabatz was captured on the 8th of July, 1521; Semlin at once surrendered; several smaller fortresses were taken and destroyed. The garrison of Belgrade were speedily driven from the city itself, but, retiring into the citadel, prolonged their resistance with such determination and obstinacy that Solyman began to contemplate the necessity of withdrawal. The treachery of some Bulgarian mercenaries, however, delivered the position into the Sultan's hands; and the Ottomans, entering the citadel on the 29th of August, committed a dreadful massacre, from which few escaped. The fortresses reduced by Solyman were occupied by his troops, and Hungary was spared further sufferings, that undivided attention might be given to the conquest of Rhodes—an object particularly dear to the heart of the Turkish ruler, as to his predecessors.

For this desire they were not without substantial reasons. The Knights of Rhodes, trusting to the security of their fortifications, had swept the surrounding waters with their ships, attacked the Turkish coasts, and carried off multitudes of Moslem prisoners, who were held in a state of slavery, and subjected to many hardships. It was therefore a

point of honour with Solyman to destroy a confederacy so prejudicial to the interests of his subjects ; and in June, 1522, a large naval armament was despatched against the offending island. The Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, Philip de Villers L'Ile-Adam, determined to sell the prize dearly, though his appeals for succour to the Christian Powers had met with no response. He blocked the harbour with strong chains, provided for the defence of the seven principal forts, and destroyed all the adjacent houses beyond the walls, that they might not afford shelter to the enemy. The siege began in the late summer, and was directed by Solyman in person. Several assaults were gallantly repulsed, and it was not until the 21st of December, after a protracted blockade, that the Grand Master surrendered on favourable terms. A further prolongation of the defence had in truth become impossible, owing to the reduction of the garrison by numerous deaths, and the failure of ammunition. The Knights were treated by the conqueror with considerable generosity, and those who quitted Rhodes were, in 1530, presented by the Emperor Charles V. with the island of Malta, in which retreat the remnant of their power was finally established. The reduction of Rhodes was a great blow to the Christian world, and, in order to check the further progress of the Turks, the religious Order of the Minorites proposed to raise an army from among the several denominations of monks—an army which, it was thought, would amount to more than half a million of men, even on the supposition that the several convents and their parishes furnished only one man each. The scheme came to nothing ; but it is exceedingly improbable that a force so recruited would have availed much against the highly-disciplined and war-seasoned levies of the Sultan. The proposal, however, reveals in an authentic way the immense development of the conventual system over the whole of Western Europe, and the enormous numbers of able-bodied men which it withdrew from the active pursuits of life.

The Turks might have been less fortunate, had Pope Adrian VI. succeeded in his contemplated league against the Mohammedans ; but the project failed, owing mainly to the opposition, or at least the indifference, of Francis I., whose thoughts were fixed upon other designs. On this account, the Pontiff was much incensed against the French monarch, and needed no great persuasion to join the party of the German Emperor. At the same time, the Venetians deserted the cause of France, and, on the 23rd of August, 1523, an alliance was concluded under the title of "the League of Rome,"

which comprised the Pope, the Emperor, Henry of England, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Milan (Sforza), and the Republics of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Sienna, and Lucca. To meet this powerful combination, Francis resolved to carry the war into Italy, and thus anticipate any attack on his own dominions that might be contemplated by the allies. His plans, however, were marred by an unexpected event—the revolt of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, who at that time occupied the important position of Constable of France, and whose power had been largely increased by his marriage with Susanna, grand-daughter of Louis XI., in right of whom he held his dukedom, together with the earldoms of Clermont and Marche, and several other domains. Altogether, the possessions of this nobleman were so immense and valuable as almost to give him the character of an independent prince. He even indulged the hope of succeeding to the crown of France, in case the reigning monarch should die without heirs. Endowed with courage and distinguished talents, the Duke of Bourbon was the most conspicuous subject of the French sovereign, and his good-will was sought in many directions. Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, entertained a great admiration of the Constable, and, on the death of the Duchess Susanna, actually made him a proposal of marriage, which he refused in proud and disdainful terms, although, at an earlier period, he had promised to wed that princess in the event of Susanna's decease. Stung to the quick by the rejection of her proffered hand, Louisa formed a project for the ruin of the Duke. In June, 1523, she laid claim to the entire patrimony of the House of Bourbon, on the ground that she was the late Duke's niece. At the same time she persuaded the King (who had previously put many affronts and slights upon his powerful subject) to demand certain appanages which had reverted to the crown by the death of Susanna. A royal edict was issued, depriving the Constable of all the revenues belonging to his office ; and Bourbon, in a transport of rage, renounced his allegiance to Francis, and joined the confederacy against that monarch. Alarmed at the enmity of so powerful a leader, Francis endeavoured to conciliate the Duke ; but the latter had gone too far to retreat, and, evading the care of a gentleman whom the King had set to watch over him, he escaped (in the early part of September) to the eastern frontier, and, after many perilous adventures, withdrew into Germany. It had already been arranged that, with the assistance of the Constable, the Germans should invade France from the east, that a Spanish force should cross the Pyrenean

borders, and that the English should enter Normandy and Picardy. Another part of this scheme was that a separate kingdom should be formed out of Dauphiné and Provence in favour of the Duke of Bourbon, who was then to marry the Emperor's sister, Eleanora.

The plot struck at the very life of France as an independent nation. Had it succeeded, Henry VIII. would have regained the immense territories for-

the cold of an unusually rigorous season. The actual campaign did not commence until the spring of 1524, when Bonnivet, whose abilities were of the slightest, was opposed by Charles of Bourbon, now lieutenant-general of the Emperor in Italy. Bourbon was an experienced and brilliant commander, who had distinguished himself in the wars both of Louis XII. and of Francis I. His forces were superior to those of his antagonist; his move-



ALGIERS, FROM THE SEA.

merly held by the English monarchs; the Duke of Bourbon would have revived the Provençal sovereignty of an earlier age; and little would have remained to Francis. The French King might well have been dismayed at the discovery of so formidable a design; but, with all his faults, he was a man of courage and resolution, and, relinquishing his plan of advancing in person into Italy, he determined to remain in his own dominions, and abide the issue of events. Nevertheless, he despatched Admiral Bonnivet into the territory of the Milanese; but that commander wasted the autumn of 1523 in idle manœuvres, and in the winter found his army suffering from

ments were much more rapid and energetic; and the result was a series of disasters to the French, which entirely ruined their cause in Lombardy. The forces of Bonnivet were steadily pushed back, and the Admiral himself was disabled by a severe wound, received during a combat near the Sesia on the 30th of April. He resigned the command into the hands of the Chevalier Bayard and the Count de St. Pol, and the former behaved with all that chivalric devotion for which he was so nobly conspicuous. Though at a disadvantage, Bayard long withstood the whole strength of the Constable's army, but, during the retreat which at length became inevitable, was mortally wounded

by a musket-shot. Placing himself at the foot of a tree, with his face towards the enemy, he resigned himself to the advance of death. Shortly afterwards, according to a rather doubtful tradition, the Duke of Bourbon arrived upon the

more rare in those days of violence and corrupt ambition.

The defeat of Bonnivet and the loss of Bayard put an end to French intrigues in Northern Italy. The invading army hastily abandoned the plains



SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT.

ground, and expressed to the dying hero his sorrow at beholding him in that condition. "Sir," replied Bayard, "pity me not, for I die a man of honour. It is you who are to be pitied—you, who have the misfortune to be fighting against your king, your country, and your oath." He expired three hours later, and his decease was mourned as much by his enemies as by his friends. Bayard was not merely a knight of brilliant and unimpeachable valour; he was distinguished by qualities of gentleness, moderation, and humanity, far

of Lombardy, and, following the pass of Mont Genève, regained their own country before the arrival of the summer. In other respects, however, the French had been successful. The triple invasion of France, in the autumn of 1523, by the English, the Spaniards, and the Germans, had been completely repelled; though the forces of Henry, under the command of the Earl of Suffolk, had at one time penetrated to within eleven leagues of Paris. The cause of Francis would have prospered, had it not been for his unlucky,

and indeed criminal, invasion of Lombardy. As regarded France itself, the plot had failed; yet the conspirators did not relinquish the hope of ultimate triumph. The principal mover in the new designs was the Duke of Bourbon, the desperate nature of whose position rendered action of some kind necessary to his very existence as a man of power and influence. He had been unable to place his hereditary provinces at the disposal of the allies; his estates were confiscated; his coat of arms was effaced; he himself was publicly denounced as a traitor; and several of his adherents were sentenced to death. The friendship of the Emperor grew cold when it became apparent that the great French nobleman could do nothing for the general cause beyond commanding an army with skill and valour. Nevertheless, the Duke had still sufficient influence with Charles to obtain his sanction to a renewed invasion of France; and this was to be aided, if not by an English army, by subsidies of English gold. The rebellious Constable crossed the Var on the 7th of July, 1524, and, having reduced several towns of importance, commenced an attack on Marseilles on the 19th of August. The city, however, was well defended, and the Imperialists, despairing of success, raised the siege on the 28th of September, and hurriedly retreated across the frontiers.

Being thus relieved of any immediate fear as to his own dominions, Francis resolved to make another assault on Milan, and to proceed thither in person. By forced marches, and with astonishing celerity, he made his way through Piedmont, and appeared before Milan on the 26th of October. The Spanish garrison marched out at one gate while the French were entering by another; and Francis, believing that his fortunes were again in the ascendant, laid siege to Pavia, which was defended by the Spanish General, Antonio de Leyva—a commander of genius and experience. For three months the French lay before the walls of this stronghold, but, on the 25th of January, 1525, were surprised by a powerful force, commanded by Bourbon, de Lannoy, and Pescara. By the advice of the incompetent Bonniwet, Francis awaited the attack of his enemies before the walls of Pavia, instead of giving them battle in the open plain, as all his more discerning officers recommended. The upshot was ruinous to the French, though both armies were so formidable in numbers and equipment that each seemed to dread the other. During three weeks they remained in their respective positions, as if waiting for some favourable opportunity to commence the attack, or some overmastering compulsion of

events. The expected battle did not take place until the 24th of February, when the Imperialists advanced with great determination. They were resisted with equal valour; but the French had been weakened by the desertion of their Swiss mercenaries, who repeated the treacherous conduct by which they had often before covered themselves with infamy, and Francis was totally defeated. In attempting to fly, his horse stumbled under him, and he was taken prisoner. Numbers of distinguished Frenchmen perished on that terrible occasion, and amongst the slain was Richard de la Pole, the last descendant of the royal House of York, who, as a claimant to the English crown, had been frequently used by the French for the encouragement of sedition in England. The letter of Francis to his mother, which is alleged to have consisted simply of the words, "Madam, all is lost, except honour," appears not to be genuine, or at any rate to be a very pungent and epigrammatic condensation of what he really did write. The total loss of the French was estimated at 8,000 men; that of the Imperialists is said to have been not more than 700. The remainder of the defeated army retired with the utmost haste, and, not being molested by the victors, regained the northern side of the Alps in less than a fortnight.

When Charles V., who was now at Madrid, received intelligence of the battle, he was almost overwhelmed with astonishment, for the success of the allied forces was undoubtedly greater than he had reason to expect. In France, the news created an equal feeling of alarm and grief. Louisa of Savoy was the Regent during her son's absence, and she acted with firmness and vigour. By her instrumentality, Henry VIII., in August, 1525, signed a treaty of neutrality and defensive alliance with France; for the enormous power of the German and Spanish sovereign was beginning to excite the fears of other nations. A secret league was soon afterwards formed by England, the Pope, Venice, and Francesco Sforza of Milan, the object of which was to deliver Italy from the rule of the Emperor; and it would seem that this plot against Charles V., with whom the conspirators had so recently been acting in alliance, was to a great extent suggested by Cardinal Wolsey, who had never forgiven the Emperor for disappointing him of the Papal tiara. For some time before the battle of Pavia, he had been acting secretly against the interests of Charles, and had even entered into negotiations with Louisa of Savoy. His crooked policy was attended by a large measure of success. Charles, who was well served by numerous agents, knew something of what was going on in England while the French

army yet stood upon Italian soil; but he could hardly have been prepared for so serious a combination against his predominance. When he began to doubt the fidelity of Henry and his minister, the moderation he had previously exhibited gave place to stern demands upon his captive. He desired to humble France, as the most likely means of protecting himself against perils which he had no little cause to dread. Yet an appearance of cordiality between the Emperor and England was still maintained. The victory of Pavia was brilliantly celebrated in London, and Charles, in the conditions which he imposed upon his rival Francis, insisted on the claims of Henry being completely satisfied. He demanded of the fallen monarch the restitution of Burgundy, and of all the other possessions of Charles the Bold; the creation of a separate kingdom for Charles of Bourbon; the restoration to the English ruler of all territories in France which had been rightfully enjoyed by his ancestors; and the assistance of a French army to act with the forces of the Empire in an expedition against the Turks. Francis was soon afterwards removed, with his own consent, to Madrid, where he hoped to produce a favourable impression on the Emperor, and thus procure a softening of the stipulations. In this he was disappointed, and, on the 14th of January, 1526, Francis signed a treaty, by which he ceded Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois to the Emperor, renounced his claims to Milan and Naples, restored to the Duke of Bourbon all his forfeited domains, and engaged to attend the German sovereign with a fleet and army, when he went to be crowned at Rome, or contemplated operations against the Sultan. On the 18th of March, the liberated monarch re-entered his own dominions, exclaiming, as he sprang on horseback, "I am again a king!"

The terms extorted by Charles were certainly harsh and oppressive; but, having sworn to observe them, the French monarch was bound, by every consideration of honour, and even of common honesty, to respect their provisions. This, however, he had never intended to do. Previously to concluding the agreement with Charles, he had called the French plenipotentiaries, and some other witnesses, into his chamber, and, having exacted from them an oath of secrecy, declared that he intended to regard as null and void from the beginning the treaty he was about to sign, that it had been wrung from him by force, and that on this account he would never execute it. He attached his name to a protest containing these intimations, and, a few hours after, proceeded to swear, with his hand upon the Gospels, that he would observe the very conditions he had deliberately resolved to

violate. On returning to France, he summoned a meeting of deputies from the Duchy of Burgundy, who—doubtless acting on what they must have known to be his wishes—declared, in the presence of the Spanish envoys, that the King had no right to alienate that province from his crown, and that they would not renounce their union with the kingdom of France. While professing his readiness to give effect to the other stipulations of the treaty, Francis offered to pay an indemnity of two million crowns in lieu of the cession of Burgundy. The proposal was indignantly refused, and Charles, with many violent upbraidings, required of the French monarch to surrender himself once more a prisoner, as he had undertaken to do in case the territory at issue should not be transferred to the German sovereign within four months. Francis treated this demand with unmitigated disdain, and, hastily completing the projected alliance with the Pope, the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians, obtained from Clement VII. a formal absolution from all oaths and engagements entered into with the Emperor during the King's imprisonment at Madrid.

One effect of the Imperial victory at Pavia was to excite in the minds of the Italians a not unnatural fear that their country would again be subjected to German rule. This was an anticipation which touched them nearly, on the grounds both of nationality and of religion. The Imperial army contained several Lutherans, and George Frunsberg, one of the German commanders, advised an immediate attack upon the Pope. The Venetians and the Florentines made preparations for defending Italy by the sword. Clement VII. equivocated between the French and the Germans, and exhibited throughout the whole transaction a temporising and unworthy spirit. Finally, however, as we have seen, he threw in his lot with the French, and the conclusion of the Holy League, in 1526, brought matters to an issue amongst the several disputants. The Duke of Bourbon had received from the Emperor a promise of the Duchy of Milan, and the alliance now concluded between the Pope and Francis, in combination with the Venetians and Francesco Sforza, imperilled the completion of an arrangement which he greatly desired. War was therefore declared, and Bourbon took the command of the Imperial troops in Lombardy during the summer of 1526. Sforza was speedily driven out of Milan, and Bourbon, obtaining a reinforcement of 14,000 Germans, pursued a career of victory which his opponents were in every way too weak to restrain.

Influenced, probably, by the Protestants serving under his flag, the Imperial commander sanctioned a design for attacking the Pope himself in the capital of Western Christendom. His troops were badly paid, and had previously maintained themselves by the most rapacious exactions, enforced by horrible cruelties. Northern Italy was for several months desolated by the barbarity of these ferocious soldiers, and some new adventure had become imperatively necessary. The invading forces were in open revolt. Frunsberg, who is said (but perhaps untruly) to have marched with a chain of gold round his neck, with which he bluntly announced that he intended to strangle the Pope, died of an apoplectic fit caused by the insubordination of his men; and nothing but immediate action could avert a disaster. The army, which had set out from Milan in January, 1527, despite the severity of the winter, pushed on towards the south. The Imperialists were a horde rather than an army; but they were inspired by the hope of gain, and in some instances by the rage of fanaticism. Arriving before Rome on the 5th of May, they advanced to the assault next morning. The Duke of Bourbon was mortally wounded while planting the first ladder; but his companions stormed the ramparts, and speedily overwhelmed the feeble garrison. Nearly 8,000 Romans were massacred on that fearful day; churches and convents were plundered; even the great Basilica of St. Peter was violated; and the streets were littered with relics, which the Germans had thrown away after stripping them of their gold and silver. The conduct of the Spaniards was even worse, and for seven months, or more, the Eternal City suffered from the fury of a tribe of miscreants who had no other object than the enrichment of themselves by the robbery of others. The Pope was treated with indignity, and compelled to seek refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo; all who were suspected of concealing money were subjected to repeated tortures, which often ended in death. The horrors of the time were not without a certain grotesqueness, owing to the extremely different motives by which the two chief sections of the force were animated. Some of the German Protestants dressed themselves so as to represent the Pope and his Cardinals, rode round the city on asses, burlesqued the ceremonial observances of the Roman court, and, under the very walls of St. Angelo, where the Pontiff was shut up, elected Luther to the Popedom, with shouts of boisterous laughter. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were scandalised by such profanity, although they had not the least objection to

murder and pillage. An orgie of blood, debauchery, and greed, succeeded to the repose which Rome had enjoyed for many years; and this riot of evil was unredeemed by any decent purpose on the part of those who had produced it.

The Pope remained in a posture of feeble defiance towards the Imperialists for about a month; when, despairing of succour (for the Duke of Urbino, who had an army in the field, did not even attempt to effect his rescue), he capitulated on the 5th of June, and was spared further hostility, on the understanding that he was to renounce all alliances against the Emperor. Some of the other conditions were so hard that Solymán expressed his astonishment at the way in which Christians treated their spiritual head. The victors exacted from their fallen adversary a promise that he would pay over to them the sum of 400,000 crowns; and he was to remain a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and to place several important cities in the hands of the Imperialists, until the indemnity had been fully discharged. Clement felt keenly the depth of his humiliation, and at the same time was still further distressed by the announcement that the Florentines had again expelled his family (the Medici) from their Republic, and were endeavouring to organise a democratic government. To complete the measure of his misfortunes, his own commander, the Duke of Urbino, seized a number of places in the Papal States, evidently with no intention of holding them for his master. The temporal rule of the Pontiffs seemed on the point of extinction, and many persons looked forward to a veritable restoration of the Western Empire, by the establishment of the power of Charles at Rome itself. In some respects, this might have been an advantage, both to Rome and Italy; but Europe at large would not have been the gainer.

The sovereign of Germany and Spain was for some time doubtful as to how he should proceed with respect to the captive Pope. On the one hand, he did not like to relinquish the power which recent events had placed within his grasp; on the other (to say nothing of personal compunction), he knew the danger of offending his Roman Catholic subjects—the Spaniards especially—by any harsh or irreverential treatment of the Pontiff. The ecclesiastics were already beginning to protest, and the ultimate consequences of prolonged severity might have been serious indeed. Charles asserted throughout that the expedition against Rome was not only without his authorisation, but was actually against his will; yet he alleged several grievances against the Pope, and made no great haste to deliver him from duress.

At length, however, on the 26th of November, 1527, a treaty was concluded between Charles and Clement, by which the latter was liberated on various conditions, some of which must have been sufficiently irksome to his Holiness. Indeed, so little satisfied was Clement with the terms thus imposed on him, that he anticipated the day of his release by escaping from the Castle of St. Angelo in the disguise of a servant. Proceeding to Orvieto, he remained there until October, 1528; and the chaos of events went on, without his having much power to influence the policy of monarchs, or the tendencies of nations.

Henry VIII. and Francis I. were now once more in alliance. By the Treaty of Westminster, signed on the 30th of April, 1527, the former had renounced his claims to the French crown, in consideration of an annual pension to himself and his successors; and an understanding was effected, in accordance with which Italy was to be again invaded by a French army, and England was to contribute a monthly payment for its support. Shortly afterwards—viz., in July—Wolsey was sent on an embassy to France, with a view to cementing the alliance between the two countries by the settlement of various details, and by the negotiation of a marriage between Henry VIII. and the Princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany. The mission of the English Cardinal was characterised by the most extraordinary splendour and ostentation; and when Francis and Wolsey met in the cathedral of Amiens, the latter caused his throne to be raised three steps higher than that of the King, as an assertion of the superiority of the ecclesiastical to the secular power. The political objects of Wolsey's embassy were settled without trouble; but the contemplated marriage with Renée was not effected. The princess married the eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara, who eventually succeeded to his father's dominions. Renée was a woman of striking ability and large acquirements, with a very strong inclination to the Protestant heresy; and her court at Ferrara became remarkable as a place of refuge for some of the continental reformers. Wolsey quitted France towards the end of September, 1527, and the Emperor Charles, perceiving that a serious combination had been formed against him, made pacific advances towards the French King, who, hoping to retrieve the disgrace of an earlier year, rejected his proposals with disdain.

The new invasion of Italy commenced before the close of the summer, when Lautrec led his army into the peninsula, and a French fleet, commanded by Andrea Doria, blockaded Genoa.

It was not long before that city, pressed on the land side, as well as from the sea, capitulated to its assailants, and Theodore Trivulzio was established as Governor on behalf of Francis I. Pavia was captured and pillaged in October by the forces of Lautrec, who then marched southwards, with the declared intention of liberating the Pope. Clement, however, had regained his freedom before the French could reach the Pontifical city, and, as the Imperialists had now retreated to Naples, the French commander determined on following them there. The southern capital was invested by the end of April, 1528, and the Spanish fleet was defeated on the 28th of May by Filippino Doria, who blockaded Naples from the sea. A dreadful famine ensued, and the city would probably have fallen, had Francis acted with common prudence in the management of the war. But the French King's love of pleasure interfered with the prosecution of his designs. So much money was spent upon his favourites that Lautrec was kept unsupplied with funds. Attempts were made to ruin the prosperity of Genoa by transferring its privileges to Savona; and Andrea Doria, on venturing to remonstrate, was treated with indignity, menaced with arrest, and superseded in the command of the fleet. The fiery Italian—the greatest sea-captain of that age, of whom it was observed that the very ocean appeared to dread him—immediately concluded a treaty with the Emperor, and, raising the blockade of Naples, placed the French in a position of the utmost embarrassment. The famine extended to their forces; a terrible pestilence followed; Lautrec died of the prevailing disease; and at the close of August the besiegers broke up their camp so precipitately that the guns and material of war were left behind. A miserable remnant of the army speedily surrendered at Aversa to the Prince of Orange, who had been appointed Viceroy of Naples; and Francis was again compelled to eat the bitter fruit of failure and disgrace. A reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor was concluded on the 29th of June, 1529. By this arrangement, the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Modena, and Reggio, were restored to the Pontiff, and it was agreed that the rule of the Medici should be re-established at Florence.

After the expulsion of the French from Genoa, the Government was reorganised by Andrea Doria—one of a family illustrious in the annals of the Ligurian commonwealth. The republican form was retained, but the city and its possessions were placed under the protection of the Emperor. Various reforms, tending to the extinction of those

factionous intrigues from which the people had often suffered, were introduced under the watchful supervision of Doria, who, refusing the title of Doge or Prince of Genoa, which Charles V. would fain have bestowed on him, satisfied his moderate ambition with the command of the fleet. In the eyes of his fellow-citizens, however, he was no less than a king, and his authority might well have been

opposed by the greater power of the Emperor. Yet the recollection of his long captivity at Madrid, and of the indignities which were put upon him by a relentless conqueror, still rankled in his heart, and in January, 1529, he formally declared war against Charles V. To this proclamation the Emperor replied by reminding Guyenne, the French King-at-arms who took the notification



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envied by the sovereigns of much larger States. If the greatness of Genoa could have been restored at all, Andrea Doria was the man to restore it; but the Republic had had its day, and new political conditions had arisen, which were reducing all such small dominions to a position of marked inferiority to the great monarchies. Even Venice was no longer what it had been in the Middle Ages, and Florence under the later Medici was but the shadow of its former self under Cosmo and Lorenzo.

The ill-success of his four Italian expeditions might reasonably have deterred Francis I. from any further enterprise in which he would find himself

to Madrid, that he had previously sent to his royal master a message to the effect that Francis had violated the faith and honour of a gentleman, and that he, the Emperor, was ready to maintain the charge with his body. The French sovereign had previously been kept in ignorance of this message, for his ambassador had not thought proper, or had feared, to repeat it; but it was now made known to him, and he replied by a challenge in which he gave Charles the lie direct. Under these circumstances, a duel between the two monarchs seemed inevitable; but when Charles fixed the place of combat on the Bidassoa, Francis refused to meet him there, and the whole matter came to an end.



FINAL ASSAULT OF THE TURKS IN THEIR FIRST SIEGE OF VIENNA (1529).

The conduct of neither monarch was very dignified, but that of Francis seems purely contemptible. Charles, however, vented his spleen with great cruelty on the two sons of his rival, who had been placed in his custody as hostages for the due performance of the peace of 1526. The unfortunate youths were confined in a dark and miserable chamber, where they lived in solitude and hardship. It is even said that some of their domestics were sent to the galleys, and that others were sold into Barbary for slaves.

Italy was made the scene of another campaign in 1529; but the arms of Francis were as unsuccessful as on former occasions. The invaders were entirely defeated about midsummer, and the French monarch, recognising the superior might of his adversary, and finding all his alliances worthless, had no choice but to sue for peace. The sufferings of the young French princes were an additional argument in favour of an amicable arrangement, and Charles himself was well disposed to such a course, as his attention was diverted by other and more important affairs. It was therefore agreed that Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, and Margaret, the aunt of Charles, should meet at Cambray to settle the terms of a general peace. A treaty was signed by them on the 5th of August, whereof the provisions were in the main similar to those which Francis had subscribed at Madrid, but which he afterwards shamefully broke. It is needless to say that, on the whole, they were unfavourable to the French monarch; but that potentate was released from his obligation to surrender Burgundy, though he was compelled to renounce all pretensions to Italy, as well as to the suzerainty of Flanders and Artois. The turn of events had rendered some great concessions inevitable; but the conduct of Francis was again marked by the duplicity which formed so base a feature in his disposition. Before attaching his signature to these new engagements, he had declared to his Italian allies that he would not separate his own interests from theirs, and he restrained the Florentines from making a separate peace with the Emperor, by which they might possibly have secured more generous treatment than they actually experienced. By the pact of Cambray, however, he abandoned his allies, whether of Italy or of the Netherlands, to the wrath of Charles, who, on his part, took care to protect from evil consequences all those who had rendered him assistance in the recent struggles. As on the previous occasion, Francis protested against the treaty, which nevertheless he was compelled to sign, and obtained from the

Parliament of Paris a manifesto against the registration of the document. These acts had no other effect than to perpetuate the feeling of ill-will between the two Powers, and to ensure at some future period a renewal of the strife then temporarily suspended.

The liberation of the French princes was to have taken place on the 1st of March, 1530, but was delayed until the 1st of July, owing to the difficulty experienced by Francis in raising the three millions of gold crowns which were to form the ransom of his sons. To help himself in this extremity, he resorted to the dishonest trick of issuing a depreciated coinage; but the fraud was detected by the Spanish authorities, and caused no little difficulty and hindrance. The young princes embarked in company with the Emperor's sister Eleanora, who, by the Treaty of Madrid, was to marry Francis. They were met by the French King, who espoused Eleanora at the convent of Verrières, in Gascony. The princess had been originally promised to the Duke of Bourbon; but this arrangement had been set aside before the death of that nobleman, in deference to the wishes of Francis. The union was one of those purely political alliances which were the disgrace of former times, and which even now the world has not entirely outlived; but it was wholly inoperative in establishing anything like a permanent feeling of goodwill between the King and the Emperor.

Not long after these transactions—viz., on the 22nd of September, 1531—Louisa of Savoy reached the close of her existence. She was a woman of great capacity, possessing a large and varied knowledge of affairs, which enabled her to direct the fortunes of her adopted country during the absence of her son. But she was immoral and unscrupulous, and so devoted to the love of money that, as we have seen, she caused the failure of one of the Italian expeditions by appropriating to her own use certain remittances intended for the French army and commander. When she died, a million and a half of gold crowns were found in her coffers. The service of the country had been starved by the withdrawal of this wealth; but the influence of Louisa was bad in many other, and even in more serious, ways. She supported by her advice that tendency to aggression which was not, indeed, confined to France, but which her son carried out with a degree of perfidy hardly to be paralleled even in those treacherous days. Her authority over Francis had been productive of evil results, and the power thus established did not terminate with her life.

CHAPTER XI.

ISLAM AND CHRISTENDOM.

Reign of Solyman the Magnificent—Abilities of the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha—Conclusion of an Alliance with Francis I. of France—Massacre of a French Envoy and his Companions—Feeble and Bankrupt State of Hungary—Invasion of that Kingdom by Solyman—Defeat of the Hungarians on the Plain of Mohacs—Withdrawal of the Turks—Election of Ferdinand of Austria to the Crowns of Hungary and Bohemia—Opposition of John Zapolya, who obtains the Assistance of a Turkish Army, and becomes Tributary Prince—Unsuccessful Siege of Vienna by Solyman—Disastrous Retreat—Truce between Ferdinand and Zapolya—Policy of Charles V. in Spain—Restriction of Popular Liberties—Persecution and Expulsion of Moors—The Emperor in Italy—Siege and Capture of Florence, followed by the Restoration of the Medici—Immense Power and Influence of Charles V.—Position of the Protestants—The Confession of Augsburg—Fears of a Religious War—Difficult Position of Charles—The Protestant League of Smalcalde—Civil War in Switzerland, and Death of Zwingli—Alliance between Francis I. and the German Protestants—Tolerant Policy of the Emperor, in View of a Turkish Invasion—Intrigues of Francis with the Sultan—Solyman in Hungary—Discomfiture and Retreat of the Turks—Marriage of the Duke of Orleans with Catherine de' Medici—Succession of Paul III. to the Papedom—Expedition of the Emperor Charles to Northern Africa—Defeat of Barbarossa II., and Suppression of the Algerian Pirates—Renewed War between Francis and Charles—Invasion of Savoy by the French, and of France by the Germans—Death of the Dauphin Francis—Intrigues of the French King with Solyman—Conclusion of Peace with the Emperor—Interview of Francis and Charles at Aigues Mortes—Attitude of Francis towards the Protestants—The Anabaptists at Münster—Matthiesen of Haarlem and John of Leyden—Affairs in Germany—The Articles of Smalcalde—Growing Strength of Protestantism.

AFTER the capture of Belgrade, in 1521, Hungary enjoyed for some years an immunity from Turkish attacks, except on the frontiers, where the Ottomans did not cease from making frequent incursions. The attention of Solyman the Magnificent was diverted, first by the conquest of Rhodes, and subsequently by a series of operations in various parts of the East. A spirit of insubordination had shown itself in several of the dependencies, and these had to be reduced to obedience. Persia was again proving formidable under the rule of Tamasp I., the successor of Ismail; but the greater strength of Solyman confined the ambition of the Shah within manageable limits. The Turkish Sultan had an able minister in his Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, a Greek of humble origin, who in his childhood had been captured by Turkish pirates, but who was afterwards well educated by a widow of Magnesia. For thirteen years, ranging from 1523 to 1536, this gifted man directed the affairs of the Turkish Empire, and was largely concerned in the achievements of the Sultan. Two years after his accession to power, preparations were commenced for a fresh invasion of Hungary. To further his designs, Solyman concluded a long armistice with the King of Poland, and formed an alliance with Francis I. of France. The approaches towards the latter understanding were made even while Francis was still a captive at Madrid. The royal prisoner contrived to despatch an envoy to the Sultan, charged to open negotiations with that potentate, and to bestow on him, besides other valuable gifts, a magnificent ruby which the defeated sovereign had worn at the battle of

Pavia. While passing through Bosnia, the French representative was robbed and murdered by the Sandjak of that province, which (with the exception of some parts still holding out) had been incorporated with Turkey in 1463; and his twelve attendants shared the same fate. It has been supposed that this massacre was prompted by Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of Charles V., and his representative in Germany during the Emperor's absence in Spain. That the object of Francis was to create embarrassment for his powerful foe, is obvious, and it is not unlikely that Ferdinand had received some intelligence of the projected alliance; but the imputed guilt of the latter has never been proved, and may be purely imaginary. In any case, however, the desired league was effected by the close of 1525.

Solyman started on his expedition on the 23rd of April, 1526. Hungary was wholly unprepared to resist the coming attack; for her finances were impoverished, and the spirit of her people had died out. The nobles, once distinguished for their martial habits, now evaded the military service of their country, that they might revel in luxurious idleness; and many of the peasantry, imbued with the principles of Luther, excused themselves by quoting a dictum of that reformer, to the effect that to fight against the Turks was to struggle against God, who had prepared such rods for chastising the sins of Christendom. The Hungarian King, Louis II., was indolent and careless; the magnates made none but ineffectual suggestions; the exchequer was empty; and it was found necessary to borrow money of the Fuggers, on the

security of the mines. Hardly any force was under arms when Solyman, at the head of 100,000 men, appeared at Belgrade, which, as the reader is aware, was now included in his dominions. This was on the 9th of July. Peterwardein was captured before the end of the month; the Drave was speedily crossed, and the town of Essek given to the flames. The invading force was now augmented by additional levies under Ibrahim Pasha, and, if contemporary accounts are to be credited, reached the enormous total of 300,000 men. With a meagre army of 20,000 inexperienced soldiers, Louis awaited the attack of his enemy on the plain of Mohacs. Not only were the Hungarians numerically inferior to their adversaries, but they were ill-provided with artillery and infantry, and either ignorant of modern tactics, or contemptuously indifferent to them. They sought to carry everything by a rush of mail-clad horsemen, and for a moment they appeared to be successful. Charging up the hill on which the Turks were posted, they reached the very tent of Solyman, but were quickly driven back in headlong flight. Their commanders had neither the material resources nor the technical skill to continue the combat after this reverse. Large numbers of the nobles perished in the general rout, and King Louis was thrown by his horse into a morass, where he died of suffocation in his twentieth year.

After a horrible time of massacre and incendiarism, Solyman proceeded without opposition to Buda, the keys of which city had been humbly presented to him before his arrival there. At the Hungarian capital he remained from the 10th to the 24th of September, celebrating the religious festival of the Bairam within its walls; and then withdrew from Europe, in order that he might suppress an insurrection which had broken out in Karamania. Hungary had suffered in many ways by the recent invasion, and, together with Bohemia, it was now left without a monarch. In the following month, Ferdinand of Austria was elected to the united sovereignty, and was crowned at Prague on the 24th of February, 1527. He had a powerful rival, however, in John Zapolya, the greatest of the Hungarian magnates—a Slave by race, possessed of immense territorial influence, but not much liked by his Magyar fellow-countrymen, and all the less popular because of an announcement by Solyman, while at Buda, that he should be willing to support him. Zapolya was already Voivode (or military commander) of Transylvania; his family had acquired great influence in the Hungarian State; and he himself was distinguished (though in a sinister way) by

his suppression of the peasant rising of 1514, and his atrocious punishment of the leaders. Francis I. favoured his pretensions, as a means of reducing the power of the Austrian House; and Zapolya had at his command an army of some 40,000 horsemen, who had not been engaged at Mohacs. At the head of this force, he asserted his claim to the throne, but was defeated by Ferdinand in the summer of 1527. Nevertheless, Zapolya still cherished the ambition of becoming King of Hungary, and entered into negotiations with Solyman, the result of which was a renewed invasion of the disputed territories in 1529. When Ferdinand saw his danger, he endeavoured, by acts of submission, and by the promise of an annual payment, to avert the enmity of the Sultan. His offers, however, were rejected, and John Zapolya met the Turkish invaders on the disastrous field of Mohacs, surrendered the venerable crown of St. Stephen into the hands of Solyman, and received from him in return the disgraceful privileges of a tributary prince.

During the last three years, the Turks had made numerous additional conquests in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia; so that their power was predominant in the south-east of Europe. Solyman, therefore, pushed boldly forward, captured Buda in the early part of September, after a siege of five days, and then marched to Vienna, which was at once invested. King Ferdinand was at Linz, awaiting succours, and the capital of Austria had to depend on its own resources for defence against an insolent foe. The Turkish camp covered the surrounding country for miles, and the sails of the accompanying fleet whitened the channel of the Danube. Everything foreshadowed an approaching disaster for the Christians; yet Vienna was not doomed to fall before the assaults of the Moslem. The numbers of the defending force were about 22,000, composed of Germans and Spaniards, but principally of the former. The chief commander was Philip of Bavaria, who was assisted by the veteran Count von Salm, Don Pedro de Navarre, and the leading members of several illustrious Austrian families. Solyman promised to spare the city if it surrendered at once, but threatened the most terrific vengeance if he were compelled to take the place by force. The besieged did not deign a reply, but worked hard at their defences. The Turks made twenty assaults upon the walls, but were at length compelled to raise the blockade, and retreat into Hungary. A relieving army was expected to arrive ere long; the cold of autumn was beginning to be troublesome; and doubts had

arisen whether the supply of food could be maintained. After a siege of twenty-one days, Solyman withdrew on the night of October 14th, imprecating a curse on any future Sultan who should again attack so fatal a city. All his prisoners were strangled, the bridges were broken down behind him, and the discomfited army sought refuge at Buda. The invaders suffered much in their retreat; yet they preserved their military formation, and at Pesth captured 10,000 Hungarians who were celebrating Christmas, and drove them towards the frontiers like a flock of sheep. Solyman, who in passing through Buda restored the crown of St. Stephen to Zapolya, re-entered Constantinople in the middle of December. The civil war in Hungary continued for several months. On the whole, the results were favourable to Ferdinand, who about this time was elected King of the Romans; and a truce was concluded early in 1531, which left the distracted kingdom a little breathing-space for repose and recovery.

While the earlier of these events were proceeding, Charles V. was in Spain, far from the great centres of European conflict. He had to establish his power in that peninsula, and to overcome the original dislike of his western subjects. The policy he adopted was conciliatory, and in some respects benevolent. He refused to sanction any more capital punishments on account of the rebellion of 1519, and, on the 28th of October, 1522, shortly after his second arrival in Spain, published an amnesty, from which only eighty persons were excepted. All but natives were excluded from the service of the State and Church; and Charles did his utmost to acquire a familiar knowledge of the Spanish tongue. In these ways he gained the affection and esteem of those who were but recently his enemies. Yet at the same time he restricted the liberties of the country, summoned the Cortes but seldom, and introduced various practices tending to corrupt the representatives of the people. The old Castilian spirit was to a great extent broken down, and, as long as Charles humoured the prejudices of his subjects, and ruled with a light hand, he was permitted to do as he pleased, without interference on the part of the three Estates represented in the national assemblies. Towards the unfortunate Moors he was a cruel and exacting ruler. His tyrannies, indeed, were so extreme that many of the Mohammedans took to flight, and, in Valentia alone, five thousand houses were deserted in 1523. Two years later, the Emperor, acting on the advice of Pope Clement VII., issued an edict requiring the Moors to abjure their religion, and adopt Christianity.

All the Spanish mosques were closed, and any Moor found wandering beyond the bounds of his village might be captured and enslaved. All were to be baptised before the 8th of December, 1525, or to quit Spain by the 1st of January, 1526; and measures were taken to prevent them from seeking the shores of Africa, where, by uniting with others of the same race, they might in time become formidable. These oppressions, combined with the popular insults continually showered upon them, provoked an insurrection of the Moors, which was long maintained with infinite spirit. Vast numbers, however, were slaughtered; about a hundred thousand escaped to Africa; the rest moodily submitted to the rite of baptism, but even then were regarded with so much suspicion that their state, for many years, was one of miserable servitude.

After staying seven years in Spain, Charles quitted that country for Italy, and landed at Genoa on the 12th of August, 1529. His objects in making this voyage were that he might receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, and effect a general pacification after the late wars with France. One of his earliest proceedings was to interfere in the government of Florence, from which city, as the reader will recollect, the Medici had been recently expelled. The Florentine republicans had supported the French in the warlike operations of Francis I.; but they now applied for a guarantee of their liberties under the protection of Charles. The latter could not forget that they had been his antagonists, and he insisted that they should recall the Medici. This being refused, the Emperor ordered the Prince of Orange to attack Florence, and the siege was commenced on the 14th of October. Nothing could be more gallant than the defence of this beautiful and artistic city. The army was commanded by the famous Condottieri, Francesco Ferrucci and Malatesta Baglioni, and the fortifications were superintended by the great painter, sculptor, and architect, Michael Angelo. It was not until the 12th of August, 1530, that Florence capitulated, after a desperate struggle, including some actions in the open field, one of which was fatal both to Ferrucci and the Prince of Orange. The vanquished Florentines were condemned to pay a sum of 80,000 gold crowns, and to submit their constitution to the revision of the Emperor and the Pope. The Medici were of course reinstated, and some of the principal citizens were condemned to death. The first of the restored line was Alexander de' Medici, a man of infamous life, who in 1538 was assassinated by a

kinsman while prosecuting a disgraceful intrigue, and was succeeded by a second Cosmo, who, having reduced the whole of the surrounding country to his dominion, was in 1569 created Grand Duke of Tuscany by Pope Pius V.

While the siege of Florence was proceeding, Charles made his way to Bologna, which he entered on the 5th of November, 1529 and found Clement

nance of a single ruler had been known in Europe; and to all these vast possessions were added Mexico and Peru.

It is well for humanity that extraordinary powers find a check in some way. The great difficulty of Charles V., now that his rival Francis had been worsted, lay in the spread of Lutheran opinions in Germany. In that very year, 1529,



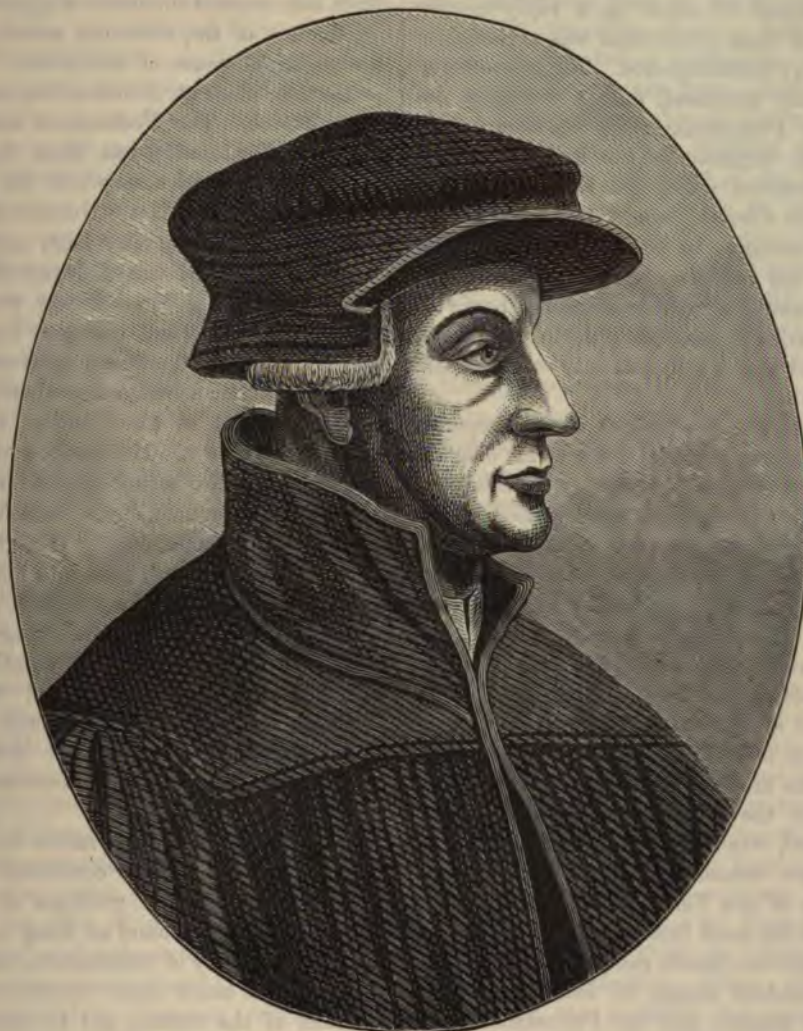
THE KAISERBERG, NUREMBERG.

VII. waiting there to receive him. In frequent consultations between the two potentates, the pacification of Italy was gradually arranged, and matters were settled so as to give complete supremacy to the Imperial and Papal authority over the whole peninsula. The larger share of influence, however, fell to Charles; and when we consider that this prince ruled over the whole of Germany, with its dependent States, over the whole of Spain, and now, though indirectly, over the greater part of Italy, it must be allowed that a very considerable approach had been made towards the reconstruction of the Western Empire. Since the days of Charlemagne, no such wide predomi-

the second Diet of Spires showed how irreconcilable were the opinions of the reformers with those of the orthodox body. Charles was greatly offended at the celebrated protest of the former which obtained for them the name of Protestants; and at the period of his coronation, which took place on the 24th of February, 1530, he urged on the Pontiff the advisability of convoking a General Council. By the deliberations of such a body on the alleged abuses of the time, the Emperor considered that the position of the Church would be strengthened; but Clement dreaded the effect of discussion, and the proposal of Charles was quietly allowed to drop. The Emperor thereupon fell

back on a meeting of more secular character, and summoned another Diet at Augsburg, which was to assemble on the 1st of May, 1530. Charles himself, however, did not arrive until the 15th of June, when he made his appearance in great pomp

remarked as significant that when the Emperor attended mass, all the Protestant princes of Germany stayed away, with the exception of the Saxon Elector, who was compelled, as High Marshal of the Empire, to carry the sword of state.



ULRICH ZWINGLI.

and splendour. A brilliant array of princes was already gathered in the ancient city whose name is derived from the Roman Emperor Augustus, and the Lutheran clergy were represented by Melancthon. As Luther himself was still under the ban of the Empire, it was not considered safe that he should put himself in the power of one who had pronounced that ban. He therefore remained at Coburg, where his life and freedom were sufficiently guarded by numerous influential friends. The Diet was opened on the 20th of June, and it was

Some of these rulers had already adopted a very bold tone in answer to Charles's private remonstrances; so that it was evident, before the Diet commenced, that its proceedings would not be very harmonious. The celebrated Confession of Augsburg—a document drawn up by Melancthon, in concert with Luther—was read on the 25th of June, 1530. It consisted of twenty-eight articles, the greater number of which were devoted to an exposition of the Protestant faith, while seven were assigned to an enumeration of the errors and

abuses of the Papal See. It was subscribed by the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies from the Imperial cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Some of the leaders of Catholic opinion in Germany were commissioned to draw up a reply to this Confession; but their production was regarded as too unsatisfactory for acceptance. Another answer was subsequently composed, and it was then decided that the Protestants must conform in all respects to the decisions of the Roman See, or suffer those penalties which the Emperor, as the guardian of the Church, would be compelled to impose. All attempts at conciliation proved ineffectual, and the sudden departure of the Landgrave Philip caused a rather undignified panic on the part of Charles V. and his orthodox followers, as it was feared that a religious war would be the immediate result.

Magnificent as was the position of the Emperor, he had not sufficient material force at his disposal to coerce the Protestants of Germany, especially as some of the Catholic princes were jealous of the House of Austria, and therefore little inclined to support its Imperial pretensions. Charles threatened a good deal, but was unable to take any active steps. The religious dissenters were enjoined to reconcile themselves with the Catholic Church, and, before the dissolution of the Diet in the latter part of November, Charles announced his intention to execute the Edict of Worms, and to maintain the ancient rights and doctrines of religion. That the Protestants were not more violently treated, was doubtless owing in part to the danger then menacing Europe from the repeated inroads of the Turks, which naturally disinclined all but the most intolerant from separating Christendom into two hostile camps. Nevertheless, there was abundant reason to fear what might happen in the future; and the Protestant rulers assembled at Smalcalde in December, 1530, to concert measures of mutual defence. The League of Smalcalde was signed on the 31st of that month, and the confederacy thus established, which was soon augmented by numerous additions, was appointed to last six years. The Leaguers, considering themselves entitled to look in any direction for assistance, sought to enlist on their side the political jealousies of Francis I. and Henry VIII. Francis was willing to conclude any alliance that might enable him to obtain revenge upon his former adversary, Charles V.; and he entered into a correspondence with Zwingli, who endeavoured, but without effect, to draw him over

to the Protestant cause. The death of the Swiss reformer took place not many months later. In the course of 1531, war broke out between the Protestants of Zurich and the cantons of Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, which retained their preference for the ancient faith. Each side accused the other of aggression; but the intolerance of the Catholics seems to have been the principal cause of hostilities. A sanguinary battle took place on Mount Albis, about nine miles from Zurich. The Protestants were commanded by Zwingli himself; but their force comprised only two thousand men, while the Catholics had four times that number. Uninstructed in warfare, overpowered by a superior host, and despondent of the result, Zwingli was defeated after a desperate engagement. He himself was struck from his horse by a stone, and trampled on by his flying soldiers. Two of the enemy afterwards discovered him lying under a tree, and evidently near his end. Being ignorant of his identity, they offered to bring a confessor. He made a sign of refusal, and they then exhorted him to recommend his soul to the Virgin. Again he refused, when one of the men exclaimed, "Die, then, obstinate heretic!" and thrust a pike into his throat. Thus perished the great Swiss reformer, on the 12th of October, 1531. On the following day, his body was burned by the order of a military tribunal, and his ashes were scattered to the winds. Zwingli was one of the fairest and most liberal of the early reformers, and his pure and serene nature stands high above the rancorous contentions of the time.

An alliance between Francis and some of the German Protestants was concluded on the 26th of May, 1532, under a pretence of opposing the recognition of Ferdinand as King of the Romans. The fact was one of considerable import; but the Emperor was much more troubled by the renewed menaces of the Sultan, and he acknowledged the necessity of coming to some understanding with the Protestants. He had endeavoured, first of all, to buy off the hostility of the Turks; but the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, scornfully rejected all such proposals, and, refusing to recognise Charles as anything more than the King of Spain, told his ambassadors that the whole of Germany belonged to the Ottoman monarch, and would presently be taken by force. Solymán appears to have considered that the possession of Constantinople conferred the only real title of Emperor, and that the actual sovereignty of the world was attached to that exalted position. Baffled in this direction, Charles V. looked to his Protestant

subjects for assistance against the alarming advance of the Turks. Negotiations were opened with the confederates of Smalcalde, and a religious peace was concluded at Nuremberg in July, 1532, and shortly afterwards confirmed by the Diet sitting at Ratisbon. By the articles thus sanctioned, religious liberty was granted to the reformers—at any rate until the assembling of a General Council, or a meeting of the Imperial States; on the other hand, the Protestants undertook to assist the Emperor against the invasion of the Turks. The whole of Germany was in truth awakened to the overmastering peril of the time. An army of 80,000 foot and 30,000 horse was soon ready to take the field under the immediate command of the Emperor; and Solyman perceived that it would be no easy matter to annex a territory thus powerfully defended. Francis I. was required to furnish a contingent to the Christian army, as, by the treaty of Cambray, he was bound to do; but the demand was made in so haughty and offensive a manner that the French sovereign refused to supply his former antagonist with either men or money. Towards the end of 1531, Francis had despatched an ambassador to the Sultan, with the professed object of dissuading him from a fresh assault on Christendom. But Solyman had already gone too far to withdraw; and it may be doubted whether Francis was very sincere in desiring to avert an attack which was to be mainly directed against Germany. For the last few years he had been on friendly terms with Solyman, who had granted to the French various commercial and other privileges in Egypt and Jerusalem.

When the Religious Peace was concluded at Nuremberg in the summer of 1532, Solyman had already begun his march from Constantinople. He started on the 26th of April, surrounded by the utmost pomp and splendour, and accompanied by a train of one hundred and twenty cannon. Hungary was entered in June, by which time 350,000 men had assembled under the banner of the Prophet. Indulging a vain hope that some compromise might even now be effected, Ferdinand of Austria sent an embassy to the Sultan at Belgrade, where his representatives were overpowered by the Oriental magnificence of the conqueror, and by the boundless military strength which could set aside 12,000 Janizaries as an approach to the Imperial tent. They were detained two months, and obliged to follow the movements of the invading force; but an arrangement was found impracticable, and on the 20th of July the Turks crossed the Drave on twelve bridges of boats. Hungary submitted without even the pretence of

resistance, except at Güns, where Solyman was destined to receive a mortifying check. The place was small and weak, and the garrison consisted of no more than seven hundred men; yet Solyman was detained at this spot more than three weeks, and was at length obliged to purchase a capitulation by promising that he would not occupy the town. At the same time, a body of Turkish cavalry was defeated in attempting to enter Austria through a mountain pass. Andrea Doria had achieved some remarkable successes on the coast of the Morea, and was exciting the Greeks to revolt. The immense forces of the Emperor were taking the field, and showing an eager desire to meet the foe. The entire aspect of affairs had altered since the passage of the Drave a few weeks earlier, and Solyman retreated with more expedition than he had advanced. Not only was Germany saved, but the position of King Ferdinand in Hungary was greatly improved. On the 22nd of June, a treaty of peace was concluded between Ferdinand's ambassadors and the Porte, by which Zapolya was abandoned, and the Emperor's brother was allowed to retain all that he had won from his Slavonic rival.

During these events, Francis was watching for an opportunity to renew his pretensions in the Italian peninsula. With this view, he made advances towards Henry VIII., and entered into intimate relations with the Pope, who was growing cold towards Charles V., on account of the persistence with which that potentate demanded a General Council of the Church, and because of his interference in Italian affairs which Clement regarded as belonging more properly to himself. Negotiations were opened by Francis for effecting a marriage between his second son, Henry, Duke of Orleans, and Catherine de' Medici, daughter of Lorenzo II., the late Duke of Urbino. The Pope proceeded to Marseilles, where, after prolonged negotiations, the youthful pair were united by Clement himself on the 25th of October, 1533. It was agreed that an Italian principality should be created in favour of the Duke of Orleans and his bride, and Francis ceded all his claims south of the Alps to the son thus favoured. Clement VII. died near the end of September, 1534, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, who assumed the title of Paul III. The Italian projects of Francis were seriously disconcerted by the death of Clement, and, instead of marching into the southern peninsula, the King resolved to attack his rival in Germany. An understanding was effected with the Protestant rulers, and with all those princes who, on various grounds, were dissatisfied with

the power and influence of Charles; but the designs of the French sovereign were for a time delayed by an expedition which the Emperor had undertaken, and which was of a nature that would have rendered peculiarly infamous any attack on his dominions during his absence.

Charles had determined to chastise the insolence of the pirate, Khair Eddin, otherwise called Barbarossa II. Reinforced by the Moriscoes who had been driven out of Spain, and by adventurers from many lands, this daring corsair became the terror of Southern Europe, and even extended his ravages to the coast of Provence. As the Sultan's admiral, and the Viceroy of Algiers, he was a man of no slight importance, and Francis I. thought it prudent to conclude a truce with him in 1533. That intriguing monarch would even have made use of his services for the recovery of Genoa, for Francis was willing to ally himself with the Moslem against his fellow-Christians, if by those means he could gratify at once his ambition, his vanity, and his revenge. Yet he hesitated to attack the Emperor while engaged in suppressing an immense evil, from which some of the most important parts of Europe suffered in no ordinary measure. The pirates under Barbarossa would suddenly descend upon the coasts of Italy or Spain, sack the defenceless cities, murder all who resisted, and carry off ship-loads of treasure, and multitudes of women and children. Spain was the chief victim, as being not far removed from the head-quarters of Barbarossa; and Charles, who had been staying in his peninsular dominions since 1533, conducted an expedition against the sea-rover in the summer of 1535. In the previous year, Barbarossa had taken Tunis from its ruler, Muley Hassan; and here he awaited the attack of the Christians. The land forces were under the command of the Emperor himself; the operations of the fleet were conducted by the heroic Genoese, Andrea Doria. The Goletta, a fortress protecting Tunis from the sea, was taken by storm on the 16th of June; Barbarossa was defeated on the 20th; and the Christian slaves in Tunis rose in insurrection on the 25th, opened the gates of the city, and admitted the strangers, when a massacre of 30,000 Mussulmans avenged the wrongs of 20,000 captives. Muley Hassan was then restored to his dominions, after engaging to put down piracy, to treat the Christians with justice, and to pay a yearly tribute of 12,000 ducats. The war was over by the middle of August, and Charles sailed for Italy, preceded by the splendour of a great success.

War between Francis and the Emperor followed

soon after. A pretext was discovered in the execution of a secret agent of the former, who had for some time been employed at Milan, but who was ultimately found guilty of being concerned in the assassination of Count Castiglione. His complicity in this crime was not certain, and the inquiry was conducted after a very summary fashion; so that the French King was not without a legitimate occasion for complaint. Sforza, however, had tendered apologies, and made offers of reparation; but these were not accepted. Shortly after the return of Charles V. from Africa, Sforza expired, leaving his territory to the Emperor, who took possession of it as an Imperial fief. To this arrangement Francis violently objected, and claimed the duchy for himself. After some ineffectual negotiations, he invaded Savoy, the Duke of which province was his maternal uncle. The excuse for these hostilities was readily found in dynastic claims arising from the relationship of the two families; but the real motive was to obtain a convenient base of operations for the contemplated attack on Milan. Duke Charles abandoned Turin on the approach of the invaders. For a little while the French seemed to be carrying all before them; but in the spring of 1536 the Imperial troops drove them out of Fossano, and advanced into Provence. Charles had vowed that he would bring the King of France as low as the poorest gentleman in his dominions, and the terror of his name seemed to guarantee his success. Arles and Marseilles were besieged, but the French laid waste the whole of Dauphiné, and the Constable Montmorency, adopting the Fabian tactics, retired within the walls of Avignon, and refused all temptations to a battle in which he might have been worsted. At the end of two months, the Imperial army, shattered and disorganised, was compelled to retreat with the loss of 30,000 men; but Italy had been saved from the contemplated designs of Francis. The French made an attack on Flanders in 1537, but without any important results, and a brief suspension of arms was shortly afterwards effected through the mediation of Queen Eleanor of France, and her sister, Queen Mary, the Regent of the Netherlands. During the progress of the war, the Dauphin Francis had expired, and his father for a time believed that the Emperor had procured his death by poison. The young prince's cupbearer, an Italian named Montecuculi, was arrested, and put to the torture, when he confessed his imputed guilt. The fact, however, is extremely doubtful, and the probability is that Montecuculi incriminated himself and others to obtain relief from his sufferings.

Before the conclusion of the truce arranged by the two Queens, Francis had entered into a treaty with the Turkish Sultan, by which it was agreed that Barbarossa should convey an Ottoman force into Apulia, for the conquest of Naples, and that Francis should enter Lombardy with 50,000 men. Solyman accordingly assembled an immense force on the coast of Albania opposite Otranto, and the Pope was so much alarmed at the prospect of a Mohammedan invasion that he made preparations for flight in case the Turks should effect a landing. Even Andrea Doria was compelled to shelter himself in the port of Messina, lest his vessels should be taken or destroyed by Barbarossa's fleet. The shores of Apulia were thus deprived of all defence, and 10,000 cavalry actually disembarked near Otranto. The Mussulman invaders, however, were not supported by their Christian ally, and contented themselves with carrying off a vast number of persons into captivity. Francis delayed and hesitated, but in the autumn invaded Italy, although the truce recently concluded was yet in force. Negotiations for peace were still proceeding, and these were promoted by Pope Paul III., who had every reason for desiring a cessation of hostilities which threatened to rend Christendom in pieces, and to open a way for the Mohammedans. He therefore arranged a meeting between Charles and Francis at Nice, where he acted as mediator between the two sovereigns, who declined to see one another. The result was a truce of ten years, concluded on the 18th of June, 1538; and this was afterwards converted into a perpetual peace, signed at Toledo on the 10th of January, 1539. One of the chief provisions of the arrangement was that the Duke of Savoy was stripped of all his possessions, excepting the county of Nice: the rest of his territory was divided between the King and the Emperor. People not unreasonably supposed that the two monarchs had refused to see one another out of an unconquerable antipathy, engendered by the personal insults which in former years each had heaped upon the other. But in reality no such feeling existed, and, on the 14th of July, 1538, Francis I., while staying at an abbey in the diocese of Nismes, received intelligence that the Imperial fleet was lying off Aigues Mortes. Riding down to the coast, he put off in a boat, and was helped by the Emperor himself on board his galley. Charles returned the visit on the following day, and long consultations ensued, having reference to the future policy of the reconciled sovereigns. Francis hoped to obtain the Milanese territory by an arrangement with Charles, and both potentates

were willing, now that the war was over, to combine their forces against the Protestants.

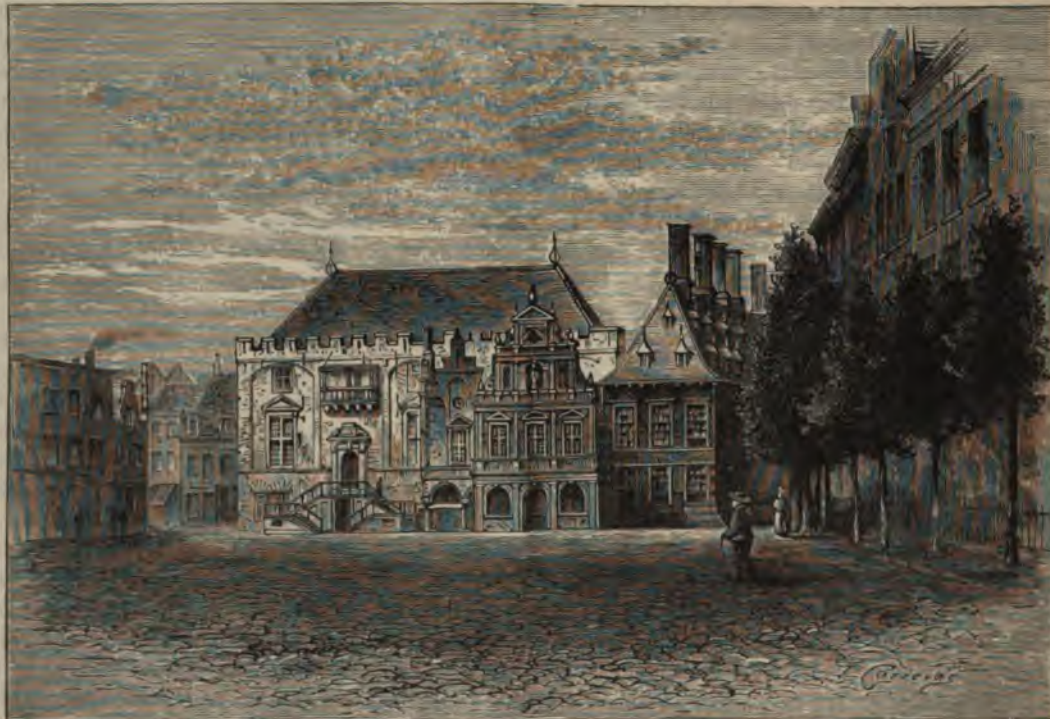
Nothing gives a more vivid idea of the entire absence of political morality in those days than the readiness with which the leading princes encouraged or oppressed the conscientious in religion, with a view simply to the advancement of their own personal ambition. At the very time that he was supporting the Protestants of Germany, as a means of injuring the Emperor, Francis I. was acting with the utmost cruelty towards the adherents of the reformed faith whom he found in his own dominions. Some palliation of his conduct may be found in the extreme violence with which the French Protestants attacked the religious ideas and practices of the Catholics; but intemperance on the weaker side cannot justify barbarity on the stronger. In the latter part of 1534, and the earlier months of 1535, large numbers of the reformers were burned alive under circumstances of great atrocity. Francis afterwards excused himself to the Confederates of Smalcalde, by alleging that the persons thus executed were rebels rather than schismatics; and at the very time he was burning these unhappy wretches, he sent an autograph letter to Melancthon, inviting him to Paris, that he might there discuss the question of the Eucharist. The invitation was not accepted, for it was evident to all observers that Francis was merely serving his own purposes. Fearful of losing the support of the German Protestants, the French King even committed himself to an approbation of the principles embodied in the Confession of Augsburg, joined the League of Smalcalde, and published an edict restoring to liberty all persons imprisoned for holding the new doctrines. But by the middle of 1538, when Charles and Francis conferred together at Aigues Mortes, all necessity for flattering the Protestants had ceased, and they were to be repressed by the united efforts of the King and the Emperor.

It happened, very unfortunately for the Protestant cause, that in some quarters the movement was taken up by men of extravagant and fanatical ideas. The reader has already seen how the incitements of Storch and Münzer, in connection with the body called Anabaptists, led to a species of civil war in 1525, during which many dreadful outrages were committed. But a still worse rising occurred some years later, for the principles of the Anabaptists, though checked for the moment, were not extinguished. In Saxony and Franconia, the party was almost entirely suppressed; but missionaries of the proscribed doctrines

were scattered over other parts of Germany, and throughout the Netherlands, so that in a little while the flames sprang up afresh, and in many places simultaneously. At Haarlem, a baker named John Matthiesen was installed as bishop, and this sectary lost no time in sending out a number of apostles. Two of them went to Münster, the capital of Westphalia, where they were favourably received by Bernhard Knipperdolling, a burgher of good position and considerable in-

On the 27th of February, in the midst of snow and sleet, all who would not accept the new doctrines—men, women, and children—were driven out of the city, after being stripped of their money and property; and the fanatics were now supreme.

It was impossible that such a community could be allowed to establish itself in a civilised town. The Bishop of Münster accordingly invested the Westphalian capital with a considerable army; but the Anabaptists defended themselves from the



THE TOWN HALL, HAARLEM.

fluence. Another convert was the Protestant minister, Rothmann; Matthiesen himself arrived after a while; and the intruders soon became so strong that, on the 8th of February, 1534, a struggle for the mastery occurred in the marketplace of Münster. A compromise was soon effected, and it was agreed that each party should enjoy the liberty of holding its own opinions, while both should pay obedience to the civil magistrates. But the very necessity of coming to terms with such dangerous enthusiasts added immensely to their power; and the licence which they claimed on several points attracted the profligate from many directions. A few days after the compromise, an election for magistrates occurred, when all the offices were filled by Anabaptists, and Knipperdolling was chosen burgomaster.

walls with such valour and resolution that the siege made little progress. Firmly believing in his own supernatural commission, and relying on the special protection of heaven, Matthiesen headed a sortie one day with no more than thirty ill-armed followers. All were slaughtered, and the office of prophet passed to Matthiesen's disciple, John Bockelsohn, a native of the Hague, who had worked as a tailor at Leyden. John of Leyden is accordingly the appellation by which this singular person is generally known; but Münster was the scene of his wild and furious eccentricities. It was he who introduced the custom of plurality of wives—an arrangement which some of the Anabaptists themselves opposed, with the penalty of death for their contumacy. By his directions, the churches were pulled down, and a spiritual



THE MARRIAGE PROCESSION OF ANNE BOLEYN.

republic, with community of goods, was established in place of the old order. The administration was entrusted to twelve judges, ruling over twelve distinct tribes, as they were called; for the pretence of these fanatics was to re-establish the political and social conditions existing among the ancient Israelites. In some respects the government was extremely tyrannical, and any one withholding the least portion of his property from the common stock was punished with death. Increasing his pretensions, John of Leyden ultimately assumed the title, state, and dignity of a king, lived in luxury and pomp, and punished at his own pleasure all who ventured to resist his will. No such state, however, could long endure; and when the army of the Bishop was strengthened by Imperial troops, the city was so completely invested that famine presently set in. The fortifications were taken by assault on the night of June 24th, 1535; and there were traitors within the town who aided the external foe. Many were slain in the last desperate fight; amongst them the minister Rothmann, who had abandoned his former position for the doubtful honours of an Anabaptist saint. John of Leyden, Knipperdolling, and another, were subjected to dreadful tortures. Their flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, which are still preserved in the Town Hall; and, while still alive, they were enclosed in cages, and suspended from the tower of St. Lambert's Church. The prophet himself is said to have confessed his errors before his death, and it is a remarkable fact that, ever since those days, Münster has been known as one of the most bigoted centres of Roman Catholicism. The barbarity with which the three principal Anabaptists were punished is of course entirely beyond palliation; but rigorous measures were necessary against a body of men who drew the sword in defence of licentious practices, and of such acts of madness as parading the streets stark naked, in proof of their innocence and religious exaltation.*

* It is possible that the malpractices of the Anabaptists have been overcharged by theological enemies; but the tendency of all such movements is to run into criminal excesses.

Threatened alike by declared enemies, and by the ill deeds of those who carried the principles of Protestantism to objectionable lengths, the reformers of Germany strengthened their position, towards the end of 1535, by renewing and extending the League of Smalcalde. One of the more important of the new accessions was Ulrich, Duke of Wurtemberg, who was deprived of his position in 1521, owing to numerous acts of tyranny, but who had recently been restored by Philip of Hesse, with the assistance of funds supplied by Francis I. Ferdinand of Austria, who in 1531 had received the dukedom from his brother the Emperor, endeavoured to maintain his position by force, but was defeated by Philip of Hesse, near Heilbronn, on the 13th of May, 1534. The restoration of Ulrich followed immediately after, and peace was concluded at Cadan (a town in Bohemia) on the 27th of June. Ferdinand now waived his claim to the Duchy, and in return was recognised by the Confederates of Smalcalde as King of the Romans. It was at the same time settled that the Imperial Chamber should no longer exercise jurisdiction in matters relating to the Church; and the Reformation, thus strengthened, was established in Wurtemberg, Holstein, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and some other places, where it found a congenial soil in the character of the people, in the old sentiment of Teutonic independence, and in the comparative freedom from Pontifical influences. The League of Smalcalde was renewed for a term of ten years, and a new Protestant Confession was drawn up by Luther and other divines, which, under the title of the Articles of Smalcalde, repeated with still greater emphasis, and it must be admitted with some intemperance, the tenets already set forth in the Confession of Augsburg. The Protestants were now no longer a trembling and persecuted sect. They had become a power in the world, which vast numbers of earnest and conscientious men were ready to support at the hazard of their lives, which monarchs little disposed to freedom of conscience were glad to favour for the sake of their personal designs, and which the Roman Pontiff himself regarded with wrath, amazement, and distrust.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Religious Condition of England early in the Sixteenth Century—Character and Tendencies of Henry VIII.—Nature and Origin of the King's Marriage with Catherine of Aragon—Subsequent Doubts of Henry as to the Lawfulness of his Union—His First Acquaintance with Anne Boleyn—Previous Efforts to obtain a Divorce—Perplexity and Equivocations of Pope Clement VII.—Views of Eminent Authorities on the Subject—Designs of Wolsey—His Opposition to the contemplated Marriage with Anne Boleyn—Procrastination of the Pope and the Cardinal—Fall of Wolsey, and Death soon after—Rise of Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell—Measures for the Reform of Ecclesiastical Abuses—Henry declares himself Head of the Church—Bill for the Abolition of Annates—Immovability of the Pope—The Divorce pronounced by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury—Coronation of Anne Boleyn as Queen Consort—Antagonism of the Pope and the King—Progress of the Reformation—Spiritual Despotism of Henry—Execution of More and Fisher—Suppression of the Monasteries—Social Disruption consequent on the Change—Perpetuation of Roman Catholic Dogmas—Execution of Queen Anne, and subsequent Marriages of Henry—Motives influencing the King in his Matrimonial Alliances—Remaining Events in the Reign of Henry VIII.—Development of the Reformation under Edward VI.—Lady Jane Grey—State of Scotland about the Era of Protestantism—Introduction of Protestant Theology into that Kingdom, and Causes of the Direction which it took.

ENGLAND was one of the earliest countries to enunciate those principles of religious reform which were afterwards still more emphatically declared by Luther and Zwingli. Wyclif made a considerable advance towards a complete denial of the Papal despotism, and his disciples the Lollards went even farther. But the power of the English monarchs, reinforcing the traditional authority of the Pontiffs, crushed the movement in its infancy, and, when the Reformation began in Germany, the English people were apparently well affected towards the Apostolic See. Doubtless there was a great deal of discontent below the surface, for the instinct of personal freedom has always been strong in our race; but this feeling required some strong and peculiar impulse to set it in motion. Strangely enough, the impulse came from above, instead of from below; not from some solitary student, speaking out of an intense conviction, but from a violent and despotic king, who had previously entered the lists against Luther as a champion of orthodoxy. All the surroundings of Henry VIII. were tyrannical. He had a domineering minister in Cardinal Wolsey, and the principles of his government were those of his father, less cautiously applied. The execution, in 1513, without any form of trial, of Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, apparently for no other reason than his family connection with the House of York, and the subsequent beheading of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1521, on a doubtful charge of treason, showed the temper of the young monarch, and augured ill for his later years. We have seen that the foreign policy of Henry was vacillating and treacherous; but as yet he had done nothing of mark as regarded religion, except the composition of that ostentatious theological

treatise which procured for him the title of "Defender of the Faith."

The disquisition on the Seven Sacraments, in answer to Luther, was sent to Pope Leo X. in 1521. About six years later, a series of events began, which finally led to the separation of Henry, and of England itself, from the fold of the ancient Church. The King's consort was Catherine of Aragon, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who had originally been married to Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. Arthur died on the 2nd of April, 1502, in the sixteenth year of his age; and soon afterwards it was proposed by the Spanish sovereigns that the Princess should be betrothed to the boy Henry, as a means of retaining the connection with England which they desired. It is said that the English monarch's reason for assenting to this suggestion was that he might avoid the repayment of Catherine's dower; but, whatever his motive, he agreed to the arrangement, and the young couple were affianced on the 25th of June, 1503, at the Bishop of Salisbury's house in Fleet Street, when Henry was about twelve years of age. To legalise a connection of so unusual a nature, it was necessary to obtain a Papal dispensation; but this did not arrive until the 26th of December in the same year. The marriage was solemnised early in June, 1509, and three children were subsequently born, two of whom died in infancy, while the third (Mary) afterwards became Queen of England. Henry, whose joyous temper in early life had given place to a gloomy and depressed habit of mind, seems to have believed that the untimely deaths of his two sons were due to some sin on his own part, which had drawn on him the judgments of Providence. It was easy to arrive at the

conclusion that this sin was his marriage with the widow of a deceased brother—a marriage which is said to have been forced on him by his father against his own wish, though it is difficult to suppose that at so tender an age he could have had much feeling in the matter, one way or the other. The King may have been quite sincere in his profession of remorse; but it is not to be denied that considerations of a less exalted kind influenced him at a later period of his life.

Catherine of Aragon was six years older than her husband, and her charms had begun to wane in 1527, when Henry was only thirty-six. She was devoted to all the wearisome etiquette of a Castilian court, and was described by the Papal Legate in England as a woman of "a rough temper and an unpleasant conversation." Before the close of 1527, Henry became acquainted with Anne Boleyn, the daughter of a gentleman of Norfolk, who had married Lady Elizabeth Howard, of the great ducal family. In 1527 she was just twenty, and all accounts represent her beauty as remarkable. Several of her girlish years had been passed in France, where she was attached to the court of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., who had married King Louis XII. Her stay abroad continued during the first thirteen years of the reign of Francis, and it was not long after her return to England that Henry fell under the sway of her fascination. She was now a maid of honour to Queen Catherine, so that the King had many opportunities of seeing her. As she persistently rejected all unworthy proposals, it became necessary to procure a divorce from Catherine, and the questionable nature of the marriage offered a convenient handle. From a comparison of facts and dates, however, it appears that Henry had entertained scruples on the subject, and had applied to Rome for a divorce, before he first saw Anne Boleyn, which was near the end of 1527. The question at issue was whether the union with Prince Arthur had ever been more than ceremonious. Henry affirmed that it had been completed, and that consequently his own marriage with Catherine was open to the gravest objections. The Queen asserted the contrary, as indeed she had done from the first; and the Pope (Clement VII.) was in great perplexity how to act. His trouble, however, arose not so much from conscientious doubts as from the desire to stand well both with Charles V. and Henry VIII. It was to be expected that the Emperor would defend the cause of his aunt; on the other hand, Gardiner and Fox, the English ambassadors to the Papal See in 1528, had very plainly hinted to the Pontiff that their royal master might secede from the Church if his wishes were

not consulted. The French were at that time in Italy; and Clement declared that if the English ambassadors could induce Lautrec to approach Rome near enough to create the appearance of compulsion, he would yield. He even suggested that Henry should take a second wife at once, without a previous divorce, and then refer the matter to Rome.

The controversies on this subject have been bitter and prolonged; but, however great the personal influence of Anne Boleyn in bringing the matter to an issue, it is certain that the King had begun to doubt the validity of his marriage before her appearance on the scene. For three years he had refused to cohabit with Catherine; and in the late summer of 1527 negotiations were opened with Francis I. for a marriage with the Princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII. and Anne of Brittany. The King's confessor, Longland, was convinced of the illegality of the marriage with Arthur's widow, which had also been condemned by all the English Bishops, with the exception of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and by all the Judges, except Sir Thomas More. There was likewise a very general opinion among Continental divines that the marriage was contrary to the law of God, as declared to Moses, and that consequently the Pope himself could not sanction it. Such was the view at first entertained by Cardinal Wolsey, who, as the reader knows, endeavoured, but ineffectually, to arrange the union with the Princess Renée. His motives, no doubt, were of the basest order. He desired to effect a close alliance between France and England, and to procure the downfall of Catherine, as a means of revenging himself on Charles V. for having disappointed him of the Papacy. But the fact at any rate shows that the application for a divorce, which was first made in August, 1527, and had reference to the contemplated nuptials with Renée, was not prompted by the love of Anne Boleyn. There had even been, in 1526, a still earlier project on the part of Wolsey for effecting a marriage between his sovereign and a French princess. Margaret of Alençon, the sister of Francis, was the lady then contemplated; but she gave her hand to Henry II., King of Navarre.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that Henry's passion for the young Norfolk lady quickened and intensified his desire for a separation from Catherine. It was in the course of 1528 that his affection for Anne acquired an overmastering character, and it was in that year, as we have seen, that his representatives with the Pope began to use language of a somewhat menacing character. But the very circumstance which inflamed the ardour of Henry,

checked the enthusiasm of Wolsey. With him, the divorce was simply a means towards establishing good relations with France, and thus curbing the ambition of the Emperor. It was not to put a private lady on the throne that he had worked upon the scruples of Clement VII.; and although that potentate had issued a commission to Cardinal Campeggio, and to Wolsey himself, to try the question, the English prelate became lukewarm when he discovered on whom the King's affections were fixed. Hearing of what was contemplated, he implored the King upon his knees to abandon a course which seemed to him little short of madness. Henry was not likely to be influenced by any such considerations, and the Legates' court for investigating the question opened with slight probability of a satisfactory solution. Clement himself was merely seeking to gain time, and Wolsey, when convinced that Henry would marry no other than Anne Boleyn, lent himself to all the methods of procrastination. On one excuse or another, judgment was delayed, and in 1529 Clement revoked the commission, and decided that the cause must be argued at Rome itself. The Pontiff dreaded the power of Charles more than that of Henry, as indeed he had every reason to do; and he hoped, by an indefinite prolongation of inquiry, to stifle the question altogether.

The furious passions of the English sovereign were by this time aroused. He saw that Wolsey was secretly plotting against his wishes, and he determined on the overthrow of that powerful minister. The Cardinal was deprived of all his offices in October, 1529, and died of a broken heart in the following year, while being conveyed from Yorkshire to London, for trial on a charge of high treason. A new ministry was now formed, in which laymen held the highest places. Sir Thomas More—a Catholic, but a man of singularly liberal mind, and of the highest character—became Chancellor; and one of the chief advisers of the King was Thomas Cromwell, formerly the chief agent of Wolsey, but now destined to acquire an equal power of his own. Henry at once summoned a Parliament, the complaints of which, against the luxury, extortion, and idleness of the Bishops and other clergy, gave expression to that feeling of discontent which had been voiceless for many years, because fear of the consequences restrained men from speaking. Measures for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses passed the Commons with very little opposition, and were even carried, though not so easily, through the Upper House. Before the close of 1529, Henry had imposed a heavy fine on the clergy, for having recognised, without express

royal sanction, the authority of Wolsey as the Pope's Legate, and had declared himself the head of the Church. The second of these measures was suggested by Thomas Cromwell, a man of obscure birth, but great ability, who had served as assistant in an English factory at Antwerp, as a soldier in the army of the Constable Bourbon when he attacked and pillaged Rome, as a clerk in a mercantile house at Venice, and as a lawyer in England. The clergy were of course little inclined to recognize Henry as the head of the Church; but they were ultimately induced to do so, in consideration of the King's remitting a portion of the fine which he had laid on them with respect to Wolsey.

The Parliament of 1530 imposed still further limitations on the clerical power, and, in particular, subjected to the secular law all churchmen below the rank of priest. Henry gave his sanction to these measures, not from any sincere love of religious reform, but as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the Pope. Clement, however, was not swayed from his position of stolid antagonism. As yet, his revenues were not attacked, and he could afford to smile at the movement in England, which he probably thought would die out in time, as that of the Lollards had done. In 1532, however, a Bill was passed, abolishing the payments which it had been customary to make to the Pontiff on the appointment of churchmen to any high ecclesiastical dignity. As it was usual to confer such offices on none but very old men, and the payment to Rome consisted of the first year's fruits of the benefice, it is evident that the revenue thus accruing must have been very large indeed. The action of the new law, however, was suspended for a time, and the Pope was privately given to understand that the Annates, as they were called, would not be withheld, if the divorce was granted. Sir Thomas More, as a conscientious Catholic, could not approve of such measures, and in 1532 he resigned. Cromwell became the head of the ministry, and his decidedly Protestant leanings induced him to support the King in every act of disobedience to the Apostolic See. The mind of Henry himself, however, was much divided between opposing considerations, and he exercised his utmost ingenuity to arrive at some compromise with the sullen and obstinate Pope. All this while, his passion for Anne Boleyn continued unabated, and, on the 25th of January, 1533, he was privately married to her, without having obtained the divorce from Catherine which he had been seeking for nearly six years. The marriage was made public about three months later. Cranmer, who had recently been appointed to the Archbishopric

of Canterbury, held an ecclesiastical court, which, on the 23rd of May, pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine null and void from the beginning; and the coronation of Anne took place,



SIR THOMAS MORE.
(After the Portrait by Holbein.)

with extraordinary splendour, on the 1st of June. Anne had been long inclined to evangelical views in religion; and this tendency on her part may have had its influence in drawing the King still farther into a posture of antagonism to Rome. It is a remarkable fact that the same disposition existed in the Princess Renée, to whom Henry was to have been betrothed, if Wolsey could have managed it; but the fact can hardly have been known to the Cardinal, unless he relied on his own power to overcome the reasonings of a woman.

Henry cannot have supposed that the Pontiff would submit to such repeated defiance without calling forth the thunders of the Church. The King was cited to appear before the Papal court; but he appealed to a General Council. Cranmer's sentence was declared illegal, and the sword was now fairly drawn on both sides. The Parliament of England passed an Act entirely abolishing the Papal authority within this realm. The succession was settled on the issue of Anne Boleyn, to the exclusion of Catherine's daughter; and it was enacted in the following year (1534) that the clergy should in future be assembled in Convocation only by the King's writ, that no constitutions passed by them should be enforced without the King's assent, and that no first fruits, Peter's Pence, or money for dispensations, should thence-

forth be assigned to the Pope. Clement had already pronounced judgment in the divorce case; and it is needless to say that he declared the marriage with Catherine to have been valid. The position which the King had asserted for himself, of supreme head of the Church of England, was confirmed to him by Parliament in the latter part of 1534. The rupture with the Papal Church was now complete; but the English people had gained little or nothing in respect of spiritual liberty. Freedom of judgment in matters of religion was the last thing that Henry desired to establish. He wished to be his own Pope, and he took rigorous measures to enforce the authority which he claimed. The Act recently passed had conferred on him power to redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the Church. The conscience of every man, therefore, lay at his sole disposal, and his imperious temper was not likely to brook any contradictions. Some of the best among the Roman Catholics resented his claim to supremacy. Several who thus asserted their independence were led to the scaffold, and amongst these victims were Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. To say nothing of the tyranny of such acts, their policy was open to the gravest question. Catholic opinion all over Europe was shocked and horrified, and the Protestants of Germany were



JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.
(After the Portrait by Holbein.)

equally indignant at punishments which menaced individual liberty, no less than the authority of the ancient Church. The movement in England was simply political, so far, at least, as concerned

the intentions of the King and his advisers. Protestantism, in the vital and active sense of the term, had as yet gained nothing by a revolution which a despotic monarch had violently commenced, and now as violently checked, for his own personal ends. The old worship remained exactly as before: the dogmas of Rome were upheld, while the jurisdiction of Rome was flouted and set aside.

of the Commission disclosed a state of things with which it was quite impossible that Parliament should refrain from dealing. A Bill was passed in 1535, giving to the King and his heirs all monastic establishments which did not exceed £200 a year. The larger monasteries were spared for a time; but so considerable was the number of the minor houses, that the King was enriched to the extent



THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX.

One good result, however, arose out of this base and sordid turmoil. In 1535, Thomas Cromwell appointed a Commission to inquire into the state of the monasteries. The condition of those establishments had long been known to be scandalous in the last degree; but no one had had the power or the interest to remedy the evil, or even to examine minutely into its nature and extent. The interest and the power were now no longer wanting; for Henry, supported by a compliant Parliament, could do what he pleased, and the enormous wealth of the conventual bodies was a powerful incentive to attack. Cromwell himself acted as Visitor-General of the monasteries, and the reports

of £32,000 a year, besides receiving £100,000 in ready money. Henry was enabled, moreover, to make immense grants of land to his favourites, and the power of the aristocracy was greatly increased by this sudden access of wealth. But, however necessary the measure, and however beneficial in its ultimate effects, it was undoubtedly productive of considerable hardship for the time; nor is it easy to justify the seizure, without any compensation, of private property which had been bequeathed for different purposes. A large class was suddenly stricken with poverty, while its stored-up wealth went into the coffers of the King, or the hands of private persons. Something like

a social convulsion followed on the great measure of Thomas Cromwell. In Lincolnshire, forty thousand men rose against what they considered an injustice; the northern counties were in rebellion; all over England, the dispossessed monks and friars swelled the army of the malcontents. Yet the King and his advisers shrank not from pursuing their policy to the end. Partly by force, and partly by promises, the insurrections were put down. In 1539, the remaining monasteries were suppressed; the abbeys were despoiled of their gold and silver vessels, jewels, relics, and other property; and a large destruction of Gothic architecture gave a touch of barbarism to the struggle against Papal tyranny and corruption. Six new bishoprics were formed, and fourteen abbeys were converted into cathedrals and collegiate churches. But religion gained very little by all these acts, while the freedom of the intellect gained not at all. So disinclined was Henry to support what is understood as Protestantism, that he procured a declaration from his Parliament, establishing the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Communion in one kind, the celibacy of the clergy, masses, and auricular confession; and punishing with death any one who should venture to deny the validity of those opinions and practices.

Catherine of Aragon died towards the end of 1535, and in May, 1536, Queen Anne was executed on charges of adultery imperfectly supported by the evidence. The very next morning, Henry, with brutal indecency, married Jane Seymour, a lady whose personal attractions had inspired him with the same uncontrollable feeling that had formerly been excited by Anne Boleyn. Queen Jane died on the 14th of October, 1537, and in January, 1540, the King married Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, who was divorced six months later. The fifth consort of Henry VIII. was Lady Catherine Howard, whom he married on the 8th of August, 1540, and beheaded on the 13th of February, 1542, on a charge of adultery which seems to have been better established than in the case of Anne. The sixth and last Queen of this despotic monarch was Catherine Parr, who was married on the 10th of July, 1543, and had the good fortune to survive her lord. The fact of Henry VIII. having had so many wives goes against him with a nation like the English; but the popular feeling on this subject has been somewhat exaggerated. It should be recollected that, of these six wives, one was divorced because there were grave doubts as to the lawfulness of the union; that two were beheaded on charges of

adultery which were undoubtedly proved in one case, if they were questionable in the other; that one died a natural death, and one was still living at the time of Henry's decease. The instance which appears most characterised by caprice was that of Anne of Cleves, who seems, from the first moment of their meeting, to have displeased Henry by her plainness. One reason for his repeated marriages was the desire to provide the nation with heirs to the throne, of indisputable legitimacy, and with a probability of their lives being prolonged beyond youth. It is true that, when the King married Anne of Cleves, he had three children—Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward. But the legitimacy of the two daughters was open to question, owing, in the case of Mary, to the doubtful nature of the marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and, in that of Elizabeth, to the alleged infidelity of Anne Boleyn. Edward, the only son, was so sickly from the first that fears were entertained of his never reaching manhood; and the event entirely justified those apprehensions. The marriage with Anne of Cleves was contracted by the advice of the Privy Council; but, although the nuptials took place, Henry never lived with the Queen, and very shortly dissolved the union. The actions of Henry were often violent and heartless; but it is a mere extravagance of rhetoric to represent him, so far as his married life was concerned, as a species of ogre, guided simply by the wild frenzy of his passions. In some respects he was unfortunate, in some he was selfish; but he was certainly not the unmitigated sensualist that we behold in his contemporary, Francis I., or in many other monarchs who have disgraced the regal office by the scandal of their licentious lives.

However disinclined Henry may have been to accept the principles of Luther and Zwingli, of Wyclif and Huss, he had set going a movement which it was beyond his power to confine within the limits he wished to set. For him, it was enough if the jurisdiction of the Pope was excluded from England; but the Parliament and the nation desired to go farther. The former presented a petition to the King, in 1536, requesting that a new translation of the Bible might be executed by authority, and set up in the churches. Two years later, the version known as Miles Coverdale's was ordered to be kept in places of worship where it could be seen and read by the people; at the same time, incumbents were directed to teach their congregations the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the vernacular. These measures, and others tending to the suppression of idolatry, were due to the reforming zeal of Thomas, Lord

Cromwell, as he had now become—a man of remarkable genius and energy, who seems to have been animated by a spirit similar to that of his still more famous namesake a century later. One of his many appointments was to the office of Vicar-General, which gave him a control over the Church, and enabled him to advance the cause of the Reformation more than the sovereign himself desired. This over-confident activity caused the fall of the minister not long after he had been created Earl of Essex and Lord Chamberlain of England. Henry was now under the influence of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester—a champion of the old faith, but one who knew how to accommodate himself to existing facts. By his incentive, the Parliament of 1539 enacted that the proclamations of the King in Council should thenceforth have the same authority as statutes, and passed the celebrated Six Articles, by which the punishment of death, or some other severe penalty, was attached to the denial of several among the cherished doctrines and practices of the Romish Church. Cromwell endeavoured to thwart the operation of this Act, and, having been committed to the Tower on a charge of treason, was beheaded on the 28th of July, 1540.

The last years of Henry VIII. were spent in fruitless wars with France and Scotland, and in the unrestrained indulgence of those bloody and resentful passions which had now become habitual, and which the torments of disease exasperated to frenzy. He expired on the 28th of January, 1547, leaving the throne to his youthful son, Edward VI., whose mother, Jane Seymour, had died at the period of his birth. Edward was a boy of nine when he thus succeeded to an ancient and illustrious throne. His disposition seems to have been amiable; but he was of course the creature of others during his brief reign of six years and a half. The duties of Protector were discharged by his maternal uncle, the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the Council of Regency. The establishment of that form of Protestantism which finds its expression in the Church of England, was mainly the work of Cranmer; and although the arrangement was upset for a few years under Mary, it had struck too deep a root in the national character not to revive at the first opportunity. The Reformation made great progress under this able and learned prelate, who was assisted in his labours by Bishops Latimer and Ridley, and by others equally devoted to the cause. Very little bloodshed accompanied the changes then effected; many noble charities were endowed out of the confiscated

revenues of the abbeys and other conventual institutions; and, while much of the old religion was retained which a more searching and philosophical spirit would have discarded, an important approach was made towards that emancipation of the mind from dogma and tradition which modern times have carried much farther, and with the happiest results. Henry's Six Articles, known as the Bloody Statute, were repealed, and the country entered on a period of comparative repose, as regarded religion, which was unfortunately broken, so far as politics were concerned, by the struggles for power of the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland.

The ambition of the latter nobleman, who, in January, 1552, procured the execution of his rival, was to secure the throne of England for his posterity. He therefore united his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk. The mother of Jane was Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of Mary, sister of Henry VIII., who had been previously married to Louis XII. of France. After the death of Somerset, the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk prevailed on King Edward, then in failing health, to make a deed of settlement, transferring the succession from the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and Mary, Queen of Scots (the next in relationship), to Lady Jane, who appears to have had no knowledge of what was intended. Edward died on the 6th of July, 1553, and Lady Jane Grey—a girl of about sixteen, learned, amiable, and graceful—suffered herself, though unwillingly, to be proclaimed as his successor. But the people speedily rallied to the rightful heir, as Mary undoubtedly was, unless we regard her as illegitimate; and in ten days Jane was deposed. She was executed on the 12th of February, 1554, when the fortunes of England passed into the hands of a bigoted Romanist, the circumstances of whose reign must be deferred to another Chapter. The premature death of Edward VI., from a species of consumption, opened a brief period of reaction, bloodshed, and disturbance, which might have been spared had his life continued. But the future of Protestantism was assured within the seas of Britain.

While the great monarchies of the continent were contending in deadly antagonism, and England was siding first with one, and then with another, as considerations of policy seemed to require, Scotland was pursuing an independent path, and mixing very little in the general affairs of Europe, unless when the French were to be indirectly helped

by an inroad across the English border. The great difficulty of the Scottish kings—a greater even than the rivalry or the ambition of England—proceeded from the turbulence and insubordination of the fierce Celtic chieftains of the North. For several generations, the Lords of the Isles, as the rulers of the Hebrides used to call themselves, exercised a power which often successfully defied that of the Scottish monarchs; and although this barbaric sovereignty was nearly shattered at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, its effects endured much longer. The Highland clans continued to be troublesome; the great Scottish nobles were often the masters of their sovereign; and opposing factions fought out their quarrels in the streets of Edinburgh, as if there were no such thing as law in the country. The first three Jameses—whose reigns extended over the larger part of the fifteenth century—were frequently at issue with the powerful families of Lennox, Graham, Douglas, Crawford, Angus, Argyle, and others, and a state of permanent violence, sometimes amounting to open war, and sometimes degenerating into secret murder, retarded the progress of civilisation, and fostered the wildest passions of human nature. The nobility were for the most part of Celtic blood, while the monarchs, though of mixed race, represented the Lowland or Anglo-Saxon element in the composition of the people. It was from a Lowland city—Edinburgh, the town of Northumbrian Edwin—that Scotland was governed from about 1437; and, on the whole, the Anglo-Saxon genius, with its love of industry, orderliness, and freedom, prevailed over the restless mountain septs.

The disastrous battle of Flodden (to which allusion has before been made) was not without good results for the Scottish kings, in consequence of the terrific slaughter of the nobility, which left them but a wreck of their former power and influence. It was fought on the 9th of September, 1513, when James IV., having invaded Northumberland in consequence of certain injuries which he alleged against his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., was encountered by the English forces under the Earl of Surrey. On this memorable occasion, the Scots displayed even more than their wonted valour, spirit, and resolution; but they were ill-commanded, and exposed to every disadvantage which rashness and incompetence could assure. Against the advice of their French allies, the northern men, abandoning a strong position on the side of a hill, flung themselves in repeated charges against the steady lines of the English pikemen, who were supported on both flanks by the finest archers in the world. A temporary success against the right

wing of the southern army was accompanied and followed by a crushing reverse in all other directions. The fury of the combat continued until nightfall, even after the death of King James, who, spurring his horse towards the quarters of the Earl of Surrey, which he nearly reached, fell covered with blood upon the plain. The killed upon the Scottish side included thirteen earls, fifteen barons, a large number of chieftains and landed gentry, and multitudes of the poorer sort. The power of the feudal aristocracy of Scotland was reduced, at one blow, almost as much as that of England by the thirty years' war in which the Houses of York and Lancaster contended for the mastery.

James V. was only a year and a half old when his father perished on the field of Flodden. His mother was Margaret of England, the daughter of Henry VII.; but this fact did not draw the two countries any closer together. When Henry VIII. declared his independence of the Pope, he was very desirous that his nephew should do the same; but James refused, and treated the proposals of the English King with a superciliousness which irritated the former opponent of Luther. War broke out between the larger and the smaller kingdom; the English were defeated during an incursion across the border in 1542; and James raised a large army to oppose the advance of the Duke of Norfolk, who was appointed to retrieve the recent disgrace. Norfolk retired before his antagonists, and the Scottish King then proposed to invade England. The nobles refused to follow him; a royal favourite, named Oliver Sinclair, was appointed to the command; tumult and mutiny ensued; and, while in this disorganised state, the Scots were attacked by a small English force, numbering not more than three hundred men, and totally routed. James died of grief and mortification on the 13th of December, a week after the birth of his daughter Mary, who succeeded him on the throne; and Scotland again passed under a Regency. This unfortunate war, terminating in the defeat at Solway Moss, first brought out in prominent colours the fact that the Scottish nation was divided in religion. The King held firmly to the old faith; the nobles, for the most part, had adopted the principles of the Reformation; and the mass of the people ranged themselves in hostile camps. Religious animosity had something to do with the insubordination of the great lords previous to their discomfiture by the English.

One of the earliest of the Scottish reformers, at the period we have now reached, was Patrick Hamilton; but at a previous date the teachings

of the English Lollards had spread into the North, and, although discouraged by the authorities, were doubtless not entirely suppressed. Hamilton had been educated at Paris and in Germany, and it was thence that he derived the religious doctrines which he afterwards recommended to his countrymen. His immediate influence, however, was short-lived, for he was burned as a heretic in 1528, while still a very young man. After this, the Scottish reformers were greatly swayed by their brethren in England, where several had been educated. Robertson describes them as eminent more for zeal and piety than for learning, as possessing only a partial and second-hand knowledge of the principles they enforced, and as having borrowed their notions from books published in the neighbouring kingdom.* It would seem, however, that the famous George Wishart began to preach

the doctrines of the Reformation before he left his native country. Being compelled to escape persecution by flight, he dwelt for a time at Bristol and at Cambridge, and confirmed his opinions by intercourse with some of the principal English reformers. Returning to Scotland in 1543, or the following year, he preached with extraordinary fervour and effect, and made an illustrious convert in John Knox. Wishart was bitterly persecuted by Cardinal Beaton, who in 1546 caused him to be burned at the stake, as his uncle had caused Hamilton. There can be no doubt that the progress of the Reformation in Scotland was checked by the national hatred of England, with which, for a while, the new ideas were identified. But we shall see further on that with Knox the movement acquired a distinctively Scottish character, which soon produced important results.

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY STRUGGLES OF PROTESTANTISM.

Protestantism in the North of Europe—Progress of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, after the Union of Calmar—Disruption and Decline—Reign of Christian II. of Denmark—His Violence and Tyranny—Conquest of Sweden, and Massacre of Nobles and Others—Early Life of Gustavus Vasa—He rouses the Swedes against their Danish Oppressors—Revolution in Denmark, and Flight of Christian—His abortive Attempt to re-conquer Sweden, Captivity, and Death—Reign of Gustavus Vasa—Spread of the Protestant Religion in Scandinavia, Lapland, and Finland—Fanaticism of the Northern Protestants—Prosperous Government of Gustavus Vasa—Encouragement of Lutheran Views in Denmark by King Frederick I.—Conspiracy of the Romish Ecclesiastics—Attack on Denmark by the Free City of Lübeck—The "Count's War"—Defeat of the Assailants—Forcible Establishment of Protestantism in Denmark and Norway—Romish Plot for the Partition of England—Military Successes of Solyman the Magnificent—Distracted State of Hungary—Ferdinand of Austria Defeated by the Turks—Progress of the Ottomans in the South-east of Europe—Disaster to the Emperor Charles at Algiers—Differences of the Grandees of Spain and the Citizens of Ghent—Francis I. charges the Emperor with Ingratitude and Breach of Faith—Preparations for renewed War—Alliances with Protestant Powers—Relations of the German Protestants with the Empire and the Papacy—Campaigns of 1542 and 1543—Severe Measures of the Emperor against the Duke of Cleves—Alliance of Francis with the Sultan—Barbarossa in Southern Italy—Events of 1544—General Detestation of Francis—Insincere Concessions of the Emperor to the Lutherans—Successes of the French in Piedmont, and of the Imperialists in Lorraine—Siege of Montreuil and Boulogne by the English—Advance of Charles on Paris—Conclusion of Peace—Resolution of Charles and Francis to Oppose the Protestants—Persecution in the Netherlands—The Diet of Worms (1545)—Savage Persecution of the Vaudois by Francis I.—Disruption and Poverty of France—Naval War between France and England—Formation of the Duchy of Parma—Death of Luther.

PROTESTANTISM is the religion of the Teutonic races. There are of course exceptions—Teutons who are Catholics, and persons of different origin who have embraced the principles of the Reformation. But, speaking broadly, Protestant ideas have been accepted by the Germanic and Scandinavian nations, and rejected by those of Celtic and Latin descent. Whether this is due to the greater spirit of personal independence existing among the former, or to other causes, the fact is none the

less interesting, and helps to explain some of the fiercest animosities of modern times. We have seen how Protestantism arose and spread in Germany, England, and Scotland. It remains to trace its early career in the countries of Northern Europe, where in time it became firmly established; but it will be necessary, in the first place, to follow the political fortunes of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, of which, during several ages, we have had little occasion to take note, but which now acquired importance in the European system.

By the Treaty of Calmar, concluded in 1397, the

* History of Scotland, Book II.

three kingdoms of the North, all peopled by a cognate, Scandinavian race, were united under one crown, though each retained its separate administration.* The Swedes, however, were discontented

the old Vikings, without their martial genius, or colonising energy. The line of Queen Margaret, who effected the union, forfeited the crown in 1439, when, on the deposition of Erik VII., the



THE CANONGATE TOLBOOTH, EDINBURGH.

with the arrangement, and their repeated efforts to regain a distinct existence reduced the power of the monarchy. To this source of weakness must be added continual broils between the King and his nobles, and between the nobility and the clergy. Population dwindled; trade and navigation declined; and the adjacent seas were swept by Danish pirates, who revived the lawlessness of

Danish States elected Christian, Count of Oldenburg, to the throne. The union of 1397 was broken up, or depended only on the precarious successes of conquerors. Christian II., known in Danish history as "the Wicked," "the Angry," and "the Nero of the North," began his reign in 1513, and at once made himself hated for his treacherous cruelty. With the Danish peasants, indeed, he was popular, for he protected them against the nobles; but in other respects he was

* See the Volume on the Middle Ages, p. 523.

tyrannical and unscrupulous. His actions were greatly influenced by a German priest who had formerly been a barber, and by the daughter of a Dutch tavern-keeper whom he admired. The opposition in Sweden was particularly strong; but by two battles, fought in the early part of 1520,

This abominable act was deliberately planned by the Danish King in concert with two of his prelates, and it was carried out in complete defiance of law. More than sixty noblemen and senators of the first rank, lay and ecclesiastical, were hanged on one day, and the Danish soldiers



GEORGE WISHART.

amidst snow and ice, he was enabled to make himself master of a country already torn in pieces by the quarrels of the secular administrator, or Protector, Sten Sture, and the Archbishop of Upsal, Gustavus Trolle. The latter sided with the national enemy, and the capital was surrendered. Having thus established his supremacy, Christian assembled the chief nobles and ecclesiastics of Stockholm in November, 1520, under pretence of their attending his coronation, and, suddenly ordering their arrest, caused them to be executed.

were then let loose, to slaughter the burghers of Stockholm and the unoffending crowd. Sten Sture had previously died of wounds received in the battle which proved so disastrous to the Swedes; and it is said that Christian, in the mad excesses of his fury, had the body dug up, and actually tore it with his teeth and nails. The widows of his victims were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and he then returned to Denmark, leaving behind him, in Sweden, the exhaustion of suffering, and the brief tranquillity of terror.

This state of things, however, could not last. The spirit of the Swedes was destined to revive, and a man was then wandering, almost homeless, in the province of Dalecarlia, who was shortly to restore the independence of his country. Gustavus Erikson, afterwards known as Gustavus Vasa, belonged to an ancient and distinguished family of Sweden, which had always been strongly opposed to the predominance of Denmark. Gustavus himself had been concerned in resisting the attack of Christian II., and, after being taken prisoner, and detained a year in Jutland, had escaped, and got back to his native land. Here he lived for some time in poverty and danger. A price was set upon his head, and it was only by moving about from place to place that he escaped capture. The father of Gustavus was included in the frightful massacre of November, 1520, which the Swedes have ever since commemorated as "the Blood-bath;" and the son resolved to avenge his death by exciting a revolt against the tyrant. At first he met with little support, for the people dreaded the ferocity of the Danish sovereign and his agents. But a more masculine spirit was at length aroused; the peasantry of Dalecarlia flocked to the standard of the deliverer; and, at the head of a large though irregular force, he burst upon the fortified posts of the national enemy, and before the close of 1521 had taken several. Stockholm was next besieged, and a war of extermination set in. Christian II. murdered the mother and sister of Gustavus, and ordered his commanders to slay all the Swedes who fell into his hands; Gustavus retaliated in kind; and matters might have proceeded to even greater extremities, had not a revolution in Denmark itself abolished the power of the despot in 1523.

The violence of Christian had by this time made him hateful to some even of his Danish subjects. It is difficult to determine the exact character and motives of this sovereign. With the poor and humble he seems to have had a real sympathy, unless it was nothing more than a politic device to favour democratic views as a counteraction to the dangerous power of the aristocracy and clergy. He suppressed the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishops, prohibited the plundering of shipwrecked vessels, forbade the lords of the soil to sell their serfs, and allowed the peasant to quit the estate on which he had been born. All these reforms were admirable; but it would seem that they were carried out too much in the spirit of an unscrupulous despot. At any rate, the opposition was extreme and bitter. The Jutlanders were goaded into revolt, and, meeting with great success, pronounced the deposition of the King. Christian

was still master of Copenhagen, of the islands, and of Norway; but he distrusted his own officers, and flight seemed the wisest resource. He therefore retired into Germany, where, as the brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., whose sister Isabella he had married, he hoped for a hospitable reception. Charles, however, declined to furnish him with military assistance; but in 1531, after a lengthened residence in Flanders, he persuaded Queen Mary, Charles's sister, and the representative of the Imperial power in the Netherlands, to fit out a naval force on his behalf. Thus aided, and countenanced by the Romanist clergy, whose cause he undertook to champion, he made an attempt to recover Sweden, which, after his withdrawal from Denmark in 1523, had completely established its independence; but the expedition failed, and Christian was intercepted in his retreat, taken prisoner, and given up to his uncle and successor, Frederick I. of Holstein, who confined him closely in a vaulted chamber of the castle of Sonderborg, with a dwarf for his only attendant. He was afterwards removed to another fortress, where, being allowed a little more freedom, he lived many years in obscurity, dying at an advanced age in 1559, with the reputation of a tyrant who had survived his failure.

The successful revolution headed by Gustavus Erikson brought the union of Calmar to an end. Norway still remained to Denmark; but when Frederick I. demanded recognition in Sweden, the representatives of the people declared at the Diet of Strengnaes that they would have no other king than the hero who had delivered them from their oppressor. Gustavus was crowned in 1525, and, abandoning his second name of Erikson, assumed that of Vasa, which appears to have been derived from some symbol in his coat of arms. He had long hesitated to accept the regal dignity and title, preferring the more republican appellation of Stadtholder; but when the Roman Catholic party, and the adherents of Christian II., disturbed the country by their intrigues, it was considered advisable to institute a more fixed and authoritative government. The Reformation was now spreading throughout Scandinavia, and the ecclesiastics of the older faith were trembling for their supremacy. Christian of Denmark had for a time shown some disposition to favour the views of Luther; but his motive was apparently a desire to possess himself of the church lands, and he speedily recoiled before the terrors of a Papal Bull. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa was heartily in favour of the new doctrines, and his example did much towards establishing the Reformation in the extreme North of Europe.

Lutheran missionaries were sent by him into Lapland, which was then first converted to Christianity; and he supplied the Finns with Bibles and hymn-books, printed in their own tongue. The Reformation was completely established in the dominions of Gustavus; the Romanists were treated with some severity; and the fanaticism of change contended with the bigotry of prescription. Crown lands formerly made over to the Church were now resumed; the sale of indulgences was abolished; appeals to Rome were forbidden; the Bishops were deprived of their castles and strongholds; a large proportion of the taxes was laid upon the Romish clergy; and in some instances attempts were made by Lutheran ministers to force the new doctrines upon unwilling minds.

These acts arrayed the priesthood against the Swedish King, who had to encounter several plots and insurrections, one of which, in Dalecarlia—the very province which had first given support to Gustavus, and had contributed in the largest degree to his success—was particularly menacing. Yet the cause of the reformers triumphed in the end, and in 1542 the States took an oath for the maintenance of the Protestant faith, to the exclusion of all others within the realm. That this decision contravened the very principle of freedom which the dissenters from Rome asserted, is not to be gainsaid; but it was long before Protestantism, in any country, could deliver itself from the old leaven, and fully understand its meaning and its actual task. In other respects, the government of Gustavus was admirable. Commerce, science, and letters, were encouraged; education was promoted; roads and bridges were constructed, and canals begun; fairs for foreign traders were established, and commercial treaties were arranged with other countries. Sweden, which had been little better than a desert when Gustavus acquired power in 1523, was a prosperous and civilised State at his death in 1560; and its independence was guarded by an army of 15,000 men, and a fleet of respectable proportions. The crown had previously been declared hereditary in the house of Vasa, and Erik XIV., the eldest son of Gustavus, succeeded to a possession which was now secure.

The religious teachings of Luther made progress in Denmark as well as in Sweden, although the revolution in the former country, which resulted in the accession of Frederick I., had been assisted by the Bishops, who hoped to extract more from the uncle than from the nephew. In this anticipation they were disappointed. Frederick cared little for his ecclesiastical friends, and was chiefly intent on conciliating the nobles, whose power had

been greatly curtailed by Christian II., but who now demanded and obtained jurisdiction over the lives of their serfs. Early in the new reign, the preaching of the evangelical faith was not only permitted, but encouraged, and in 1527 the States of Odensee decreed liberty of conscience, released the clergy from their vows of celibacy, and broke off all connection with the Romish See. When Frederick died, in 1533, the Danish ecclesiastics of the older religion endeavoured to recover the power they had lost. They sought to place on the throne a boy of eight, the youngest son of the deceased monarch, to the exclusion of the eldest son, Christian, who was known to be heretical. The child had not as yet shown any leaning towards the reformed religion, and might of course be easily moulded to the views of his partisans. But, as the real design could not easily be avowed, it was necessary to put forward some plausible excuse for altering the succession. The Romanists accordingly insisted much upon the fact that the youngest son of Frederick had been born in Denmark, and had spoken the language of the country from his infancy, while his brother was to all intents a German. Nothing could be more ingenious than this pretext for recommending what was in truth a revolutionary act. It appealed to the national sentiment, and to the love of independence; but it appealed in vain.

The divided state of the country invited attack from abroad, and a war of a serious nature followed on the intrigues of the Danish ecclesiastics. Near the southern shores of the Baltic, the free city of Lübeck had existed for some ages under the protection of the German Empire, which, nevertheless, did not interfere with the self-government of the community. So important a member of the Hanseatic Federation was Lübeck, that in 1260 it became the head of that powerful body, the seat of its government, the repository of its archives, and the station of its fleet. To the command of the united naval forces of the League, the citizens of this flourishing commercial centre had the right of appointing one of their own population; and the prosperity of the place was so great that at one time its walls contained 200,000 people. But Lübeck had an old quarrel with Denmark, which, for a brief period in the early part of the thirteenth century, reduced it to an unwilling servitude. It would seem that this feeling had not died out three hundred years later, and in 1534 the Government of Lübeck, which was at that time under the direction of two violent demagogues, named Marcus Meyer and George Wullenwever, resolved to interfere in the affairs of the small

northern peninsula. These persons offered to assist Duke Christian to the disputed throne, but on terms which he could not accept; and their next resource was to employ Count Christian of Oldenburg to invade Denmark, under pretence of restoring Christian II., then languishing in the dark and solitary vaults of Sonderborg. Meyer and Wullenwever were the inspiring genii of this enterprise, the active direction of which was in the hands of Count Christian, a poor adventurer, who had fought against the Turks, who could read Homer in the original, but whose highest ambition was to make a purse for himself.

The contest that ensued has been called "the Count's War," and the memory of it has not died out in Denmark. The invader met with considerable support in certain quarters; but the oligarchy rallied round the eldest son of Frederick, and placed him on the throne, with the title of Christian III. The Count of Oldenburg maintained his position until, in the following year, Gustavus Vasa went to the assistance of the Danish monarch. The Lübeckers had previously declared war against Sweden, in consequence of some long-standing disagreements, and Gustavus was in truth acting in self-defence. In the course of 1535, the Danish malcontents and their Hanseatic allies were defeated in several engagements, both by sea and land; Copenhagen surrendered under the pressure of famine; and peace was concluded in 1536. In this unhappy conflict, the peasants had co-operated with the priests, and their discomfiture was followed by the increased power of the nobility, and the official establishment of Protestantism in Denmark and Norway. All the Danish Bishops were arrested on one day; their ecclesiastical property was confiscated; superintendents were sent throughout the country, charged with the duty of preaching Lutheranism; and the principles of the reformed religion spread amongst a simple-minded people, whom the Romish priesthood had long used for their own ends. In Iceland also, the new opinions were propagated with undue violence; and the dominion of the Papacy was subverted in the extreme North of Europe. We may regret that this result was not achieved in the spontaneous way that distinguished several parts of Germany; but organised despotisms are frequently destroyed by methods similar to their own.

It was about this period that Francis I. of France, having come to an understanding with the Emperor Charles V., and being, therefore, no longer under any necessity of flattering the Protestants, withdrew from the reformed com-

munions of Germany the precarious and interested favour he had formerly shown. The two potentates appear to have determined, during their interview at Aigues Mortes, in 1538, that heresy should be rigorously suppressed; and Francis lost no time in acting up to that agreement. He cooled once more towards Henry VIII., and even listened to a project for invading and partitioning England, the northern portion of which was to be given to Scotland, while the Emperor took the midland counties, and France the region south of the Thames. The details of this scheme were elaborated by the French ambassador at London; but the general idea was due to Pope Paul III., or to the English Cardinal, Reginald Pole, a member of the royal House of York, who resided at Rome, and was a confidential adviser of the Pontiff. Charles did not listen to the suggestion, and Francis would not stir in so difficult an enterprise without the powerful help of his new ally. Henry, however, seems to have been aware of some such conspiracy, and made considerable preparations for guarding the coasts, and resisting any attack. He also improved his relations with the confederates of Smalcalde, and for a time gave more encouragement to the reforming party in England.

It is difficult to understand the deadly animosity which divided the Christian world into antagonistic sections, when both were equally threatened by the Turks. Compelled to abandon his attack on Naples, Solyman turned his arms against Venice in the summer of 1537, and obtained some important successes against the Greek islands belonging to that Republic. The hero of this war, which was chiefly naval, was the Algerine corsair, Barbarossa II., who received some aid from the French; and in the negotiations which followed, in 1539, a Spanish adventurer, then acting as the envoy of France, betrayed the exhausted condition of the Venetians to the Turks, and thus aggravated the severity of the terms imposed by the latter when peace was at length made in 1540. Venice was now so miserably reduced that she was glad to accept the protection of France; a large part of south-eastern Europe, long resting secure beneath the standard of St. Mark, passed under the rule of the Sultan; and the reputation of Barbarossa as a sea-captain was immensely increased. In many other directions, good fortune attended on the enterprises of Solyman the Magnificent. Armenia and Irak had been detached in 1534 from the Persian monarchy; shortly afterwards, Yemen and other parts of Arabia were subjugated by the Ottoman Pasha of Egypt; and armaments were

sent to Guzerat, to aid the Indian Moslems against the Portuguese. The Turkish fleet became masters of the Mediterranean, and even Andrea Doria suffered the rust of inaction to gather on his old renown.

Hungary and the adjacent countries continued to feel the iron pressure of Turkish dictation, and, after a while, John Zapolya, who had received the crown of St. Stephen as a vassal of the Sultan, began to lose favour with his patron. This was in consequence of an outrage committed within the Hungarian borders on an envoy of the Sultan, who, with a force of seven thousand men, entered Transylvania in 1534. The parties both of Zapolya and of Ferdinand rose in arms against the intruders, defeated them, and executed the plenipotentiary himself. Zapolya was condemned to pay a heavy fine for this offence, and the Sultan not unnaturally regarded him with distrust from that time forth. The Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha, whose power had for some time been declining, was murdered in 1536, and it was supposed that, in losing this able minister, Solyman had lost one of the most important elements of his strength. When, however, Ferdinand of Austria sought to repel an advance of the Ottoman troops from Bosnia into Hungary (where he exercised a divided authority with Zapolya), his army, after being utterly routed, was cut to pieces during a disastrous retreat, in November, 1536. Ferdinand and Zapolya came to an agreement in 1538; and when the latter died, two years later, the former considered himself sole master of the kingdom. A war with Turkey followed in 1541.

Marching in person with his armies, Solyman entered Buda without resistance on the 25th of August. The Hungarian capital was at once converted into a Turkish city; the principal church became a mosque; and the government was confided to a Pasha with three tails. All communications with Ferdinand were haughtily rejected, and Solyman returned to Constantinople in the latter end of November. Germany took the alarm at this threatening approach of the Moslem power, and in 1542 an army of nearly 50,000 men was voted for resuming the war. Joachim II. of Brandenburg was appointed to the command; but his attempt to capture Pesth ended in a disgraceful failure. The city of Gran was taken by Solyman in 1543; other towns were captured in rapid succession; and in 1544 the victorious Turks entered Croatia and Slavonia. Ferdinand was compelled to sue for peace in 1545; but terms were not granted till two years later, when the Austrian ruler undertook to pay the Sultan a yearly sum of

30,000 ducats. Such were the ignominious conditions imposed upon the Emperor's brother, the so-called King of the Romans; and a few years earlier the Emperor himself had experienced a serious reverse at Algiers in a renewed attempt to extinguish Moslem piracy. Inspired by the recollection of his brilliant success in 1535, when Tunis was captured, and many thousand Christians were released, Charles once more departed for the northern coast of Africa in the autumn of 1541. Andrea Doria had warned him that the season was too late for successful operations; but he set sail with an efficient army and a powerful fleet, and arrived before Algiers on the 20th of October. Tempestuous weather broke out when only a portion of the men had been landed; many of the ships were wrecked, and the army was deprived of provisions. The Emperor, who behaved throughout with admirable courage and self-devotion, brought together his scattered vessels as soon as possible, drowned all his horses, that he might make room for his soldiers, and was about to re-embark when another storm again dispersed the fleet. The men, left behind in a swampy encampment, were carried off in large numbers by a violent pestilence, and it was not until the 1st of December that a miserable remnant of the force, accompanied by Charles himself, arrived at Carthage. This disaster was not calculated to enhance the popularity of the Emperor in Spain, where he had recently been at issue with the grandees, because of an attempt to subject that privileged order to the general taxation of the country, which they resented, not only as an injury, but as an affront. The Cortes successfully resisted this just and reasonable policy, and Charles thenceforward refrained from summoning the national representatives, except for the purpose of obtaining a formal sanction to those imposts which the commonalty, unlike the favoured nobles, were compelled to endure.

If, however, the failure of the Emperor before Algiers excited in the Spanish people a feeling of sullen discontent, it produced in France a sentiment of a very different kind, and one far less capable of excuse. Francis and his court were wild with joy at what had happened in the north of Africa. Nothing could be more indecent than this outburst of malevolent satisfaction; but it is to be explained by certain events which had by this time put an end to the cordial understanding established between Charles and Francis at the consultations of Aigues Mortes. A quarrel had arisen between the people of Ghent, Charles's native city, and Mary, Queen of Hungary, the sister of the Emperor, and Regent of the Nether-

lands. The disagreement turned on questions of taxation and military service; and when the matter was decided against the wishes of the citizens, they rose in insurrection, expelled the

not a scheme on the part of his former enemy to gain possession of his person. His passage through France, however, was attended by no untoward incidents, and was delayed only by the ceremonious



COLONNADE OF THE MOSQUE OF DJAMĀA-EL-KEBIR, ALGIERS.

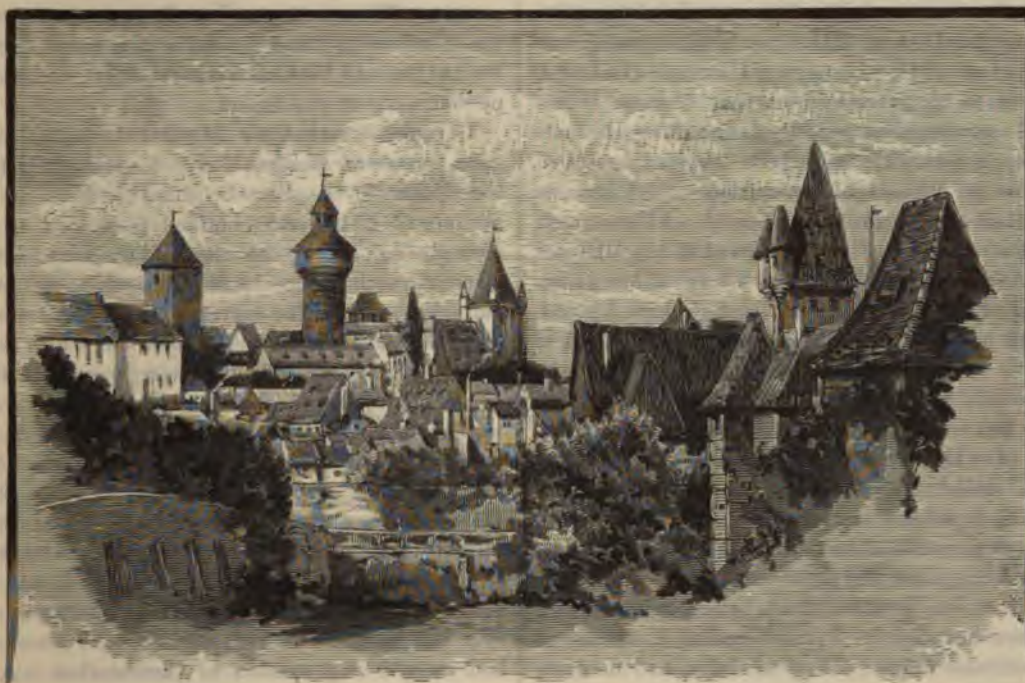
Imperial officers, fortified the city, and in 1539 sent deputies to Francis, to solicit his protection. The French King not merely refused all aid, but communicated with Charles, and permitted him to travel through France, in case he should think fit to operate in person against the rebellious citizens. Charles accepted this offer, though with some reluctance, as he could not feel certain that it was

hospitality of the French court. After a journey extending over a quarter of a year, Charles crossed the frontier towards the end of January, 1540, and entered Ghent without opposition on his birthday, about a month later. The citizens were punished with great severity, as were also those of Oudenarde and Courtrai, who had joined the movement. The ancient liberties of Ghent were suppressed,

and the commercial supremacy of the town passed to Antwerp, which had been rising in importance ever since the thirteenth century.

As soon as Charles had entered the Netherlands, the real motive prompting the civility of Francis was made apparent. The French ambassadors who accompanied the Emperor demanded on behalf of the King the investiture of Milan, which Francis seems to have regarded as nothing more than a fair exchange for his recent courtesies. It

forced to seek once more the friendship of the German Protestants, whom he had betrayed, and of the Turkish Sultan, to whom his alliance had brought little advantage. He determined to renew the war with Charles on the earliest opportunity, and he found a pretext in the slaying of two French envoys in Lombardy by adherents of the Imperial party. In the meanwhile, alliances were formed with the Duke of Cleves, who was at issue with the Emperor as to the possession of



THE RAMPARTS, NUREMBERG.

is affirmed by Du Bellay, a contemporary writer of French Memoirs, that Charles, on accepting the offer of a passage through France, had consented to purchase the favour by surrendering the Milanese territory. But this seems improbable, as the boon was certainly far less than the concession. At any rate, the Emperor refused the investiture, and Francis was incensed beyond measure at what he chose to regard as a breach of faith. Thus it happened that when, in the following year, Charles failed so disastrously before Algiers, the French sovereign made no concealment of his delight. All hope of a Franco-Imperial alliance was at an end. The Emperor, after some futile negotiations pointing to a matrimonial alliance between his own family and that of Francis, had conferred the much-coveted prize on his son Philip (afterwards King of Spain); and the baffled intriguer was

Guelderland, with Christian III. of Denmark, and with Gustavus Vasa of Sweden.

The development of political events had thus turned to the advantage of the Protestants, who were treated on all hands with much greater consideration than they had experienced a few years earlier. Pope Paul III. had in 1536 issued briefs for the assembling of a General Council of the Church—a proposal which the Lutherans themselves now regarded with disfavour, as being doubtful of the way in which such a tribunal would be composed. The Emperor had shown a disposition to temporise; and while, on the one hand, he sanctioned, in 1539, the Holy League of Nuremberg, which had been created in the previous year, on the other hand he came to an agreement with the Protestant rulers of Germany, to the effect that all matters in dispute should for the

present be held in abeyance. The Protestant States were increasing in number and in power, and Charles, fearing the division of Christendom in the face of Ottoman pretensions, favoured the Reformers to a degree which brought his own orthodoxy into question. The same tendency was still more pronounced in the conduct of his sister, Queen Mary, who, in her government of the Netherlands, adopted a policy that was at once anti-French and anti-Roman. Even the Pope found it prudent to use a more conciliatory tone with adversaries who had proved their strength; and, at the Diet of Ratisbon, in the spring and summer of 1541, his Legate, Cardinal Contarini, made such large concessions that Francis I. protested against them, and Paul, annulling the acts of the Diet with regard to religion, recoiled towards the councils of persecution. Such was the condition of the Protestant world when, towards the close of 1541, Francis concluded his alliances with Denmark and Sweden as a help to the prosecution of the war with Charles V., which he considered justified by the Emperor's alleged breach of faith.

The war broke out in 1542, when the French King was enabled to place five armies in the field, three of which were directed towards the Netherlands, whilst the other two operated against the Spanish frontiers, and in Piedmont. Some successes were obtained in the Low Countries; but an attempt to take Perpignan, in the province of Roussillon—a territory then belonging to Spain, but now included in France—ended in the most desecrutable failure, owing to delay, bad management, and ostentatious parade. Before the opening of the next year's campaign, an offensive and defensive alliance had been concluded between the German Emperor and Henry VIII. of England; but the treaty remained little more than a dead letter until 1544. The campaign of 1543 was distinguished by some further successes of the French in the Netherlands, and by the advance of the Emperor in person against his rebellious vassal, the Duke of Cleves, whom he reduced to obedience, and punished with great severity. Francis had derived much benefit from the co-operation of the Duke; but when the latter found himself on the point of being overwhelmed by the forces of Charles, the French sovereign, who was amusing himself with the chase in the neighbourhood of Rheims, omitted to send him any succours, though repeatedly implored to do so. The Duke was deprived of a large part of his dominions, and compelled to hand over to the Emperor the forces which he had collected for the service of his ally.

The conduct of Francis in this matter was disgraceful; but a still worse scandal, in the eyes of Europe generally, was the fact that his Most Christian Majesty received active assistance from the Mohammedan pirate, Barbarossa, whose fleet ravaged the coasts of Calabria, and carried off 14,000 Christian slaves. In the course of these proceedings, Barbarossa approached the mouth of the Tiber, and struck such terror into the Pope and his court that Cardinal de' Carpi was sent to ascertain the object and intentions of the terrible corsair. The result was that Barbarossa departed for Marseilles, where, under the very flag of France, he sold his Calabrian prisoners, and found no deficiency of purchasers.

In concert with their Moslem friend (a renegade, moreover, which added yet another shade to the infamy), the French attacked Nice in the autumn of 1543, and obtained possession of the town, though not of the citadel, but were obliged to retire on the approach of Doria's fleet, and of an Imperial army. The naval forces of Barbarossa wintered at Toulon, the citizens of which were temporarily expelled for their accommodation. While staying in that coast-town, Barbarossa and his men behaved with unrestrained insolence, but were at length induced to depart, in April, 1544, by a payment of 800,000 crowns. The coast of Italy was once more desolated by the remorseless pirate, whose career, however, was now almost at an end. He died on the 4th of July, 1546, and all Europe rejoiced in its deliverance. His friendship had been of no real service to France, and had ranged the opinion of Christendom against that Power. At the Diet of Spire, in February, 1544, Charles V. declared that it was necessary to crush the French monarchy, as the only way of saving Europe from the Turkish yoke. Denmark renounced her alliance with Francis on this account; and two ambassadors from that sovereign, who were proceeding to Spire to conciliate the Protestants, fled in terror after crossing the frontiers, on learning that their lives would be in danger. Charles pledged himself to attack the Sultan as soon as he had vanquished the King, and obtained large supplies for both purposes. Before the close of the Diet, the Lutherans were conciliated by new concessions; but this assumption of liberality was insincere, and had none but a politic object in view.

The war in Piedmont was, on the whole, favourable to the French, who, on the 14th of April, 1544, gained a complete victory over the Imperialists at Cerisola, taking their artillery, standards, stores, and baggage, together with a

large number of prisoners. But this advantage was not followed up with energy, owing to want of funds; the army of the Count d'Enghien rapidly dwindled to a shadow of its former strength; and, as the Imperialists were in much the same condition, an armistice was soon afterwards concluded, as a welcome relief to both parties. The forces of the Emperor were more successful in Lorraine, where, but for the prolonged and obstinate resistance offered by the citizens of St. Dizier, the whole province would have been at once over-run. It was now that the alliance with Henry came into active operation. The English, who had made an incursion into Scotland in the spring of 1544, and pillaged Edinburgh, which was partially burned by the marauders, landed at Calais in the ensuing summer, and laid siege to Montreuil and Boulogne. The force was very considerable in point of numbers, and the commissariat seems to have been managed with a care and elaboration which might have served as an example in much more recent times. Yet the army achieved little or nothing. The Emperor and the English King suspected one another, and each acted separately, without even the pretence of co-operating. While Henry was engaged before Boulogne, Charles advanced to Château Thierry, and the Parisians, finding the enemy within two days' march of the capital, showed symptoms of a disgraceful panic, until reassured, and restrained from flight, by the courage and self-possession of Francis. The Emperor, however, thought it prudent not to push his success too far, and peace was concluded between him and his adversary on the 18th of September, 1544. Four days previously, Boulogne had capitulated to the English; but Henry, finding that he could not come to terms with the French, and hearing that the Dauphin was marching against him with a powerful array, re-embarked for England with some precipitation.

One of the chief provisions of the peace between the Emperor and Francis was that the sovereigns should co-operate in restoring unity to the Church, and in defending Christendom against the Ottomans. Thus Francis abandoned his cherished alliance with Solyman, and both monarchs agreed once more to sacrifice the Protestants, whom each had courted in his need. The followers of Luther were again treated with severity, and Charles, while staying in the Netherlands, caused the University of Louvaine to draw up a Confession of Faith conceived in a spirit antagonistic to the reformers. The people of the Low Countries were required to conform to these articles under pain of death, and in February, 1545, an offending preacher was

burned alive at a slow fire, in the public square of Tournay, for disregarding the Emperor's orders in this respect. The Diet which opened at Worms in the following month was much concerned with religious questions. The Protestants assumed a bold and independent tone. They declined to grant supplies for a war against Turkey until their own safety should be assured, refused to recognise the authority of the Church Council then sitting at Trent, and demanded that the questions at issue should be settled by a national assembly, in which the several points could be fairly argued. Uneasy as was the position of the German Protestants, it must nevertheless be regarded as much more favourable than that of their brethren in France. Having no further occasion to seek the friendship of those heretics, Francis commenced a savage persecution, and put in force an edict against the followers of Luther which had been sanctioned by the Parliament of Provence in November, 1540, but of which the execution had been postponed.

For several ages, the people of the South of France had shown a disposition to defy the authority of Rome, and to restore the Christian Church to a greater simplicity of doctrine and practice than had existed since its early days. We have seen how the Albigenses were trampled out in fire and blood by the agents of Pope Innocent III. in the early part of the thirteenth century; and we have now to record an oppression of equal ferocity, conducted by the priests and soldiers of Francis I. The Vaudois were people inhabiting certain valleys among the Alps separating France from Piedmont. They were the same community which is also known by the appellation of the Waldenses; and although they were to be found principally among the remote and sheltered recesses of the mountains, many of their number were scattered over several parts of Europe, where their religious tenets helped to keep alive that feeling of discontent with Papal corruption and tyranny which ultimately led to the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland. The societies against which the wrath of Francis was directed were settled in Provence, among the mountains rendered famous in Italian poetry by the fountain of Vaucluse, and the love of Petrarch for Laura. They were a peaceful, inoffensive, industrious set of agriculturists, who, by intelligence and systematic work, had covered the hill-sides with cornfields and vineyards. In 1532 they had formed an alliance with the Lutherans, and in 1535 had suffered some degree of persecution, which they resisted with spirit and resolution. This, however, was only a foretaste of the trials that were coming. It was not until the

spring of 1545 that the entire force of intolerance was brought to bear upon their homesteads.

The decree of 1540 had declared that all fathers of families amongst the heretical Vaudois should be burned, that their wives and children should be reduced to serfdom, that their property should be confiscated, and their dwellings destroyed. It was specifically directed that Provence should be entirely cleared of such persons; and, when at length set in motion, the law was remorselessly carried out with a view to that end. The arrangements for the massacre were carried out by Baron d'Oppède, President of the Parliament of Provence, who had an energetic assistant in the Papal Legate, Antonio Trivulzio. These persons brought together a large military force, consisting for the most part of old soldiers accustomed to scenes of violence and bloodshed. The force was provided with cannon, and its strength was such that effectual resistance became impossible. A horrible slaughter ensued, and at Cabrières the terms of the capitulation were violated directly the unhappy people had placed themselves in the hands of the enemy. About seven hundred of the able-bodied were sent to the galleys; the rest were slain; and their desolated fields and homes remained as witnesses to the enormous crime that had been committed. The persecutions were continued in other parts of France during 1546, when many persons were burned on charges of heresy and impiety; and Francis I., now languishing in a mortal disease, and conscious of many offences against morals, deliberately justified his conduct in the face of outraged Europe.

A long series of wars, attended by little advantage in any sense, had by this time brought France into a state of disruption and poverty. Nevertheless, Francis was not disposed to make peace with England until he had recovered possession of Boulogne. After some intrigues with Scotland, of a wholly ineffectual nature, the French sovereign sent out a naval expedition against England, from which great results were expected. Descents were

made on the Isle of Wight and the neighbouring coast; but, although the English fleet was far inferior to the French, nothing of importance was achieved, and Boulogne still remained in the hands of its captors. The French, however, closely besieged the English in their position, but as yet without result; and the opposing monarchs continued to waste their resources in a struggle which yielded profit to neither. The period was for the most part characterised rather by the exhaustion consequent on previous efforts than by any great activity; and the Pontiff, Paul III., took advantage of this interval of languor to create the Duchy of Parma, which, in 1545, he conferred upon his son, Pietro Luigi Farnese, who was assassinated in September, 1547, after only two years' enjoyment of his dignity. The formation of the dukedom gave great offence to the Emperor Charles V., who considered that his own territorial rights had been invaded. Yet, on grounds of religion, he was still earnestly desirous of supporting the Church, and the Council of Trent offered a battle-ground, of which neither party forbore to avail itself. Days of trial for the Protestants were fast approaching; but the great originator of the movement in Germany was spared the experience of such miseries. Martin Luther died at Eisleben, his native town, on the 18th of February, 1546, in the sixty-third year of his age. His health had long been breaking, and almost continual fatigue, combined with the excitement of recent events, had lowered his strength beyond the power of recovery. A little before his death, he said to the friends who stood about him, "Pray to our Lord God that it may go well with his Gospel, for the Pope and his Council of Trent are thrusting sorely at it." For him, the shadow of death was deepened by the dread of what was coming on the followers of the Reformation; but to his latest breath he never questioned the sincerity of his own intentions, or the excellence of the work he had been called on to perform.

CHAPTER XIV.

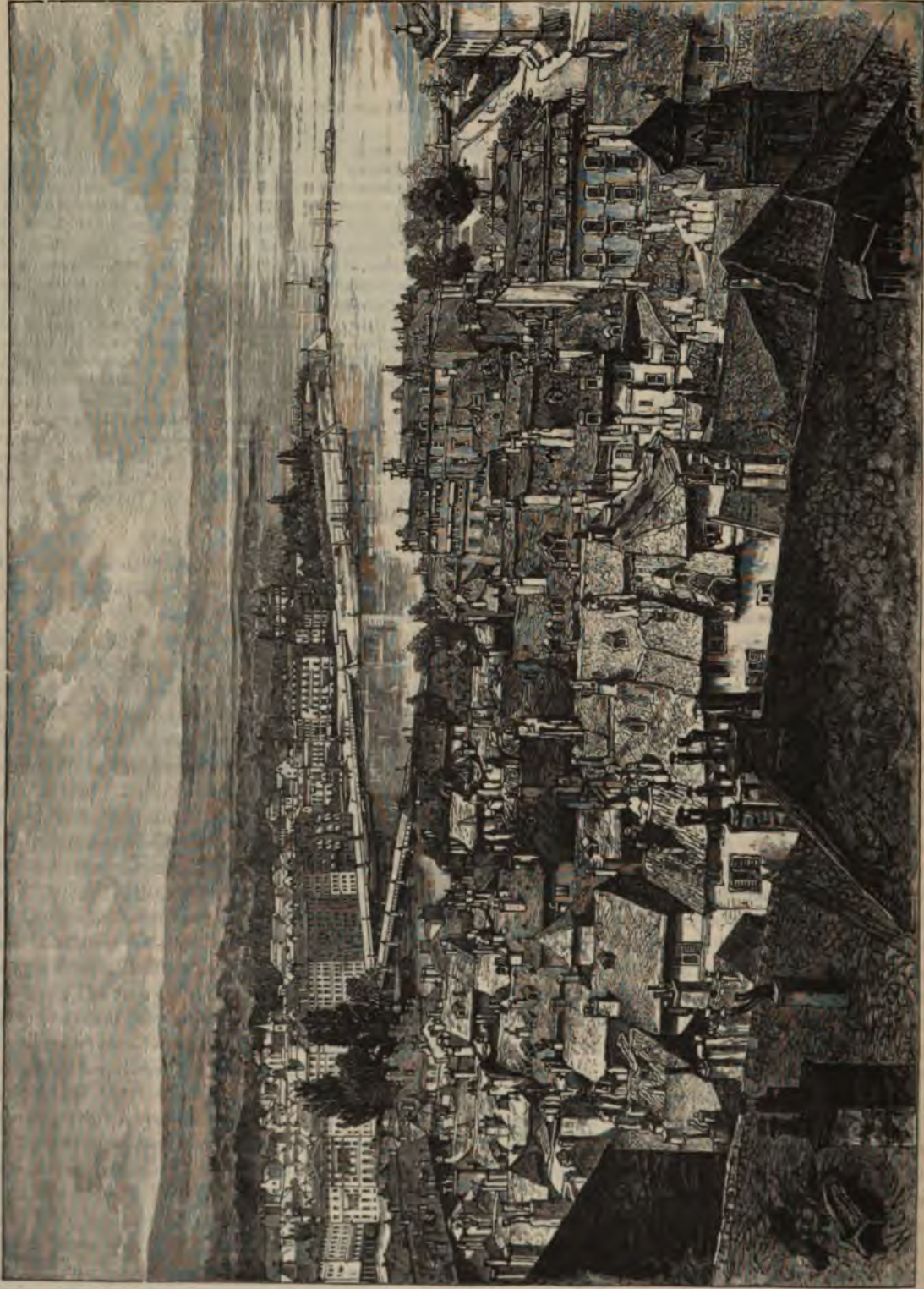
THE POPEDOM, THE EMPIRE, AND THE PROTESTANT WARS.

The Council of Trent—Its General Objects and Results—Diversity of Opinion in the Council—Triumph of the Papal Party—Rise of the Jesuits—Career of Ignatius Loyola—Foundation of the Society of Jesus—Constitution and Character of the Order—Its Temporary Suppression, and Subsequent Restoration—Equivocal Nature of its Influence—The Protestantism of Calvin—Theological School of that Reformer at Geneva—The Burning of Servetus—Wide and Permanent Effects of Calvinism—The Doctrine of Predestination—Unfriendly Bearing of the Emperor Charles towards the Protestants—Outbreak of the Smalcaldic War—Brief Successes of the Lutherans—Treachery of Maurice, Duke of Saxony—Defeat of the Elector of Saxony at Mülberg—Death of Francis I. of France, and Succession of Henry II.—Uneasy Relations between the Emperor and the Pope—Distracted State of Italy—Resistance to the Inquisition at Naples—Endeavours of the Emperor Charles to Settle Questions of Religion by his own Authority—The Catholics and Protestants equally Dissatisfied—The Family of the Guises in France—Antagonistic Plans of Charles V. and Henry II.—Affairs of Scotland—Murder of Cardinal Beaton, and Interposition of the French—War between France and England—Pope Julius III. favours the Imperial Alliance—Persecution of the Protestants by Charles V.—Temporising Policy of the Elector Maurice of Saxony—The Algerine Corsair, Draghut—Renewed Alliance of France with the Ottoman Porte—Surrender of Magdeburg to Maurice—Secret Plans and Alliances of the Elector—His Hostile Proceedings against the Emperor—Flight of Charles from Innsbrück—Dispersion of the Council of Trent—Capture of German Fortresses by Henry II. of France—Treaty of Passau, granting Privileges to the Protestants—The Peace of Religion—War in Transylvania and Hungary between Ferdinand of Austria and Solyman of Turkey—Unsuccessful Operations of the Emperor Charles—Hostilities in Italy and Germany—Marriage of Philip of Spain to Queen Mary of England—Philibert of Savoy—Capture of Sienna by the Forces of Cosmo de' Medici—The Duke of Alva in Piedmont—Abdication of Charles V.—Impressive Scene in the Palace at Brussels—Ineffectual Opposition of Pope Paul IV.—Retirement and Death of Charles in the Monastery of St. Yuste, Estremadura.

THE Council of Trent, to which Pope Paul III. referred the questions then agitating the whole of Christendom, was summoned, by a Bull issued on the 19th of November, 1544, to meet on the 15th of the following March. Trent is a city of the Tyrol, situated amongst the Alps, and therefore very easy of access to the Italian Bishops; and the brevity of the notice given by Paul was dictated by the hope that few other ecclesiastics would have time to arrive, and that matters might thus be settled more completely in accordance with the views of the Pontiff. At the appointed day, however, it was found that not more than twenty prelates had reached the place assigned, and the Council was accordingly adjourned for nine months. The first meeting for the despatch of business was on the 13th of December, 1545; but even then the assembly was not very full, and it was only at a later period that the Church was comprehensively represented. This Council is among the most memorable in ecclesiastical history. It was held at a period of great agitation—of violent change in some quarters, and of obstinate adherence to tradition in others; and its effect was to give a still greater rigidity to the faith and practice of the Papal communion. For more than three hundred years, its decisions have been received all over the Roman world as the standard of faith, morals, and discipline; but it rendered complete and final the separation of the reformed Churches from the more ancient body. It must be allowed that in some respects its work was very efficiently

performed; for no other General Council was held until that of Rome, in 1869-70, which declared the personal infallibility of the Pope.

Allowing for temporary suspensions—sometimes extending over very lengthened periods—the Council of Trent continued in session for eighteen years, its last assembly being on the 3rd of December, 1563. It will be convenient, however, to notice in this place the general results of its deliberations. The really important work of the assembled divines did not commence until April, 1546, when, after a good deal of discussion, it was decided that the questions of doctrine and those of reformation should proceed simultaneously. The tenets of Luther were at once condemned, and it was declared that the authority of tradition was equal to that of Scripture; that the Latin Vulgate must remain the rule of faith; that all parts of Scripture were equally genuine, and that the books sometimes regarded as apocryphal must be received together with the others. The Church was declared to be the sole interpreter of the Bible, and all persons were forbidden to wrest its teachings to their own purposes. At subsequent meetings, the sanction of the Council was given to the doctrines of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, and Indulgences, as well as to the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and the seven sacraments—namely, baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. Several matters of discipline were finally settled, and a variety of questions, less



GENEVA, LOOKING TOWARDS THE LAKE.

important than those already described, but still considerable gravity, were determined in successive sittings.

Great diversity of opinion was developed in the course of these discussions. The Dominicans and Franciscans, always disposed to rivalry, were

nations; the Italian Bishops were very numerous; and the party of the Pope was so strong that opposition was to a great extent stifled. Nevertheless, it was found necessary to amend the most glaring corruptions of the Church; so that the assaults of Luther and others had produced some



JOHN CALVIN. (After the Portrait by Hondius.)

especially contentious, and the French and German Bishops were very earnest in opposing the extravagant claims of the Italians. Even the English ecclesiastics, though naturally inclined to liberty, showed a remarkable degree of independence as regarded the claims of the Pope individually. They affirmed that the episcopal authority proceeded directly from Christ himself, and was not conferred by the Pontiff; and they demanded the reform of abuses at the Roman Court. But the Council was presided over by a papal Legate; the voting was by heads, and not by

effect, even within the citadel of the enemy. At one time, in 1563, an attempt was made to establish a more extreme power on the part of the Church over the State; but the proposal excited such vehement antagonism that the Pope (Pius IV.) instructed his Legates to withdraw it. On the 26th of January, 1564—shortly after the closing of the Council in the previous December—the Pontiff confirmed the acts that had recently been passed, in a Bull countersigned by the Cardinals. All the Roman Catholic States accepted the results of the Council, and promulgated them, excepting

France, which continued to assert a reasonable degree of independence for the Gallican Church.

The sittings of the Council of Trent brought into great prominence a religious body not long created, but already beginning to acquire that extraordinary power which it afterwards wielded, and still wields, with such remarkable ability. The Jesuits owed their existence to Ignatius Loyola, a native of Spanish Biscay, whose early life had been passed in the army. As a youth, his imagination had been fired by stories of the Spanish knights who had freed their country from the Moors of Granada, and by the perusal of those romances of chivalry which Cervantes afterwards burlesqued. One might almost say that, by anticipation, there was something Quixotic in his disposition, were it not that his ardour led to very practical results. When the French invaded Navarre, in 1521, Loyola, who was then about thirty years of age, assisted in the defence of Pampeluna, and had his right leg fractured by a cannon-ball, while at the same time his left leg was injured by a splinter. Being taken prisoner by the invaders, he was removed to the ancestral castle of his family; and, while lying there, recovering from his wounds—a process rendered particularly tedious by two painful operations—he beguiled the time by reading the lives of the saints, varied by works of devotion partaking of that dreamy and mystical character which was natural to himself. This it was which first directed his thoughts to spiritual matters. The enthusiast in knight-errantry became a religious fanatic. He consecrated himself to a life of holiness and self-denial. His austerities and carnal mortifications equalled those of the old anchorites, and probably surpassed the penitential observances of Ximenes. He fasted to the extent of exhaustion; he went ragged and barefoot; he gave his whole time to works of charity and acts of religion; he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and, on returning to Europe, studied with a view to the Church. After a while, his example influenced a number of young men not previously distinguished for excessive zeal; and Loyola himself, Francis Xavier of Navarre, and Peter Faber of Savoy, formed the nucleus of that "Society of Jesus" which afterwards grew to such immense and even formidable proportions. It was at Rome, in September, 1540, while the Turks were threatening Europe, that the Order of the Jesuits was actually constituted, with the sanction of Pope Paul III. The first college of the brethren was founded at Gandia, in Spain, and the principles of the body spread with great rapidity. Loyola died

on the 31st of July, 1556; but the seed which he had planted had already grown up into an imposing tree.

The four objects to which the members of the Order devoted themselves were—the education of youth; preaching, and otherwise instructing grown-up people; the defence of Catholicism against heretics and unbelievers; and the propagation of Christianity among heathens and infidels, by means of missionaries. The directions of Loyola, as the first president or General of the Order, were subject to no control but that of the Pope; and at all times implicit obedience to the commands of superiors has been one of the most distinctive features of Jesuit discipline. Loyola, notwithstanding his severities to himself, was a kind, humane, and liberal-minded man wherever his bigotry did not interfere: many of his regulations reflected those qualities. His object was to give a more practical character to Catholicism than it had shown for a long while; and in this he succeeded. He saw that the time had passed when the monkish garb had any influence with educated and intelligent persons, and he wisely excluded a dress which had long been identified with idleness, profligacy, and ill-directed enthusiasm. The followers of Loyola were simply to be dressed in black, like the secular priests, and in other respects were allowed much greater freedom than the monastic communities. They enjoyed, indeed, a degree of exemption from the austere practices of other religious bodies, which is said to have degenerated, in after times, into a very objectionable laxity. The rigour with which Loyola always treated himself, found no place in the system he inaugurated; and it is not the least testimony to the extraordinary powers of this gifted man, that, while leading the life of a hermit, so far as his own habits were concerned, he exhibited all the knowledge and adaptability of a man of the world in the constitution of his Society. But in this respect he had the assistance of others, who may have moulded and qualified his original designs.

The energy and determination of his character have at no date been wanting in the Order itself. Nothing has ever surpassed the fervour and devotion of its missionary enterprise in distant parts of the world; and for a time its success was startling. The chief counteracting influences which checked the spread of Protestantism were supplied by the activity of the Jesuits; and the Popes found new and powerful supporters in the disciples of the Biscayan enthusiast. Nevertheless, the Society of Jesus encountered some of its most bitter opponents among the Catholics themselves.

The brethren have been accused of a vicious casuistry, tending to the confusion of all moral principle; of systematic equivocation and duplicity; of acquiring an undue influence over the education of the young; of promulgating, either secretly or openly, political opinions fatal to the authority of the civil magistrates; and of conniving at the assassination of monarchs. It is impossible to determine the exact amount of truth contained in these charges, which the Jesuits themselves have always denied; but an association of such immense power, such multitudinous ramifications, and such despotic government, acting often by secret agencies, and in accordance with maxims that are at least questionable, is justly open to grave suspicions, and is not likely to be wholly undeserving of the condemnation pronounced on it by many independent thinkers. In several European countries, the Jesuit organisation was established with considerable difficulty, and in the eighteenth century the brotherhoods were expelled from Portugal, France, Spain, Naples, and other lands. Pope Clement XIV., acting, with manifest reluctance, in what he described as the interests of peace within the Church, suppressed the Order altogether in 1773; but during the early years of the present century the Jesuits were permitted to re-establish themselves, and they are still an influential power in the world, against which many communities have found it necessary to protect the rights of the State by decrees of expulsion. No one will deny that the Society of Jesus has produced several men of great ability and learning, or that its operation has sometimes been humane and beneficial; but the instinctive sense of nations is opposed to all such secret agencies, with respect to which society has no guarantee that they will not be used for the destruction of its dearest interests.

Jesuitism was one of the products of that Catholic reaction which aimed at greater earnestness in the religious life, and (in the first instance at any rate) at a higher moral tone. The extravagant profligacy and hypocritical falsehood of the days of Borgia, the easy and self-satisfied laxity of Leo X., had revolted men of a nobler type, and led to a fresh outburst of zeal. But the immediate cause of this reaction was Protestantism; and at the very time that Loyola was laying the foundations of his Order, the reformed religion was receiving an immense accession of strength from the teachings of Jean Cauvin, better known as Calvin—a native of Picardy, humble in his origin, but gifted with a powerful and commanding genius. At a very early period of life, Calvin adopted heretical views with respect to the Church of

Rome, and, while studying at Bruges, was entirely won over to the Reformation. On returning to France, he soon found that such views could not be openly professed without inconvenient consequences; and, although protected by the Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I., he was compelled to retire into Switzerland. After an unsettled life, extending over some years, he took up his residence at Geneva, which ultimately became the centre of his theological influence, and has ever since been indissolubly associated with his name and creed. Geneva had recently adopted a republican form of government, which Calvin at last turned into a species of theocracy, with himself for the directing spirit. It was there that, in 1541, he published a system of Church government, which, as soon as it had obtained the sanction of the Council, he rigorously enforced; it was there that, in 1553, he brought to the stake the Spanish scholar, Servetus, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. This detestable act received the approval of Melancthon, whose reputation for moderation and suavity was then strangely compromised; but for all succeeding time the memory of Calvin will be burdened with a load of guilt, from which nothing can avail to relieve it, and which hardly presents a single feature of palliation. Such was the intolerance of the age, however, that the reputation of the persecutor suffered no immediate injury; and when he died, in 1564, he left behind him a large number of followers, who regarded his religious ideas as the embodiment of absolute truth.

The influence of Calvin on the world of Protestantism was wide, deep, and lasting. His ideas became the foundation of a theological system which has prevailed in several parts of Switzerland, in the Netherlands, in Scotland, amongst the Protestants of France and of the North of Ireland, with the Dissenters of England (in the main), and in many religious communities of North America. Presbyterianism is its child; the Puritans were followers of the Genevan dictator. Even the Church of England, in its early days, contained a strong element of Calvinism, though this was afterwards supplanted by other tendencies having a greater affinity with the ecclesiastical system of Rome. The gloomy and cruel character of the Calvinistic creed has repelled and horrified some of the best intellects of the modern world; the more liberal among Christian believers, and the various schools of free thought, have continually protested against it; yet it still exercises a powerful influence over large sections of Christendom. Calvin had a mind of the greatest logical acuteness, and worked out his premisses with remorseless determi-

nation. His doctrine of predestination, by which, irrespectively of their acts, some are foredoomed to eternal condemnation, while others are set apart for unending bliss—a doctrine originally formulated by the first Augustine—has possessed a strange attraction for many minds; and the adoption of Calvinism by Knox has moulded the whole character of the Scottish people from the middle of the sixteenth century to the present time.

While the Council of Trent was debating on the future of the Roman Church,—while Loyola was directing the first efforts of his new Society, and Calvin was revolutionising Geneva, and Rabelais was laughing fanaticism of all kinds out of countenance,—the Protestants and Catholics of Germany were engaged in the first of a long series of deadly struggles. The Diet of Ratisbon, in the early summer of 1546, showed how little the Lutherans had to hope from the Emperor Charles V., who, having made peace with France and Turkey, was no longer obliged to court the favour of the heretics. At the sitting of June 13th, he declared that all who resisted him in his endeavours to restore the unity of the Church in Germany should feel the weight of his power. It was well known that he was making vast military preparations; and it now appeared against whom they were to be directed. The Protestant rulers were therefore driven to take measures of self-defence, and both sides to the dispute formed as many alliances as possible. The associates in the League of Smalcald quickly raised an army of respectable dimensions, and were first in the field. The Smalcaldic War, as it is called, began on the 9th of July, 1546, and was at first attended by a few successes on the part of the Protestants. Charles, however, had an immense force at his disposal. To his German levies he added 10,000 Italians and 8,000 Spaniards; he had even gained over some of the Protestant princes to his side; and the moral authority of the Empire was in itself a great assistance to his cause. When the Imperial armies took the field, they acted with energy under the directions of the Emperor himself. The Protestants made no progress, and Charles prepared to carry the war into Swabia. Nothing decisive, however, had been accomplished by the autumn. The cold weather was beginning to tell on the Italians and Spaniards, and the Imperialists seemed to be on the point of breaking up, when an incident occurred, of which the Smalcaldians could have had no suspicion.

King Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, had recently come to an understanding with Maurice, Duke of Saxony, by which that prince, though a Protestant, agreed to co-operate with the Emperor.

The result was, that before long the whole of Upper Germany was in the hands of Charles, who punished the various cities in proportion to what he regarded as their degree of guilt. Still, the war was not over, for John Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, a cousin of Duke Maurice, and possessing a different territory, was still at the head of a considerable force, with which he obtained some important successes in the early part of 1547. Maurice was obliged to retire into Königsberg, and Charles was so much alarmed at the state of affairs that, in spite of ill-health, he again appeared at the head of his armies. The Elector found himself cut off from his Thuringian possessions by a vastly superior army, and, in retreating down the right bank of the Elbe, was utterly defeated at Mühlberg, on Sunday, the 24th of April. He himself was wounded and taken prisoner, and for a time it seemed doubtful whether he would not be executed on the double charge of being at once a rebel and a heretic. He was deprived of all his possessions, however, and remained a state prisoner in the hands of his offended sovereign. Lower Saxony was soon afterwards subdued, with the exception of Magdeburg, which still held out; and Bohemia, which had risen against German domination and Romanist tyranny, was speedily reduced by Ferdinand.

The death of Henry VIII. of England, in January, 1547, has already been mentioned. That of his great rival, Francis I., followed on the 31st of March in the same year. The political, and in several respects the moral, character of Francis was open to the severest criticism; yet his better qualities must not be forgotten. Notwithstanding the large expenditure of his reign, both on his numerous wars and on his private pleasures, he left France in a state of greater prosperity than he found it. He was a munificent patron of literature and the arts, and gathered about him a host of eminent men, Frenchmen and Italians, whose genius shed a light upon his court. Even his foreign policy, base as were the methods by which he sought to promote it, was prompted by a not unreasonable desire to limit the dangerous predominance of the Emperor Charles V.; and, although he was frequently unsuccessful, his persistent antagonism had some effect in curbing an ambition which until then had encountered few other checks. Francis was succeeded by his son, Henry II.—a prince of flaccid character, who suffered himself to be ruled by the Constable Montmorency, by the Count of Aumale (afterwards Duke of Guise), and by his mistress, the beautiful Diana of Poitiers. The new monarch was crowned at Rheims on the 27th of July.

Charles V. had been summoned to appear at the ceremony, and do homage for the province of Flanders; but he replied that, if he came at all, it would be at the head of fifty thousand men. The Pope (Paul III.) exhibited a friendly feeling towards Henry, and at the same time regarded the sovereign of Germany and Spain with suspicion and dislike. The cause of this hostile sentiment was the somewhat antagonistic posture assumed by Charles at the Council of Trent, where, though not inclined to favour the Protestants, his representatives evinced a disposition to lessen the personal influence of the Pontiff. The Papal troops serving with the Emperor's forces against the Lutherans of Northern Germany were withdrawn at the end of their six months' service, and everything betokened the existence of an uneasy feeling between the Empire and the Apostolic See.

Italy, as usual, was the victim of these jealousies. France once more began intriguing in that distracted peninsula, and Giovanni Fiesco—a nobleman belonging to a family which had always been favourable to French interests—endeavoured to assassinate the venerable Andrea Doria, who was regarded as a mere tool of the Emperor, and actually succeeded in slaying his great-nephew, Giannettino Doria, who had been designated to succeed the Admiral in the direction of the Republic. Fiesco himself was drowned almost immediately after, in seeking to repress an insurrection of the galley-slaves, and the conspiracy came to an end. French interference was busy also at Naples, where it fostered a revolt against the introduction of the Inquisition, which the Spanish Viceroy was in this way compelled to relinquish. The outbreak took place in May, 1547, and was probably excited by what the Neapolitans had seen of the Holy Office and its operations at Rome, where, five years earlier, it had been reintroduced with the assistance of Ignatius Loyola, and where it was administered with a remorseless severity which set justice and humanity at defiance. The disturbed condition of Italy increased the anxieties of the Emperor, who had been much distressed by the recent war; and when he entered Augsburg, on the 23rd of July, it was observed that he had aged considerably since the commencement of hostilities, and had all the appearance of an old man, though in truth only forty-seven. He passed much of his time in solitude, was absorbed and melancholy, and seemed as if he could scarcely sustain the weight of Empire, and the accumulated cares of State.

The relations of the Emperor with the Pope became more irksome every day. Charles was

offended with Paul because he had removed the General Council of the Church from Trent, a city within the Austrian dominions, to Bologna, which was in the States of the Church. Paul was displeased with Charles for his evident antagonism to Papal claims, and for his seizure of Piacenza after the assassination of Pietro Luigi Farnese (the Pope's son) in September, 1547. The disagreement at length became so extreme that Charles endeavoured to settle the theological questions in dispute by a small body of divines of his own appointing. These commissioners drew up a code of twenty-six articles, which pleased the Catholics but little, and the Protestants still less. Duke Maurice of Saxony, whom Charles had invested with the Saxon Electorate formerly held by the unfortunate John Frederick, opposed the promulgation of this code, together with some of the other princes; and the attempt at harmony, though perhaps well meant, produced no tranquillising effect. With regard to the Romish Church, Charles published an Edict of Reformation, which aimed at the amendment of various abuses, but which, although characterised by wisdom and high feeling, failed in its objects, owing to the determination of the Papal authorities not to sanction any interference by a secular prince in spiritual matters.

The code of twenty-six articles, intended for the quieting of religious differences, and called "the Interim" because it was designed to have only a temporary operation, gave very general offence, and in many quarters was entirely rejected. Melancthon excited in Calvin the utmost scorn and indignation by making some few compromises with Romanist observances, for the sake of avoiding those coercive measures which had been taken elsewhere. Most of the provisions contained in the Interim were favourable to the Catholics; yet Rome condemned the whole document, and the Jesuits were especially angry with it. The French took advantage of this state of things to advance their plans in Italy, and the young King fell much under the influence of the Guises, who were strongly opposed to the predominance of the Empire in the political system of Europe. When Francis I. was dying, he earnestly cautioned his son against the rising power of that family, whose ambition he dreaded. Nevertheless, Henry II. confided important positions in the Council to three of the Guises—namely, to Cardinal John of Lorraine, and to two of his nephews, Francis, Count of Aumale, and Charles of Guise, Archbishop of Rheims. The race of Guise was a younger branch of the sovereign house of Lorraine,



FRANCIS RABELAIS. (After the Monument by Emile Hèbert.)

and was also connected with the Bourbons. The founder of the family was Claude, first Duke of Guise, the fifth son of René II., Duke of Lorraine. Mary of Lorraine, the eldest daughter of Claude, had James V. of Scotland for her second husband, and by him became mother of Mary Stuart, afterwards the reigning Queen of that country. It will thus be seen that, both by their origin and their connections, the Guises were very important people. Through one of their ancestors, René of

punished with extravagant cruelty. In the meanwhile, Charles V. was inducting his son Philip into the arts of government, which for a time he exercised in the Netherlands. In the prosecution of his favourite policy of humbling France, the Emperor endeavoured to foment a war between that country and England; but, owing to the minority of Edward VI., the Government at London was controlled by the Protector Somerset, who was too cautious a man to risk hostilities



RUINS OF THE CATHEDRAL, ST. ANDREWS.

Anjou, they claimed all the rights of that house in Provence, the Sicilies, and Jerusalem; and their dearest hope was to supplant the princes of the blood in France. Being persons of great and varied ability, as soldiers, as ecclesiastics, and as statesmen, the apprehensions of Francis I. were not without reasonable foundation. The Guises were destined to play very distinguished parts in French history; but their influence was in many respects tragical and disastrous to the State.

The early years of Henry II.'s reign were distinguished by plots in Italy and troubles at home, where the extortions of the revenue officers provoked an insurrection of the peasantry, ultimately suppressed by the Constable Montmorency, and

which, in the divided state of the nation, he might not have been able to sustain. On the other hand, France sought to embroil England with her Northern neighbours. It was one of the ambitious schemes formed by the Guises to marry their young niece, Mary, Queen of Scots, to the Dauphin Francis, son of Henry II. Somerset wished that the same princess should be united to his royal master, Edward VI.,—an event which, had it taken place, would have combined the two British monarchies, as those of Aragon and Castile had been combined by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. Scotland, therefore, became a battleground of diplomacy between the rival kingdoms of France and England; and the turbulent condi-

tion of the country aided the designs of the intriguers. Cardinal Beaton, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had exasperated Papists and Protestants alike by his insolence and cruelty, and, on the 29th of May, 1546, was assassinated by a large body of conspirators, headed by Norman Leslie, son of the Earl of Rothes, whom he had affronted. The Scottish reformer, Wishart, who had been executed about three months before, through the instigation of the Cardinal, is thought to have been privy to the design; but in any case the violent death of Beaton was due to his excessive rigour towards the heretics; and the terrible event, which took place at the Castle of St. Andrews, showed what a turmoil of revolutionary passions was at work beneath the surface, ready to break up the established order of ecclesiastical affairs in the Scottish kingdom.

The murder of the Cardinal had the effect of calling in the French. Mary of Guise, the Queen-Mother, who enjoyed great authority in Scotland during the minority of her daughter Mary, found her powers unequal to the occasion; for the conspirators, amounting to one hundred and fifty, shut themselves up in the castle of the deceased prelate, and successfully defied the forces sent against them. An appeal for assistance was then made to Henry II., and, after the arrival of French troops, St. Andrews was forced to capitulate on the 3rd of July, 1547. At about the same period, Scotland was invaded by the Duke of Somerset, who, on September 10th, defeated the Regent Arran at a place called Pinkie. The Queen-Mother, fearing for the safety of her daughter, or doubting the security of her religious faith, obtained the betrothment of the young princess, then scarcely five years of age, to the Dauphin Francis. The child was taken to France for her education, and in 1549 Henry II. declared war against England, with a view to expelling that Power from the North. The Earl of Warwick, on succeeding to the position previously occupied by Somerset, found it necessary to make peace, and, by a treaty signed on the 24th of March, 1550, surrendered Boulogne to the French.

On the death of Paul III., on November 10th, 1549, the Papal tiara was conferred on Cardinal del Monte, who, on the 8th of February, 1550, succeeded under the title of Julius III. The profligacy of this sovereign was equal to that of Alexander VI., while his abilities were of an inferior order. In political affairs he inclined to the Imperial alliance, and, as a concession to the views of Charles, authorised the re-opening of the Council (which had been closed by his predecessor) at

Trent, instead of at Bologna. The Emperor, exasperated by opposition, and by the imperfect nature of his successes, which seem to have produced scarcely any effect in checking the progress of heresy, now issued edicts of the most terrible severity against all who favoured Lutheran doctrines, or who refrained from denouncing to the magistrates any one known to profess them. The Spanish Inquisition was established in the Netherlands, and acts of almost incredible barbarity were committed, in the vain endeavour to eradicate opinions which had now penetrated too deeply into the Northern populations to be destroyed by any process short of complete extermination. Charles little suspected the dangers that were awaiting him from the side of Protestantism; yet, at the Diet of Augsburg, which opened on the 26th of July, 1550, the Elector Maurice of Saxony began, though in a very cautious and guarded way, to give signs of that opposition to the Imperial cause which he afterwards carried to very serious lengths. Maurice, as we have seen, had betrayed the Protestant interests during the Smalcaldic War, and had received for his guerdon the possessions of his relative John Frederick; but he had no wish to behold the entire subversion of the reformed faith, nor to promote the unrestrained despotism of the Emperor. His conduct, no doubt, was dishonourable, from whichever point of view we contemplate it; but his later actions were an immense service to Protestantism, and freedom was the gainer by his personal jealousies and ambition.

With a view to counteracting the Empire, an alliance between France and England was concluded in 1551, and Henry II. revived the policy of his father in looking to Turkey for assistance against the combined forces of the Emperor and the Pope. At that time, the Mediterranean was suffering from the depredations of the Algerine corsair, Draghut, who had succeeded to the power of Barbarossa II. This valiant captain had recently taken possession of a little town named Afrikia, near Tunis, where the Moors and Jews expelled from the Spanish peninsula had sought refuge. This place was afterwards snatched from them by the Emperor Charles; upon which the French ambassador at Constantinople persuaded the Porte that the operation constituted a breach of the good relations established between Turkey and the House of Austria. Solyman therefore sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, which succeeded in wresting Tripoli from the Knights of St. John, who had for some time been established there; but Henry derived no advantages from his irregular alliance with the Ottoman Power. The plots and counter-plots of the Emperor

and the French King proceeded with little variation, except that the former now supported the Papal authority at the Council of Trent, while the latter resisted it. Disregardful of either, and wholly bent on the advancement of his own designs, the Elector Maurice laid siege to Magdeburg, where a remnant of the Smalcaldic forces was yet standing on the defensive. The operations against that city had been entrusted to Maurice by the Emperor, who was far from discerning that his agent was in truth his enemy. The Elector compelled the surrender of Magdeburg, and, entering the town on the 7th of November, 1551, took measures for securing the liberties of the Protestants, while appearing to act simply as the lieutenant of the Emperor.

Maurice, however, had already concluded a treaty with France, the general object of which was to destroy the power of the Emperor, and to restore Germany to what was described as its ancient liberties and constitution. He had also formed secret alliances with several of the Protestant sovereigns, and, in the spring of 1552, he threw off the mask he had so long been wearing, took the field at the head of a great Protestant confederacy, and published a manifesto, in which he declared that his objects were the security of the Protestant religion, the preservation of the laws and constitution of the Empire, and the liberation of his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse, who had been taken prisoner during the Smalcaldic War. Charles was thunderstruck at the position suddenly assumed by one whom he had regarded as his devoted servant. He was at that time staying at Innsbrück, and the forces of the Elector approached so rapidly that the Emperor was obliged to fly with undignified precipitation, to avoid capture. Finding, however, all the available roads blocked by the Elector's troops, he returned to Innsbrück, where the conclusion of a truce afforded him a brief interval of security. On the 18th of May, war again broke out, and the Imperial troops could make no stand against their more vigorous, or more enthusiastic, antagonists. Again the army of Maurice drew near to Innsbrück, and again the Emperor fled with ignominious haste. Being incapacitated by gout, he travelled on a litter by torchlight, and, making his way through the snow-covered mountains, reached Villach in Carinthia.

As the Emperor retired before the advancing hosts of his enemy, he broke down the bridges behind him, so as to hinder the pursuit. This proceeding afforded him a certain degree of safety, and gave time for the consideration of future plans.

Charles, however, was not the only person put to flight by the sudden and unexpected action of Maurice. The members of the Council of Trent dispersed with the utmost speed, for it was believed that the Protestants would march into that Alpine city, and, if not anticipated, seize every one of the Papal conclaves. The break-up of the Council, indeed, was so absolute, that it did not again meet until ten years later. The Pope was not disinclined to escape the vexation of prolonged discussions, which could hardly, in any case, have added to his power and influence; and the Protestants had no reason to desire the reassembling of a deliberative body in which they declined to take part, and from which they had to expect nothing but severity and repression. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the startling success of Maurice, sent an army, under the command of Montmorency, across the Meuse, and summoned Toul to surrender. The treaty of the French King with Maurice had provided that Henry should seize that fortress, together with Cambray, Metz, and Verdun, and hold them as Vicar of the Empire; and this arrangement he now proceeded to carry out. Several of the border cities fell before his arms, or were taken by strategy; and by the middle of July he had concluded a rapid campaign, which was generally favourable to his cause. Piedmont and the Parmesan were also the scenes of French operations; but a truce was speedily concluded between the Pope and Henry, and, at a conference held at Passau during the summer, a general arrangement was effected, by which the Landgrave of Hesse was set at liberty, and several important concessions were granted to the Protestants. The treaty bore date August 2nd, 1552, and from that time forth the reformed faith occupied a position which, however much it may have been violated in subsequent days, brought its members within the public law of Europe. The terms agreed to at Passau were afterwards confirmed by a solemn declaration of the Diet which assembled at Augsburg in 1555; and the agreement then sanctioned was called the Peace of Religion.

While these matters were proceeding in the west of Europe, the east was distracted by a war between Ferdinand of Austria and the Sultan of Turkey. In 1551, Martinuzzi, Bishop of Waradin, and guardian of the infant son of Zapolya, placed Transylvania in Ferdinand's hands, in revenge for some affront which he had received from Solyman. Not long afterwards, however, he was suspected, whether justly or not, of being again in correspondence with the Porte, and Ferdinand connived at his assassination. The

Turks made further advances in Hungary in 1552, and whatever they seized they were able to hold. Transylvania was recovered, and for many years remained a fief of the Ottoman Empire. In these campaigns Charles V. took no part; but he made an ineffectual attempt to recapture Metz, from the walls of which he was forced to retire in the early part of 1553. The defence had been very ably conducted by the Duke of Guise, and the former capital of Austrasia remained one of the most powerful of the eastern fortifications of France, until it surrendered to the Germans on the 27th of October, 1570. The arms of the Emperor were equally unfortunate in Italy, where Sienna, which had placed itself under his protection, revolted against the Spanish commandant, Don Diego de Mendoza, whose tyranny and insolence had become unbearable. The loyalty of Naples was imperilled by similar qualities on the part of the Viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo, and the corsair Draghut ravaged the coasts of Calabria, cast anchor in the Bay of Naples, and defeated Andrea Doria in an action off the Isle of Ponza. The French and Turks co-operated in this naval war, and the former seized several places on the coast of Corsica, and would probably have pursued their successes, but for a quarrel with Draghut. To increase the general confusion, a war broke out in Germany between Albert of Brandenburg (who was secretly encouraged by the Emperor) and a league of German princes, headed by Maurice of Saxony. A desperate battle took place at Sievershausen, in the Duchy of Lüneburg, which terminated in a victory for the Elector, but at the cost of his life. While leading a charge of cavalry, he was struck by a bullet in the abdomen, and died two days later, in the thirty-second year of his age. Some operations of the Emperor on the eastern side of France were attended by success; but his sufferings from the gout were so extreme that he was unable to prosecute the campaign with the vigour indispensable to any decisive result.

The death of Edward VI. of England, in July, 1553, suggested to the Emperor Charles a mode of increasing his own power, and, at the same time, of advancing the interests of the Catholic Church. His relative, the Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. by Catherine of Aragon, succeeded to the English throne after the brief episode of Lady Jane Grey's forced assumption of the regal dignity. Charles proposed the marriage of his son Philip with the English Queen; and the latter gladly accepted a match which added to her personal dignity, and strengthened her hands for the restoration of England to the Catholic Church,

of which she was a devoted follower. The House of Commons remonstrated against the contemplated marriage; the nation, for the most part, regarded it with dislike, as the majority of Englishmen had by this time adopted the principles of the Reformation; but, in spite of all opposition, the marriage was solemnised in 1554, when Charles made over to his son the crowns of Naples and Sicily, and the Duchy of Milan. The power of the Emperor was now greatly reduced, and he could scarcely defend himself against the attacks of the French in the Netherlands during the campaign of 1554. Much greater success attended the arms of Emmanuel Philibert, the new Duke of Savoy, who, acting in the Imperial interests, and also with a view to the recovery of his paternal dominions, which Francis I. had occupied, entered France in the latter part of the summer, and inflicted an immense amount of damage on the open country. A savage war was at the same time raging in Northern Italy, where Cosmo de' Medici, the despotic ruler of the so-called Florentine Republic, took up arms against the French, and inflicted on them several grave reverses. The forces of Henry were in possession of Sienna, which was besieged by an adventurer named Medicino, who claimed some distant relationship with the great family of the Medici, and was created Marquis of Marignano. Pressed by famine and disease, Sienna capitulated on the 21st of April, 1555. In violation of distinct engagements, the citizens were treated with great severity; but Cosmo de' Medici was not permitted by the Emperor to add this distinguished city to his dominions. The investiture was granted to Philip of Spain, and the former privileges of the citizens were remorselessly abolished. In Piedmont, the war was carried on by the Duke of Alva, who was able to accomplish little, but who signalled his command by the same unsparing cruelties which he afterwards committed in the Netherlands. Marignano died at Milan in November, and Italy had one tyrant the less, in an age when tyranny was all but universal.

Shortly after the Diet of Augsburg, at which the Religious Peace was concluded, Charles V. determined on carrying out a project which had for some time engaged his thoughts. Power was no longer what it had been to him in the days of his success, and he desired to lay down a burden which increasing ill-health unfitted him to bear. When his mother, Joanna, expired at Tordesillas in 1555, after a mental aberration of more than forty-seven years, Charles was at liberty to dispose of the Castilian crown, of which, so long as she lived, Joanna was the only legal possessor. There was

now, therefore, no further difficulty about appointing successors in the several divisions of his enormous realm; and Charles lost no time in convoking the States of the Netherlands at Brussels, to which city he had summoned Philip from England, that he might receive the sovereignty of the Low Countries. The States assembled on the 25th of October, 1555, and, in the great hall of the palace, surrounded by a large body of princes, nobles, and ambassadors, and by the members of the Senate, the master of many kingdoms made over to his son the sovereignty of Burgundy and Flanders, and delivered an oration in which he reviewed the checkered incidents of his life. He remarked that since the age of seventeen he had devoted all his thoughts and exertions to public objects, seldom reserving any portion of his time for ease or pleasure; that he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six, France four, Italy seven, Flanders ten, England twice, and Africa twice; but that now his infirmities warned him to retire, since he was not so fond of power as to retain the sceptre with a failing grasp. He added that if, in the course of a long administration, he had committed any material error in government, or if, under the pressure of many great affairs, he had neglected or injured any of his subjects, he begged forgiveness; and he concluded by exhorting his son to maintain the Catholic faith in its purity, and to respect the rights and privileges of his subjects.* His emotion during the whole of the trying scene could with difficulty be repressed, and at its close he sank exhausted into his seat.

Nearly three months after this event—namely, on the 16th of January, 1556—Charles made over to Philip, before a large assembly of Spanish grandees and German princes, the crowns of Spain and of the Indies. The Imperial crown he retained until September, 1556, when he resigned it to his brother Ferdinand, already appointed his successor after death. Paul IV., who had now succeeded to the Papal throne, protested against the transfer of the Imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He declared in full Consistory that Charles had no right to take such a step without the consent of the Holy See, and declared that he would recognise neither the

abdication, nor the successor who had been nominated. Ferdinand was accused of favouring the Protestant heretics, and Paul asserted the alleged right of the Pontiffs to appoint and depose monarchs, in as lofty and arrogant a tone as his predecessors in the Middle Ages. He was incapable, however, of effecting any actual difference in the arrangements that had been made. Ferdinand contented himself with the title of "Roman Emperor Elect," dispensed with the idle ceremony of a coronation at Rome, and found his power and dignity sufficiently upheld by the recognition of all the European sovereigns, except the owner of the triple crown.

On the 17th of September, Charles sailed from Zealand for Spain, and, after lingering a few days at Ghent, landed at Laredo, in Biscay. The place which he had fixed on for his retirement was the ancient monastery of St. Yuste, belonging to the Hieronymite Order, and situated near Placentia, in Estremadura. Here he arrived in February, 1557, accompanied by one gentleman attendant and twelve domestics; and in this sequestered valley, lying at the foot of the Sierra de Gredos, overshadowed by neighbouring woods, and freshened by running waters, the former arbiter of Europe lived rather more than eighteen months, sometimes working in the garden, at others employing himself in works of mechanism, varied by literary studies, and by the services of religion. During the earlier part of his residence, it is probable that the Emperor enjoyed a serenity and even cheerfulness to which he had long been a stranger; and it appears far from the truth, as at one time supposed, that he passed his days in ascetic mortification. But, a few weeks before his death, a recurrence of his old disorder brought on an attack of melancholy bordering on madness, and very similar in its nature to that with which his mother had been afflicted for so many years. He celebrated his own obsequies in the convent chapel, and seems thenceforward to have bidden farewell to life. The Imperial recluse died soon after midnight on the 21st of September, 1558; and so complete had been his retirement from all human affairs that the world was in no way affected by the departure of one who had long controlled no small portion of its fate.

* Robertson's History of Charles V., Book XI.



PLACE OF EXECUTION, OLD SMITHFIELD.

CHAPTER XV.

CONVULSIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Philip II. of Spain—His Position in England as the Husband of Queen Mary—Measures for the Restoration of Romanism—Cruel Persecution of the Protestants—Conduct of Philip in the matter—Peace between the Empire and France—Animosity of Pope Paul IV. to the Spaniards—Invasion of the Papal States by the Duke of Alva—Feeble Operations of the French in Italy—Declaration of War against France by Mary of England—Defeat of the French at St. Quentin—Bad Management of the Spaniards, and Conclusion of the Campaign—Capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise—Marriage of Mary of Scotland to the Dauphin of France—Secret Agreement for the Destruction of Scottish Independence—Death of Mary, Queen of England—Doubtful Position of Elizabeth—General Treaty of Peace—Alliance of France and Spain against the Protestants—Spread of the Reformed Doctrines in France—Death of Henry II., and Succession of Francis II.—Supremacy of the Guises—The Party of the Huguenots—Conspiracy of Amboise—Strength of the Religious Reformers, in spite of Persecution—Expulsion of the French from Scotland—Triumph of Calvinism in that Kingdom—Foreshadowings of Civil War in France—Catherine de' Medici and Antony of Navarre—Death of Francis II.—Protestantism in Spain—Reforming Zeal of Pope Paul IV.—Succession of Pius IV.—Plot of the Guises for the Extermination of the Protestants on the Continent—Concessions to the Protestants—Renewal of Dissensions—Edict of Toleration—Mutual Distrust and Animosity—The Massacre of Vassy—Outbreak of Hostilities—Assassination of the Duke of Guise—Edict of Amboise—Ambiguous Conduct of Catherine de' Medici towards the Huguenots—Her Interview with the Duke of Alva at Bayonne—Renewal of the Civil War—Death of Montmorency and of Condé—Conclusion of Peace—The Protestants favoured by Charles IX.—Schemes of Catherine de' Medici—The Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Extent to which Charles was Guilty.

PHILIP II., who received the crown of Spain on the abdication of his father in January, 1556, was born at Valladolid on the 21st of May, 1527, and was therefore barely twenty-nine years of age when he succeeded to one of the greatest sovereignties of Europe. His language, his sympathies, and his associations were Spanish, as Charles's

had been those of a Fleming; and his haughty manners, conjoined with a cold and unsympathetic nature, caused him to be generally disliked in Germany and the Netherlands. When, on the 25th of October, 1555, he was invested with the sovereignty of Burgundy and Flanders, he named Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, Regent of

the Low Countries, in succession to his aunt, Queen Mary of Hungary; so that he was able to give undivided attention to the affairs of Spain and its dependencies. In personal appearance he was like his father, and, instead of being the swarthy Spaniard that people generally suppose, was fair and delicate, with blue eyes, and yellowish hair and beard. His marriage to Queen Mary of England, on the 25th of July, 1554, gave him a position in this country; but he refrained at first

Northumberland, who acted simply from motives of family ambition, to secure the inheritance for a professor of the reformed religion. But, as we have seen, the attempt ended in speedy failure, and Mary succeeded to a crown which many regarded as her legal right. The ancient religion was at once restored; Bonner, Gardiner, and three other Bishops who had been deposed for Nonconformity during the previous reign, were restored to their sees in August, 1553; Archbishop Cranmer



MARY STUART.

from any undue interference in its domestic concerns. The marriage treaty, indeed, provided that Philip should retain no foreigners in his service, or about his person; that he should attempt no alteration in the laws or constitution of England; that, in case of the Queen's death without issue, he should not lay claim to any power in the realm; and that the marriage should not involve England in the wars between France and Spain, nor have any influence on its foreign policy. But he might have endeavoured to evade these stipulations, and it was to his credit that, on his first visit to London, he made no movement in that direction.

Mary had ascended the throne about a year before her marriage. The brief episode of Lady Jane Grey's advancement was an effort on the part of the Protestants, aided by the Duke of

and Bishop Latimer were committed to the Tower in September; and, in November, Parliament passed an Act repealing all the laws relating to religion that had been sanctioned under Edward VI. The rebellion headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, in January, 1554, was a protest against this Papistical reaction; but, though vigorously conducted, it succumbed to the greater power of the royal officers, and the triumph of the Catholic party was complete. About the end of the year, Cardinal Pole, whose attainder had been repealed, arrived in London as the Papal Legate; Philip was soon afterwards authorised to take the title of King of England during the Queen's life; and a terrible persecution of Protestants began. The first victim was John Rogers, who was burned at the stake in Smithfield on the 4th of February, 1555; and

from that date to the 10th of November, 1558, when the last execution took place, nearly two hundred persons, at the lowest computation,* perished in the flames, while it is not improbable that the number was really greater. The dismal list includes the names of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester; Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Ridley, Bishop of London; and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. All of these endured their martyrdom with extraordinary courage and resolution; but Cranmer was troubled in his conscience by a momentary retraction of his opinions which the fear of death had extorted from him, but which did not avail to save him from the stake. Hooper was the most extreme of the English reformers at that time. His opinions came very near those of the later Puritans; and had he lived in the reign of James I., or even in that of Elizabeth, he would probably have dissented as much from the Church of England as from the Church of Rome. The principal instigator of these persecutions seems to have been Bonner, who succeeded Ridley in the See of London; but Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, and Cardinal Pole, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury after the deposition of Cranmer, must take their share of the guilt. It is doubtful whether Philip of Spain was at all concerned in the treatment of the Protestants. There are even some grounds for supposing that he pleaded on behalf of clemency; though, if so, it was not in accordance with his usual disposition.

The war between France and the Emperor was brought to a close in February, 1556, shortly after the accession of Philip to the crown of Spain. This pacification was extremely displeasing to Pope Paul IV., who hoped to further the interests of the Apostolic See by a prolongation of hostilities. He therefore took every means to destroy the arrangement, and was not long before he succeeded. Identifying the Spaniards with the Imperial policy to which they had long been subject, Paul denounced the people of the western peninsula as heretics and schismatics, the spawn of Jews and Moors; and he now accused Philip, in his capacity as King of Naples, of having, together with his father, failed in duty to the Holy See by granting protection to the Colonna family, who had been excommunicated. The Spanish envoy at Rome was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and, in the fury of his anger, Paul ordered the suspension of religious services throughout Spain. As this was

just before Charles's abdication of the Imperial crown, the retiring monarch doubtless looked forward with pleasure to escaping all such difficulties in the peaceful seclusion of St. Yuste. In describing the Spaniards as heretics and schismatics, Paul had shown complete ignorance of their character; and he was as little acquainted with the real inclinations of Philip, who was profoundly afflicted at the position assumed towards him by the Pope. It was necessary, however, to protect himself, as the head of the Church was actually endeavouring to form an alliance with the Sultan to his detriment. Yet Philip, in spite of all provocations, would not declare war against Paul until he had consulted a large body of theologians, Spanish, Flemish, and Italian. At length, having satisfied his scruples, he ordered the Duke of Alva (the Viceroy of Naples) to enter the Papal States; and that energetic commander passed rapidly through the Campagna, and penetrated to the immediate vicinity of Rome. Paul concluded a truce with him in November, 1556, but only to gain time, and in the following month the Duke of Guise arrived in Italy with a large army. More than half of the ensuing year was consumed in a number of desultory operations, in which neither of the opposing commanders obtained any marked advantage. In August, 1557, Guise was recalled to France, and, by the middle of September, peace had been concluded between the Pope and Spain.

The quarrel between Spain and France, however, continued with undiminished force, and in time led to hostilities in which England was induced or compelled to take part. Philip, who had quitted this country in September, 1555, returned to it in March, 1557, and at once adopted a policy very different from that which he had observed on his earlier visit. He wanted the assistance of his wife's kingdom in opposing the designs of France, and now began to interfere in the government, though secretly, since he was exercising a power to which he had no right. Mary was completely under his influence, notwithstanding that he treated her with a coldness which ill requited her ardent affection for himself; and in June she was persuaded, against the advice of her Council, to declare war with France. Ten thousand English soldiers were sent into the Netherlands, where they joined the Spanish forces under Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who, setting his troops in motion during the month of July, invested St. Quentin, a town of Picardy, situated on the Somme, in front of which the French sustained a crushing defeat on the 10th of August. This being the day

* That of Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian of England.

of St. Lawrence, Philip commemorated the victory by beginning the erection of a vast palace near Madrid; and, as St. Lawrence is said to have suffered martyrdom on a gridiron, the Escorial was built in a succession of open bars, to imitate the form of that utensil. The discomfiture of the French before St. Quentin was so extreme that Paris (which is not more than eighty miles distant) lay open to the enemy. The wisest plan would have been to push on at once; but Philip insisted that St. Quentin and the neighbouring towns should first be taken. The principal of these places was carried by assault on the 27th of August; three others followed soon after; and the Spanish monarch then began to think of an advance. But valuable time had been wasted; the French had strengthened their means of resistance; the Duke of Guise had been recalled from Italy; the English in the Spanish army declared their intention of returning home, and the Germans deserted in large numbers. The campaign perforce came to a conclusion, and Philip returned to Brussels in October.

Guise was now appointed Lieutenant-General of France—a position which conferred on him almost dictatorial functions; and, as three of his brothers also held posts of high importance, the power of the family was greater than that of the King himself. Active operations were resumed towards the end of the year, and in January, 1558, Calais was taken from the English by the Duke of Guise, after having remained in their possession since the reign of Edward III. Not a foot of land on the French continent now remained to the countrymen of those who had conquered at Cressy, at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. The subjects of Queen Mary resented the loss with great bitterness. The Queen herself was overcome with grief and mortification, and said that the name of Calais would be found engraved upon her heart. On the other hand, the predominance of the Guises was materially strengthened by this brilliant success, which had been achieved by the Duke himself in person; and, in April of the same year, their niece, Mary of Scotland, was married to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II. By her education and acquired tastes, Mary was little else than a Frenchwoman; and two secret acts, which she signed a few days before her marriage, show how completely she had severed herself from the true interests of her native country. By one of these acts, she bequeathed her kingdom to France, in case of her death without children; by the other, she made over the revenues of Scotland to Henry II. until he had been repaid a million crowns

which he claimed in consideration of military assistance rendered by France. At the same time, with shameful duplicity, Mary and the Dauphin promised, in their marriage contract, that they would maintain the laws, liberty, and independence of the northern kingdom. The Dauphin took the title of King of Scotland; and, although many Scotsmen saw the danger attending such an assumption, a servile Parliament confirmed it.

The campaign of 1558 was chiefly in the Netherlands, where the French, after prospering for a while, sustained a great reverse on the banks of the Aa. Both France and Spain were now getting tired of a struggle which yielded no great advantage to either; and conferences with a view to peace were opened during the autumn, in the course of which Mary of England expired on the 17th of November. The death of that princess threw affairs in England into momentary confusion, and rendered it doubtful for a time whether the Protestant religion would be restored, or Roman Catholicism would retain the ascendancy which for the last five years it had enjoyed. When, however, the House of Lords was informed of Mary's death, it was agreed with one consent that her half-sister, Elizabeth, should be declared the true and lawful heir to the kingdom, according to the Act of Succession passed during the reign of Henry VIII. Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and therefore presumably inclined to the reformed worship; but it was not generally known that such was actually the case, or it is improbable that the Lords, who were for the most part Romanists, would so readily have acknowledged her claim to the throne. She had yielded an outward compliance to the observances of the older religion, but, after Wyatt's revolt, had been kept in close confinement—first in the palace at Whitehall, next in the Tower, afterwards at Woodstock, and ultimately at Hatfield House, in Hertfordshire. Her sister undoubtedly knew that she was a heretic; but most others were in the dark concerning her religion, and, when she journeyed from Hatfield to London, to take possession of the crown (which the House of Commons, as well as the Lords, determined to be hers beyond dispute), the English people were wholly uncertain as to what side she would take in the great question of those times.

The peace conferences which had been opened at the abbey of Cercamp were interrupted by the news of Mary's death. Philip could not immediately see his way with regard to a country whose actions he had but recently moulded to his interests. He conceived that he might place the

younger sister in the position of the elder, and, by marrying Elizabeth, retain his hold on England. His offers, however, were refused, and his course was materially affected by this decision. He had previously insisted on the restitution of Calais; he now forbore from making any such demand, and a treaty of peace between France and Spain was signed at Câteau-Cambrésis on the 3rd of April, 1559. On the previous day, a treaty had been concluded by France, England, and Scotland, according to which Elizabeth agreed to leave Calais in the hands of the French for a term of eight years, after which it was to be restored, or France was to forfeit the sum of 500,000 crowns. The national honour was saved by these pretences, especially as there was a reservation of the English claim to the French fortress; but it was easy to see that no demand for restitution would ever be made, and that Calais was lost to the English as much as Normandy or Aquitaine. The treaty between Henry and Philip was not very favourable to the former. The two monarchs mutually restored their conquests in Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Picardy, and Artois; but France was compelled to abandon Savoy and Piedmont (with the exception of Turin and four other fortresses), to evacuate Tuscany, Corsica, and Montferrat, and to give up one hundred and eighty-nine towns, or fortresses, in various parts of Europe. Henry, however, retained Toul, Metz, and Verdun; and these were very important acquisitions. Probably, still more would have been obtained, had not the Constable Montmorency (who had been taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quentin, but afterwards liberated on parole) been eager to effect a peace at almost any price, that he might devote himself to supplanting the House of Guise in the government of France. Henry himself was equally desirous of that result, and accordingly placed himself in the hands of Montmorency, as the person most likely to secure the downfall of the powerful brothers. Another motive, influencing both Henry and Philip, was the wish to unite their forces for the suppression of Protestantism; and a clause in the treaty of peace engaged the contracting monarchs to use their utmost endeavours to obtain a General Council for healing the dissensions of the Church.

In this movement against the reformed faith, Philip was doubtless the more active agent; but Henry had cause to fear the development of Protestantism in his own dominions. In many parts of France, the views of Calvin were finding acceptance, and several of the clergy, both of the higher and lower orders, were to be reckoned among the converts. To check the progress of the new

doctrines, attempts were made to introduce the Spanish and Roman Inquisition into France; but the Parliament of Paris refused its sanction, preferring to do the work of persecution itself. Many Protestants were sent to the flames, yet the reformed Church continued to spread, and to gather new adherents. The Parliament at length moderated its proceedings with respect to heresy, and after the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis the King peremptorily required that the Pope's Bull for the establishment of the Inquisition should be received. He arrested certain members who had spoken too boldly in his presence concerning the abuses of the Romish Church, and, with respect to one of these, declared that he would himself witness his death at the stake. The words were spoken too confidently. Henry little anticipated that his own decease was close at hand, and by a method perhaps as painful as that of fire, and certainly much more prolonged. The French sovereign, who was fond of martial exercises, gave a grand tournament in celebration of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the King of Spain. The mock combat took place on the 29th of June, 1559, when Henry, after having distinguished himself in several courses, resolved to tilt with Montgomery, Count de Lorges, the captain of his Scottish Guards. The lances of both combatants were shivered in the encounter, and the broken shaft of Montgomery's entered the King's eye, and penetrated to the brain. Henry languished eleven days in great suffering, and expired on the 10th of July, in the forty-first year of his age.

Francis II., who now succeeded to the throne, was a youth in his seventeenth year, sickly in constitution, feeble in intellect, and entirely under the influence of his wife, the Scottish Mary. The Guises, whose power had recently declined, became once more the chief persons in France; for Mary was their niece, and Francis was too young to govern on his own behalf. The principal offices of State were at once seized by those powerful nobles; Catherine de' Medici, the widow of the late King, was made the object of studied indignities; and the Constable Montmorency, seeing that his influence was eclipsed, left Paris for his country seat, where he temporarily withdrew from all share in the political contentions of the hour. Antony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, who, as first prince of the blood, had a claim to the Regency, but who lay under suspicion of heretical tendencies, was treated with insulting levity, and, being a person of little spirit, tamely endured the affronts which the Guises put upon him. The sentiments of that family were profoundly Ro-

manist, and their return to power was signalled by increased severity against the Protestants. It was about this time that the followers of the Reformation in France began to be distinguished by the name of Huguenots—a term of doubtful etymology, but possibly a corruption of the German word *Eidgenossen*, meaning confederates, or sworn companions. Even in Paris, these daring innovators existed in large numbers, especially in the Faubourg St. Germain. No little courage was required to withstand the bigotry and persecution to which they were subjected, not only by the authorities, but by the majority of the people. If any one neglected to salute the images of the Virgin, he ran the risk of being killed on the spot; and the Government, either dreading, or affecting to dread, the designs of the heretics, forbade them to carry arms, or even to wear such garments as might favour their concealment. The antagonism of the two religious bodies was rapidly drawing to a head, and it was not long before a terrible catastrophe ensued.

Antony, King of Navarre, might have stood forward as the leader of the Huguenots, and possibly have secured for himself a distinguished position, had he possessed the requisite firmness and ability. But these qualities he lacked, and his wife Jeanne was regarded as of much greater consequence than himself. Amongst the other Huguenots of high position were Antony's brother, the Prince of Condé; Admiral Coligny (who had distinguished himself as a commander, and had defended St. Quentin with heroic determination against the assaults of the Spaniards); and his brother d'Andelot. The actual head of the party was Condé, and, with his assent, the Huguenots demanded an assembly of the States General. This being refused, the reformers entered into a conspiracy, the object of which was to liberate the young King from the control of the Guises, and to effect the total overthrow of that ambitious family. At a meeting of the party, held at Nantes on the 1st of February, 1560, it was determined that an attempt should be made to seize the King's person, to arrest and imprison his principal advisers, to summon the States General, and to confer the Government on Antony of Navarre. The plot, however, was betrayed by one of the conspirators, and, as a measure of precaution, the King was removed to the castle of Amboise on the Loire. Thither the insurgents shortly afterwards proceeded, but were disarmed and captured. An attempt to take the town by assault was made by another detachment of the Huguenots; but the attack was repulsed, and the insurrection collapsed.

The vengeance taken by the Guises was unmeasured in its ferocity. For a whole month, the victims of remorseless power were tortured, hanged, beheaded, or drowned in the Loire. These atrocities were witnessed from day to day by Francis II., his brothers, and the ladies of the court, though the sight was so horrible that the Chancellor Olivier, who is believed to have been himself a Protestant, died of anguish at the spectacle. The Duke of Guise was again appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and his power, as before, was almost unbounded. Catherine de' Medici had by this time allied herself with the Guises; but she did so simply that she might the better watch her opportunity for obtaining undivided power.

If the Guises hoped to extinguish the Huguenots by their bloody persecutions, they were not long in discovering that the hope was vain. The followers of Calvin openly denounced the religious bigotry from which they suffered, and Catherine de' Medici, professing a politic desire for greater moderation, obtained the appointment of Michel de l'Hôpital to the Chancellorship. Some of the relations of this eminent man were Huguenots, and he himself was suspected of heretical leanings, though he seems rather to have been one of those liberal thinkers who desire to tolerate all honest opinions, and to reconcile difficulties on the broad grounds of a just and reasonable freedom. He was obliged to concede a good deal to the intolerance of the Guises; but he lost no opportunity of moderating what he could not altogether prevent. For a little while, however, the attention of the Lieutenant-General was diverted from the internal affairs of France by some unexpected events in Scotland. The sister of the Guises, the Queen Regent of that country, died on the 10th of June, 1560; a French fleet, with a large number of troops on board, was wrecked on its passage to the Northern kingdom; and the Protestant opponents of the French alliance, calling themselves "the Lords of the Congregation," were strong enough, with the assistance of Queen Elizabeth, to force the capitulation of the French in Leith. Shortly afterwards, a treaty was concluded, by which the French agreed to evacuate the whole of Scotland; and at the same time Francis II. and Mary Stuart renounced the arms and title of sovereigns of England, which they had assumed not long before, in consideration of Mary's descent from Henry VII., and of Elizabeth's alleged disqualification as a heretic. By these successes, the Scottish Protestants were enabled to establish the reformed faith throughout the realm, and thenceforward the French alliance lost the attraction it had

once possessed. Yet it was the French form of Protestantism, rather than the English, which prevailed north of the Tweed. John Knox was a disciple of Calvin, and it was the genius and character of Knox which moulded and kindled the religious life of Scotland. Some of his earlier years had been passed in England and on the Continent; and on his return, in 1559, he excited

following January, for the discussion of religious differences. But in the meanwhile it was discovered, through the agency of a traitor, that the Constable Montmorency and the Prince of Condé were plotting against the Guises, and Francis II. commanded the King of Navarre to bring his brother to Orleans, that the charges against him might be investigated. The French



CAPTURE OF CALAIS BY THE FRENCH UNDER THE DUKE OF GUISE.

the enthusiasm of his countrymen to the pitch of fanaticism.

When the Guises were quit of these events, they found themselves confronted by the prospects of civil commotion in France. The Protestants were arming, and the Prince of Condé was evidently well inclined to lead a religious war. An Assembly of Notables, which met at Fontainebleau on the 20th of August, 1560, and which the Protestant members attended under an escort of armed cavalry, did nothing further than bring out in still more vivid colours the irreconcilable dissensions which were dividing France into hostile camps. It was determined that the States General should meet at Orleans in October, and that a National Council should assemble at Paris in the

sovereign was then holding his court in that city; and when Condé arrived there, he was arrested, and thrown into prison. A commission was appointed to conduct his trial, but it was well known that his execution had been decreed beforehand. Ere this result could be reached, however, Francis became hopelessly ill. The Guises, fearing that his death might prove an obstacle to their plans, pressed upon the Queen-Mother the immediate assassination of both the Bourbon princes; but Catherine rejected the proposal, and, sending for the King of Navarre, required him to renounce all claim to the Regency. On those terms she promised him the second place in the Government, and at the same time gave him to understand that his life depended on his compliance. Antony

accepted the conditions ; and on the 5th of December, 1560, Francis expired from the effects of an abscess in the head. He was not quite eighteen years of age, and his reign, which had lasted scarcely a year and a half, is the shortest in French history.

France was not the only Roman Catholic country in which Protestantism for a time made progress. Even in Spain, the most bigoted of orthodox lands,

life, showed great zeal in purging the Church from those disgraceful associations against which the better order of Catholics protested no less strongly than the reformers. Dismissing his immoral relatives from their posts about the Vatican, Paul abolished some of the worst abuses of the Papal State. His acts were characterised by a species of puritanism, so far as strictness and religious fervour were concerned ; but at the same



THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

the principles of Luther found a place, owing, doubtless, to the connection of that kingdom with Germany under the common sceptre of Charles V. The Bishop of Seville, then acting as Chief Inquisitor, took alarm at the fact, and, in May, 1559, several Spanish Protestants were burned at the stake. The condition of his realm in this respect hastened the return of Philip II. from the Netherlands, which he quitted towards the end of August. His arrival in Spain enhanced the persecution which had already begun, and the movement towards Lutheranism was soon entirely suppressed. The efforts of the Spanish Inquisition had been powerfully assisted by the Roman Pontiff, Paul IV., who nevertheless, in the last year of his

time he adopted stern measures against every species of heresy. He died on the 18th of August, 1559, at the age of eighty-three ; and even before he had breathed his last, the Roman populace delivered the prisoners from the dungeons of the Inquisition, set the building on fire, and, breaking up the statue of the Pope, cast the head into the Tiber, with cries of execration. His successor was Gian Angelo Medicino, whose Pontifical appellation was Pius IV. He was a good-humoured, cheerful old man, who, having been made a Cardinal through the influence of his brother, and having until that time been not a priest, but a lawyer, was entirely ignorant of theological questions, and even professed to take no interest

in them. Nevertheless, he was rigorous in the suppression of the crimes and excesses which had moved the tardy anger of Paul IV. In political matters he inclined to the House of Austria, and, renouncing the sullen abstention of his predecessor, recognised the title of Ferdinand to the Empire.

A little before the death of Francis II., the Duke of Guise, in combination with his brothers, elaborated a scheme against the Protestants, in which he conceived that the King of Spain, the new Pope, and the Italian princes, could materially aid him. The National Council for the discussion of religious affairs was to be abandoned in favour of a re-assembling of the Council of Trent. When the States General met at Orleans, a confession of faith was to be handed to the deputies; and all laymen who refused to sign it were to be sent at once to the stake, while the ecclesiastics were to be punished by the order to which they belonged. The Protestants were to be exterminated in every part of the kingdom. French, Italian, and Savoyard troops were to slaughter the Vaudois and attack Geneva; while the Spaniards were to operate simultaneously against the people of Bearn, subjects of the Bourbon branch of the French royal family. The wickedness of this plot was equalled by its vastness; but the Guises failed in obtaining all the assistance they required. Philip II. was well inclined to any movement having for its object the destruction of Protestantism; but the state both of his army and his finances was such that he was compelled to decline any active assistance. Pius IV. was not sufficient of a bigot to make such a project agreeable to his disposition; and the Duke of Savoy was the only prince who furnished troops in aid of the Guises' detestable plan. His attack on the Vaudois, however, was defeated by the spirit and firmness of the peasants, and, in June, 1561, Emmanuel Philibert granted them a peace, in which he recognised their religious liberties.

After the death of Francis II., Condé was set free, but required to reside in one of his brother's palaces in Picardy. The Constable Montmorency resumed his former position as head of the army, and Catherine de' Medici, in the minority of her son, the young King Charles IX., began to wield, as Regent, the power she had long coveted. Antony of Navarre, according to the promise of Catherine, held the second place, as Lieutenant-General; the Chancellor de l'Hôpital became the chief adviser of the Regent; and the Guises were conciliated by being allowed to retain their places in the Council. With the help of the States General, some admirable reforms were instituted,

both in Church and State; all further persecutions for religion's sake were forbidden; and the Protestants were released from gaol, or recalled from banishment. These wise and liberal measures, contained in the Edict of Orleans, were due to the noble disposition of l'Hôpital; but they received the sanction of Catherine, who, for the present at any rate, desired to effect a balance of parties. Unfortunately, neither side was won over to the side of forbearance and moderation. The Romanists decried what they regarded as an official recognition of impiety; and the Huguenots, yielding to the spirit of intolerance which they condemned when applied to themselves, committed many outrages on Catholic places of worship. Montmorency, though the uncle of Coligny, allied himself with the Guises and the other adherents of the orthodox creed. Furious contentions between the rival theologians broke out even in the streets of Paris, and blood was freely shed. The States General, on again meeting, demanded complete toleration, and the opinion of the people showed itself decidedly in favour of spiritual liberty. A religious conference was opened at Poissy on the 9th of September, 1561, when the Protestants were represented, amongst others, by the accomplished Theodore Beza, and the learned Peter Martyr Vermiglio—the latter an Italian. An Assembly of Notables, meeting at St. Germain in January, 1562, issued an Edict of Toleration, by which the Huguenots were allowed to hold meetings for religious worship outside the walls of towns, on condition, however, that they abstained from preaching against the dominant faith, and left the established clergy in possession of their churches, tithes, and other endowments. The Parliament of Paris long refused to register this decree, but was at length compelled to do so, through dread of a revolution.

It was evident, notwithstanding these concessions, that a civil war would presently break out. Both parties had been too much embittered by recent contentions to settle down peaceably side by side. The Huguenots had discovered their strength, and knew that a considerable proportion of the French people accepted their tenets. The Catholics feared that their enemies, if they got the upper hand, would pay little regard to their feelings, or even to their rights. For this apprehension they could allege some cogent reasons. Adopting one of the worst characteristics of the Romanists, the French Protestants had shown on several occasions that the spirit of religious hatred was not absent from their hearts; and where this sentiment is encountered by a similar disposition on the other

side, and both sets of disputants can bring large forces into the field, a collision is almost inevitable. Such was the unhappy state of France under Charles IX. Foreseeing what would ensue, the Guises retired into Lorraine, where they secretly collected troops, and endeavoured to make friends of the Lutheran princes in Germany, so as not to be exposed to their antagonism when the hour of conflict arrived. After a brief stay in their paternal province, they returned to France, and, on the 1st of March, 1562, excited a furious commotion at Vassy, in Champagne, by endeavouring to stop a religious service of the Protestants. Sixty persons were killed in the encounter, and two hundred seriously wounded. The apprehended civil war broke out soon afterwards, and Condé, accompanied by Coligny and his brother d'Andelot, occupied Orleans at the head of 5,000 men.

In this contest, the Catholics were supported by Philip of Spain, and the Huguenots by Elizabeth of England, each of whom sent 6,000 troops to the assistance of the favoured party. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, King Antony of Navarre had been persuaded to forsake the Protestant for the orthodox cause; but in October, 1562, he was mortally wounded by a musket-shot while attempting to take Rouen by assault. The ultimate capture of that city entailed the loss of nearly all Normandy; yet the reformers were not discouraged, and endeavoured, though ineffectually, to capture Paris. On the 19th of December, a furious battle was fought near Dreux between the royal army and the insurgents. Vast numbers were slain; and, while Montmorency was captured by the Protestants, Condé fell into the hands of the Catholics. After many vicissitudes, victory declared in favour of the latter, and the year closed darkly for the Huguenots. The Duke of Guise was made commander-in-chief of the royal forces, and began the siege of Orleans in February, 1563. On the evening before the general assault, he was assassinated near his outposts by a Huguenot fanatic, who fired at him with poisoned balls. He expired on the 24th of February, six days later, and on his deathbed sent a message to the Queen Regent, advising her to make peace without delay, and describing as an enemy to the King and State any man who should endeavour to prevent it. With respect to the massacre at Vassy, he protested that he had neither premeditated nor ordered the attack on the Protestants; but, just before the blow by which he fell, he had written to Catherine that, as soon as Orleans was taken, he would destroy every living thing within the walls, and sow the foundations of the city with

salt. The assassin, Jean Poltrot de Méré, was executed in Paris, with every refinement of prolonged and diabolical torture. Before his death, he stated that he had been bribed by Coligny to kill the Duke; but the Admiral denied it, though somewhat ambiguously, and the charge is at least doubtful.

Catherine de' Medici, who had always hated the Duke of Guise, because his ambition came in conflict with her own, declared that his death relieved her of a great burden, and at once proceeded to effect a pacification. By the Edict of Amboise, published on the 19th of March, 1563, the Protestants were again permitted freedom of worship, though with certain restrictions; and King Charles IX., shortly after completing his thirteenth year, on the 27th of June, was declared to have attained his majority. There can be no doubt, however, that Catherine still remained the directing spirit in the Government, and that subsequent events were chiefly determined by her. It is very difficult to ascertain what were the real motives that influenced the wayward policy of the Queen-Mother. Her liberality to the Huguenots might be attributed to a broad and generous sentiment, were not such an explanation contradicted by her later actions. Probably she befriended the reformers simply as a balance to the power of the Guises, especially after the conversion of the King of Navarre, and his consequent association with the Lorraine princes. A change in her conduct certainly ensued (though not immediately) after the death of the great Minister; and it appears to have been suggested or confirmed by the Duke of Alva, acting in concert with Queen Elizabeth of Spain, the wife of Philip, and the daughter of Catherine. The greater part of 1564 was occupied by a progress through France, made by Catherine and her youthful son. A meeting with Elizabeth at Bayonne was arranged and carried out with no little secrecy. The Spanish Queen was accompanied by Alva, who had several nocturnal conferences with the Queen-Mother of France, when the Duke did his utmost to move Catherine from her temporising policy, and held up for her imitation the uncompromising methods of his royal master. He spoke to a willing listener, and his arguments bore deadly fruit.

Before the close of the year, an edict was published, revoking some of the advantages conceded to the Huguenots in 1563. The King, moreover, offended the Prince of Condé by refusing to fulfil a promise that he should be made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom in place of his late brother, the King of Navarre; and rumours began to spread

among the Protestants that serious mischief was intended to all who openly professed their views. A large army had been raised by the court party, nominally to guard the frontier from any violation which might proceed from the revolt of the Netherlanders against Spain; and it was thought by the Protestant leaders that this force would in reality be directed against themselves. Condé and Coligny accordingly attempted, in 1567, to carry off Charles IX. and the whole of the royal family, so as to effect a change of Government in their own interests. The scheme, however, broke down, and the Huguenots, feeling that their situation was desperate, marched on Paris, and encamped at St. Denis. Here they were attacked by the Constable Montmorency on the 10th of November, but without any decisive result, except the death of that veteran commander. Peace was made in 1568, but broken soon after, and the King then issued a decree, declaring that he would suffer only one religion to exist in France, and ordering all Protestant ministers to leave the kingdom. War broke out again in 1569, when the rear-guard of Coligny's army was surprised at Jarnac, on the Charente, and defeated by the forces of the Duke of Anjou, Charles's brother, on the 13th of March. The Prince of Condé was killed on this occasion, after hurrying up with his cavalry to the succour of the Admiral; but, although Coligny was completely worsted, he retired in good order, and saved the remnant of his troops.

The loss of Condé was a serious blow to the Protestants; but Jeanne d'Albret, the widow of King Antony, revived their spirits by her courage and self-reliance. Presenting herself before the Huguenot army, with her son Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., and the Prince of Condé, son of the late commander, she bade the champions of religious freedom recognise in those two youths the future leaders of their cause. Henry of Navarre was at once appointed to the chief military position; but, as he was not much more than fifteen, the actual command remained in the hands of Coligny. The battle of Moncontour followed on the 3rd of October, when the Huguenots once more sustained a disastrous defeat. In the campaign of 1570, however, they repaired their misfortunes, and secured so many advantages that Catherine expressed a willingness to negotiate. A treaty was signed at St. Germain on the 8th of August, when very favourable terms were granted to the reformers, and, as a guarantee of their fulfilment, the cities of La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban, and La Charité, were placed in the hands of the Huguenots, to be garrisoned by their troops

during the next two years. At the same time, Charles IX. exhibited a strange, and even inexplicable, friendliness towards the Protestants, whom he appeared desirous of supporting, not merely in his own kingdom, but in every part of Europe. The excesses of the Catholics were severely punished, and in the spring of 1571 a general synod of the Reformed Church was held, by the King's permission, at La Rochelle, the city where, more than in any other, the party of the Huguenots was predominant. Negotiations were opened for the marriage of the King's sister, the Princess Marguerite, to Prince Henry of Navarre. Admiral Coligny went to Blois on the invitation of Charles, and was received, both by him and his mother, with every assurance of kindness and affection. The Queen of Navarre followed him a few months later, and Charles talked of sending an expedition to the Netherlands, to support the Protestants of that country against the tyranny of Spain. All these projects were extremely distasteful to the Guises, and the Catholics generally were enraged at the favour so unaccountably shown their adversaries. The Queen of Navarre died suddenly on the 9th of July, 1572, and many believed that she had been poisoned. Several of the Huguenots escaped from Paris under a vague feeling of apprehension; but Coligny remained, and, under his direction, an expedition to the Netherlands was fitted out and despatched. Its issue was unfortunate, and the Queen-Mother strongly desired that the enterprise should be abandoned. Charles, however, threw himself entirely into the plans of Coligny, and Catherine then plotted the destruction of the Protestant hero, as the only means of restoring her own power. In this scheme she was assisted by her son, the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III.; by the Guise family; and by some other persons of importance in the State. Coligny was to be assassinated, in the hope that the Huguenots would in that case be provoked into a hasty insurrection, which would offer an excuse for their complete extermination.

The marriage of Henry of Navarre with the Princess Marguerite was celebrated on Monday, the 18th of August, 1572, on a platform in front of Notre Dame—an arrangement which was adopted in order to spare the religious feelings of Coligny and the other Protestants, which would not suffer them to enter a church where mass was celebrated. On Friday, the 22nd, Coligny attended a Council at the Louvre, and afterwards, when walking home, was fired at from the upper window of a house occupied by a dependent of the

Duke of Guise. He was wounded in the hand and arm, though not dangerously, and sent to inform the King of the occurrence. Charles was playing tennis with the Duke of Guise when the news reached him. He expressed great concern at what had happened, and vowed to take vengeance on all connected with the outrage; but Catherine and her accomplices worked so powerfully on his weak and yielding mind, that, in a transport of fear and passion, he declared that not a single Huguenot in his dominions should long survive the Admiral, if indeed he must fall. The atrocious Massacre of St. Bartholomew commenced in the early hours of Sunday, August 24th—a day dedicated to the worship of the saint whose name has been profaned by a stupendous crime. The great bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois rang out at two o'clock in the morning. Those who were not in the horrible secret must have wondered at that untimely sound: not so the numerous agents in the tragedy, who were waiting for the signal in many parts of the city. Lights flashed in the windows, and the assassins, each distinguished by a white cross in his hat, sallied forth upon their bloody errand. Coligny was slain in his bedroom by a German, acting under the immediate directions of the Duke of Guise, and the body was flung from the window into the street. A general massacre then set in, and continued through the whole of the ensuing day, and some following days. The houses inhabited by the Huguenots had been previously marked, and the slaughter, both in private chambers and in the public streets, was terrific. The Queen-Mother and her attendants looked on from the windows of the Louvre; and the miserable young King, in a frenzy of terror and demoniacal excitement, discharged his arquebuse again and again into the struggling crowds of fugitives. The same atrocities were committed in all the great provincial cities, and it is not improbable that the total number of victims amounted to 40,000.

Whatever obscurity may rest around the details of this appalling crime, the deliberate guilt of Catherine de' Medici is open to no reasonable doubt. With respect to Charles, there may be some question. On the one hand, there are facts which seem to show that the King acted from the first in co-operation with his mother, and in pursuance of a deeply-laid plot for getting the principal Huguenots into Paris, putting them off their guard by false professions of friendship, and at the right moment devoting all to the slaughter. On the other hand, one is confronted by circumstances pointing to the conclusion that Charles was really attached to Coligny, and sincerely desirous of befriending the Huguenots. Yet he authorised the massacre, and afterwards justified it before the Parliament of Paris. The fact appears to be that he was a young man of overwrought nervous temperament, liable at times to fits of restless agitation bordering on madness, and that he was lashed into one of these uncontrollable moods by artful and reiterated appeals to his jealousy and his fears.* Taken at the worst, his responsibility, considering his youth, and the insane tendencies of a weak mind, was inferior to that of his mother. He never recovered the shock to his system caused by those terrible days; and the wickedness in which he shared had not even the poor apology of success. The reigning Pope (Gregory XIII.) caused the guns of St. Angelo to fire a salute when he heard the news of the massacre, sent the French King the golden rose, and publicly returned thanks to heaven for the extinction of heresy in France, which he commemorated by a medal. But the Huguenots were not extinguished. They raised their heads again, and struck hard blows for freedom, and perhaps for vengeance.

* The whole of this painful and difficult question is closely examined and impartially summed up in the late Dr. White's "Massacre of St. Bartholomew" (1868)—a valuable historic study.



QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER XVI.

WARS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND THE MOSLEM.

The Emperor Ferdinand I., and his Relations to the Roman See—His Son Maximilian made King of Bohemia—Peace with Turkey—Efforts to establish an Agreement between the Romanists and Protestants—Violent Dissensions among the Latter—Succession of Maximilian II. to the Empire—His Just and Tolerant Rule—Reign of Philip II. in Spain—Melancholy Story of Don Carlos—Persecution of the Moriscos—Methods by which those People evaded Compliance with Christianity—Severe Measures against them—Insurrection among the Moors of the Alpuxarras—Turkish Power in the Mediterranean—Unsuccessful Attack by Solymán the Magnificent on Malta—Turkish Expedition to Hungary, and Death of the Sultan before Sigeth—Character and General Policy of Solymán—Close of the War under Selim II.—Attack by the Turks on Cyprus, and Capture of Nicosia and Famagosta—Alliance of Christian Powers against the Ottomans—The Battle of Lepanto—Recovery of the Turkish Power at Sea—Agreement between Venice and the Porte—Weak and Sensual Character of Selim II.—Causes of the Turkish Greatness, and of its subsequent Decline—Conquests during the Reign of Selim—Russian History in the Sixteenth Century—Reign of Vasilii Ivanovitch—Insane Tyranny of Ivan the Terrible—Progress of Civilisation in Russia—Intercourse between the Russians and the English in the Time of the Tudors—Invasions of Russia by the Crim Tartars and the Poles—Enlightened Policy of Ivan in his Earlier Years—Intercourse of Russia with England—Reign of Feodor I.—Intrigues of Boris Godunof—Institution of Serfdom—Succession of Boris to the Throne on the Death of Feodor—Poland in the Sixteenth Century.

TURNING from the scenes of massacre with which the history of France at this period makes us revoltingly familiar, we find the German Emperor, Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., adopting a tone of independence towards the Apostolic See which must have added yet another to numerous proofs that the Popes were no longer the absolute dictators they had been. On being elected to the

Imperial dignity, in 1558, he signed a document defining the boundaries of his authority, and making concessions to the Lutherans. It was resolved by the electors—the Roman Catholic as well as the Protestant—that in future no Emperor should receive the crown from the hands of the Pope, and that a mere complimentary epistle should be substituted for the form in which the Emperor Elect



QUEEN ELIZABETH RECEIVING THE FRENCH AMBASSADORS AFTER THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.
(From the Painting by W. F. Yeames, R.A., in the possession of Octavius Coopers, Esq., M.P.)

had been accustomed to profess obedience to the Pontiff. In accordance with this determination, Ferdinand's eldest son, Maximilian, when chosen King of the Romans in 1562, refused to act in accordance with precedent, and simply assured Pius IV. of his reverence and devotion. The temporal dependence of the Empire on the Papal See, which had led to so much dissension in previous ages, was thus finally extinguished. It had long been impatiently borne; yet deliverance could hardly have been achieved, but for the greater freedom of the human mind secured by the Reformation.

The same year (1562) was signalised by the crowning of Maximilian as successor to his father in the kingdom of Bohemia, and by the conclusion of a truce for eight years with the Turkish Sultan, Solyman the Magnificent. Hungary had for several years been devastated by the wars of Ferdinand with John Zapolya and his successors, in which the Ottoman ruler had assisted the latter. By the truce of 1562, Solyman engaged not to support Zapolya's son, John Sigismund, in any further hostilities; but, in exchange for this favour, Ferdinand was obliged to make himself liable for a yearly payment of 30,000 Hungarian ducats. Sigismund was allowed to retain possession of Transylvania and other territories; but he frequently entered the dominions of Ferdinand, and did considerable damage. The Emperor's thoughts, however, were now principally engrossed by the affairs of Germany, where he had to conciliate at once the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Personally, he was well inclined to the orthodox communion, and had so good an opinion of the Jesuits that, in 1556, he founded for them a college at Vienna. But, whether from considerations of policy, or from some more liberal motive, he appears to have been sincerely desirous of maintaining an equitable balance between the opposing religions. He wished to see the Protestants represented at the Council of Trent, to which, however, they would not agree, unless on terms which the other side was certain to reject; and he endeavoured to obtain from the Pope some concessions with respect to Protestant claims, which Pius IV. refused to grant. It must be admitted that, in these matters, the spirit of uncompromising self-assertion was not confined to the Papistical camp. The reformers (now beginning to quarrel among themselves) were little inclined to moderation.

The death of Ferdinand I. occurred on the 25th of July, 1564. During his reign, the cause of the German Protestants had made decided progress in some respects; for the body was now sufficiently

strong to extort recognition from unwilling princes. The Lutheran rulers of Northern Germany had, by the fortunate issue of the religious wars, and especially by the adroit management and military successes of Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, become almost independent of the Empire. Even in the territories more absolutely subject to Ferdinand, the reformers were treated with some consideration, and, by judicious conduct on their own part, might have secured immense advantages. But the opinions of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin divided them into so many hostile sects, and a good deal of strength was wasted in fierce and barren disputes. Calvinism made its way into Germany, and some persons of importance were converted to that form of Protestantism. The Elector Palatine, Frederick III., forcibly introduced the creed of Geneva into his dominions, and its essential doctrines were ultimately embodied in a most intolerant document called the Heidelberg Catechism, which was enforced on reluctant minds by penal laws of great severity. Many were driven into foreign parts; some were executed; and terror forced several to conceal their views. Lutheranism was restored by the Elector's son, Louis, when banishment became the portion of the Calvinists; but after his death, in 1583, the Genevan theology was again established. Fortunately for the Protestants of the Empire, Maximilian II., who succeeded Ferdinand on his death, acted in a broad and liberal spirit towards all religious communities, and, while professing Catholicism as a matter of policy, was well known to be at heart a Lutheran. This was the more remarkable, as he had been educated in Spain, together with his cousin Philip. It was one of the accusations brought by the Catholics of France against Charles IX., a little before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, that he had espoused the daughter of Maximilian. This alone would be a sufficient testimony to the heretical leanings of the Emperor; but in truth he did much to deserve the credit of being reviled by bigots of all parties. He established a veritable religious peace during the twelve years of his reign, and, in 1566-7, proved the strength and justice of his secular rule by crushing the insubordination of a Franconian knight, who had defied the authority of the Imperial Chamber, ravaged a large extent of country, and obtained the assistance of John Frederick II. of Saxe-Gotha, son of the Elector of Saxony, who was deprived of his dominions by Charles V. Germany has had no better sovereign than this Apostle of Toleration.

In painful contrast with the wisdom and moral

goodness of Maximilian II. was the saturnine bigotry of his cousin, Philip of Spain. One of the most unhappy incidents in the life of the latter monarch was the treatment of his son Don Carlos, who appears to have been demented, but who, according to a rumour current at the time, was put to death by his father, in pursuance of a sentence pronounced by the Inquisition. This unfortunate young man was the son of Philip's first wife, Mary of Portugal, and it is said that a guilty passion existed between him and his father's third wife, Elizabeth of France. Supposing this to have been the fact, it would seem that the prince's death (which occurred in July, 1568) was attributable to the father's jealousy. More probable, however, is the supposition that Don Carlos had exhibited some leanings towards Protestantism, and that Philip consented to his death, either by poison, or by systematic neglect after his arrest as a dangerous lunatic, that the Catholic religion might be protected from the danger which seemed to threaten it in the person of the heir-apparent. But, whatever doubt may exist on this head, there can be none whatever as to the violence with which Philip repressed every form of religious dissent, nor as to the cruelty with which he treated the Moriscoes. Severe ordinances were issued against those people in 1564 and the following year, and still worse was reserved for them in the immediate future. The Moors are acknowledged, even by Spanish writers, to have exhibited some of the best qualities of a capable and industrious race. They excelled in agriculture, introduced into the western peninsula the mulberry-tree, the sugar-cane, rice, and cotton, encouraged the breed of horses, and practised the manufacture of silk, paper, and gunpowder. This was in the days of their predominance; but even after their subjection by Ferdinand and Isabella, they showed in many respects a marked superiority to their conquerors. Had they been treated with liberality, a generation or two might have converted them into faithful subjects; but the injudicious attempts to effect a violent change in their religion, and to abolish all their national customs, had the natural effect of exasperating their minds, and preventing the creation of a loyal sentiment.

The Spanish writer Fonseca, in his work on the expulsion of the Moriscoes, gives a singular account of the way in which these persecuted mountaineers evaded any real compliance with the religion which they were forced to adopt in terms. He states, that when conducted to church by the alguazil, and compelled to take the holy water, they treated it with every expression of contempt; that when the

Host was lifted up, they would make a sign of defiance and indignity under their cloaks; that they neither left legacies in their wills, nor gave money personally, to procure masses for the souls of their departed friends, unless when obliged to do so, when they would go to the priest with half a real to purchase half a mass; that when dragged to the confessionals, they would not acknowledge themselves guilty either of mortal or of venial sins; that out of twenty children born to them they carried only one to the baptismal font, and baptised it twenty times, under twenty different names; that they would even lend a child thus baptised from one village to another; and that in various ways they insulted the images of the saints which they were compelled to receive into their houses. These facts doubtless came to the knowledge of the Spanish Inquisition, and it is not difficult to understand the indignation they excited. The original fault, however, consisted in the attempt to force the dominant religion on a people disinclined to receive it; and this fault soon bore its natural fruit in a series of dreadful oppressions.

By a statute of November 17th, 1566, the Moriscoes were forbidden, on pain of death, to retain their ancient customs, to speak their mother-tongue, or to indulge in their national music, their dances, and their baths. Their doors were to be left unfastened; their wives were to discontinue wearing the veil; and their Moorish names were to be exchanged for Castilian. This measure was imposed upon Philip by the priests; but it was of so extravagant a character that the King himself, fanatic though he was, hesitated to adopt it. His scruples, however, were soon overcome, and the Moriscoes, having vainly petitioned against such injustice, flew to arms as a last resource. This was the third uprising of the oppressed Moslems since their subjection. The revolt burst out in the spring of 1568, when the Moorish population of the Alpuxarras elected for their leader a descendant of the Cordovan Caliphs, to whom they gave the title of King of Granada and Andalusia. The war lasted two years, and before its conclusion the Moorish sovereign, who seems to have been wholly unfit for his office, was murdered in his sleep. Another was appointed in his place, but soon afterwards shared the same fate; and the struggle then languished. The Spanish forces were commanded by Don John of Austria, a natural son of Charles V., of whom we shall hear more as we proceed. John was a gallant and able soldier, young, handsome, and remarkably fascinating in his manners; but, in this

war of races and religions, he acted with a systematic cruelty worthy of his half-brother. Many of the insurgents were slain in cold blood; towns and villages were destroyed; and in 1571 the struggle ended in the complete submission of the Moors. Several of the vanquished Mohammedans escaped to Fez and Algiers; others were transported into distant provinces of Spain; and the rigour of persecution was triumphantly resumed.

If we would see the Mohammedan religion in a position of prosperity and strength, we must direct our glance to the other side of Europe, where Turkey was yet under the rule of Solyman the Magnificent; though even in that quarter the predominance of the Moslems was not so unchecked as it had been in earlier years. The fleets of the Sultan, and of the Algerine corsair Draghut, still swept the Mediterranean; but the Christian Powers were occasionally successful, and it became necessary to undertake operations against the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, stationed at Malta, who had proved troublesome enemies at sea, in combination with the naval forces of the Pope, the Genoese, and the Florentines. Solyman, indeed, perceived that he must make some vigorous demonstration, if the Crescent was not to pale before the Cross. The Spaniards were gaining considerable advantages on the northern coast of Africa, and in Malta the Knights of St. John held an important position, which they had powerfully fortified, and from which their navy sallied forth against the Turkish and Algerian fleets. It was therefore determined to attack the island, in the hope of destroying the last refuge of the Knights. The Turkish armament appeared off Malta on the 18th of May, 1565, and was presently reinforced by Draghut, who arrived from Tripoli with additional galleys. The Ottoman forces were vastly greater than those of the Christians; yet the defence was conducted with such obstinate valour that, although the castle of St. Elmo, commanding the entrance to the harbour, was captured, after having been reduced to a mass of ruins, the assailants were unable to take the other positions, and the Turkish fleet returned to Constantinople in September. This magnificent defence, which excited the admiration of all Europe, was conducted by the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers, Jean Parisot de la Valette, who subsequently gave a new capital to the island, which was called after him Valetta. Draghut was killed during the siege, and the last months of the Sultan were embittered by a reverse which humbled his pride of arms more than any he had previously sustained. In 1566, however, the seizure of Chios

by his Admiral, Piali, made some amends for the recent disappointment. The Sultan had long been in declining health, and an expedition into Hungary, which he conducted in that year, was attended by a fatal result.

In support of his vassal, John Sigismund, who had been frequently worsted by Maximilian II., Solyman marched an army into the disputed territory, and, on the 29th of June, 1566, received Sigismund with royal honours at Semlin. He had come, he said, to support his cause against the House of Austria; and in the prosecution of this design he proposed to ascend the channel of the Danube. His progress, however, was stopped at the little town of Sigeth, which was held by its feudal lord, Count Zriny. This nobleman had conducted a sortie, in which he not merely defeated, but killed, one of the Sultan's Pashas; and Solyman determined to revenge himself by capturing the place. With an army of 100,000 men, and a park of three hundred guns, he sat down before the walls of this insignificant town; but the Turks, though excellent soldiers in the field, are remarkably unskilful in the conduct of sieges. Sigeth was indeed taken, but at a cost of 20,000 men, and not until after a delay of nearly five weeks. Owing to the neighbourhood of large marshes, the air was unwholesome, and the Sultan died from its effects on the 4th of September. In the latter years of his life, Solyman had been led, by the evil influence of a Russian favourite, named Roxolana, into acts of tyranny and injustice, including the strangulation of his eldest son, Mustapha, on a false accusation of intriguing with the Persian Shah; but these crimes, which were punished by a subsequent dejection of spirits, frequently leading to entire loss of consciousness, were at variance with the Sultan's character in his earlier and better days. Solyman had many sterling, and some noble, qualities. He was a legislator and reformer, as well as a soldier. The finances of his realm, and the administration of justice, were established by him on bases which remained for many generations the settled constitution of the Ottoman Empire. The excessive power of the Janizaries was balanced by the creation of another body, called the Bostangis, who were ostensibly gardeners, but in reality soldiers in disguise, appointed to watch over the safety of the monarch. Often generous in his treatment of vanquished enemies, Solyman exhibited that scrupulous adherence to his word which is one of the best characteristics of the Turkish race. The magnificence of Constantinople was advanced by his liberality and taste, while the construction of

roads and bridges facilitated internal communication. Literature, and especially poetry, possessed an attraction for the grave and meditative nature of the Sultan; and in the depression of his failing years he himself composed many hymns, which gave expression to his sense of the Divine power and supremacy. His reign had lasted forty-six years, and with his successor began that period of decline in the fortunes of the Ottoman Empire which has continued ever since.

The war in Hungary was for a short time continued by Selim II., Solyman's son by Roxolana. Selim, however, was a very different man from his father and grandfather. Sensual and weak, he was regarded by the Janizaries with distrust and contempt, and the forces of Maximilian gained so many advantages over his army that, in May, 1567, a truce of eight years, as on a previous occasion, brought the war to a close. By this agreement, the Emperor acquired a large territory, extending from Transylvania to beyond the Theiss. Other portions of Hungary remained in the possession of John Sigismund; but the vassal of the Sultan was left in a considerably worse position than when the war began. The attention of the new Sultan was turned in other directions, and in 1570 he attacked the island of Cyprus, then in possession of the Venetians. The only cities defended by the Christians were Nicosia and Famagosta. When the first was taken, on the 9th of September, 1570, a large number of the inhabitants were massacred; but it is not improbable that this barbarity strengthened the determination of the Famagostans to resist to the utmost. The city was defended with extraordinary valour and perseverance by the Venetian commander, Marc Antonio Bragadino. The place, however, surrendered on the 1st of August, 1571, when Mustapha Pacha, the general of the Turkish forces, ordered Bragadino to be flayed alive. The power of Venice in that beautiful and historic island had now virtually ceased; and at the same time the possessions of the Republic on the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia suffered damage and insult from the action of the Turkish fleet.

The Christian States were so much alarmed by these events that Pius V. of Rome, Philip II. of Spain, the Venetian Republic, and a few smaller Powers, united for their common safety. The Holy League, as this alliance was called, took shape in the course of 1571, and before the end of September a powerful fleet had assembled in the Mediterranean under the general command of Don John of Austria. A very brilliant and memorable success awaited the Christian warriors. After the

suppression of some disgraceful feuds, proceeding from international jealousy, the allied vessels sailed for Lepanto, where the Turkish fleet, consisting of more than three hundred sail, under the Capitan Pasha, was drawn up in a position of security. The Gulf of Lepanto is situated near Corinth, and is surrounded by land except towards the west, where it is approached from the Ionian Sea through a narrow channel. The Turkish ships lay within the harbour, and it was debated whether that place of safety should be abandoned, that battle might be offered to the allies. It was finally determined to risk all on a general engagement; and the Turkish fleet then stood out of the Gulf, and steered for the island of Echinates, half-way between Lepanto and Patras. The Christian vessels simultaneously moved up from the west, and the fleets came in sight of one another on the afternoon of the 7th of October. The battle was fiercely contested, and prolonged through several hours. The Turkish ships were boarded again and again, and the Christians were as often driven back with fearful loss. The combatants fought with spears and swords, with cannon and muskets, with arrows and fireballs. Ali Pasha, the Turkish commander, came into personal conflict with Don John, but was at length struck down and slain. His head was cut off, and held up on the point of a spear; at the same time, the banner of the Cross was run up to the mainmast of the Pasha's galley; a shout of "Victory! Victory!" ran along the Christian line; and the Turkish fleet dispersed in dismay, pursued by the galleys of Candia, which captured numerous vessels. On the left wing of the Ottoman squadrons, the advantage had been with the Turks; but the entire discomfiture of the centre and right wing necessitated a general retreat. The losses on both sides were terrible, and among the wounded in the Christian fleet was a man destined in later years to achieve one of the greatest reputations in the literature of the world—Miguel de Cervantes, the author of "Don Quixote."

The battle of Lepanto is reckoned among the most brilliant naval combats of modern times, and the results of the victory should have been greater than they were. Selim was so astonished and afflicted by the intelligence that for three days he neither ate nor drank, nor suffered any one to approach him; but on the fourth day he was reassured by accidentally opening the Koran at a passage which seemed to promise that the success of the Christians would not be repeated. The allies quarrelled over the division of the spoils, and, instead of attacking the Morea and

other parts of Greece, where they would doubtless have found a population ready to assist them in expelling the Turks, broke up their forces, and returned to their several States. The Ottomans, exhibiting the energy which had not yet begun to desert them, reinforced their fleet with such

could compensate for the loss of Cyprus. The Turks were resolved that this should be fully understood by their late antagonists; and when the Venetian Ambassador presented himself before the Grand Vizier at Constantinople, that official observed, in reply to some observations hinting at



TOMB OF SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT AND ROXOLANE, CONSTANTINOPLE.

celerity that in less than a year they had two hundred and fifty vessels in the Greek waters. Philip of Spain had never joined heartily in the enterprise, dreading lest the power of Venice should be again established by any long continuance of naval triumphs; and the Republic, fearful of being left alone in face of the enemy, opened negotiations for a peace, which was concluded on the 7th of March, 1573. Venice surrendered Cyprus to the Turks, and consented to pay a double tribute for Zante. Her commercial privileges in the Levant were respected; but nothing

the victory of Lepanto, "Learn that the loss of a fleet to my master, the Sultan, is as the beard of a man, which grows the thicker for the shaving; but the loss of Cyprus to Venice is as an arm cut off from the body, which no art can replace." The greatness of the Maritime Republic had fallen indeed when its representative could be thus addressed, and that with no less truth than vividness of metaphor.

Had the fortunes of the Turkish Empire been really directed by its Sultan, the opportunity of making this boast might never have occurred.



THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

Selim was an indolent, debauched, and profligate man, and, leaving the conduct of affairs to his Grand Vizier, Mehemet, whose abilities were of the highest order, he gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and the gratification of his appetites. In defiance of a well-known injunction of his religion, he was much addicted to wine, and his reason for desiring the conquest of Cyprus was that he might obtain an uninterrupted supply of the magnificent vintages for which that island has been celebrated from a remote antiquity. He died in the latter part of 1574, after a reign of only eight years, and it is said that his end was occasioned by a debauch. Knolles, the author of a History of Turkey published in 1610, has remarked on the culmination of the Turkish power under Solyman, and the commencement of its decline under his successor. He ascribes the rapid growth of that power to the abilities and long reigns of the first ten Sultans, extending from 1300 to 1566; to the political training of the future sovereigns, as commanders of provinces, before they attained the throne; to the discipline and constitution of the professional troops employed by the Ottomans, whose superiority to the occasional levies of the Christian States was seen on many occasions; to the character of the Turkish despotism, which enabled the Sultans to act with secrecy and despatch against their enemies; and to the fact that all the agents of the monarch, from the highest to the lowest, depended, even to their lives, upon their master's pleasure. Solyman the Magnificent, though in many respects a prince of very great capacity, committed the serious mistake of bringing up the heir to the throne in the seraglio, and not, as formerly, in the army, or in the practice of ministerial functions. The system thus commenced was continued by later sovereigns, and the princes of the house of Othman became thenceforth, except in a few instances, enervated and enfeebled. Selim II. was the first victim of this disastrous error; but for the present its effects were hardly visible. Under his sceptre, the Ottoman Empire received considerable additions, and the whole of Arabia was added to the dominion of the Sultans, together with Tunis and Goletta, which were wrested from the Spaniards.

Towards the end of Selim's reign, a dispute arose between Turkey and Russia—a dispute not very important in itself, but remarkable as being the first of a long series, which has lasted to our own days. The mention of Russia recalls our attention to that remote and semi-barbaric land, which for many centuries pursued a career almost entirely distinct from the rest of Europe. After the death of Ivan III., who expired in 1505, the son of that

prince, Vasilii Ivanovitch, succeeded to the crown. He was a very inferior man to his father; and when a Tartar horde burst into his dominions, and appeared before the gates of Moscow, he induced the invaders to withdraw by the payment of a great ransom, and a promise to renew that allegiance which had been successfully repudiated by Ivan III. The next Ivan, however, inherited the martial genius of his grandfather. The incursions of the Tartars were checked, and in 1533 Ivan IV. established a species of constitution, which, though decidedly despotic in its character, had at any rate the virtue of establishing order throughout the Muscovite dominions. The better side of this prince's nature was developed by his wife, Anastasia; the worse side appeared after her death, when the acts of Ivan were characterised by such systematic ferocity that he acquired the appellation of "the Terrible." Two of his ministers were sacrificed to the unjust resentments of their master, and in the latter years of his life the savage moods of the tyrant were aggravated by the torture of disease. Impelled by the fear of conspiracy, he retired in 1566 to the fortress of Alexandrovsky, situated in the midst of a gloomy forest, whence he issued a proclamation, to the effect that he resigned the government of the State. His subjects dreaded a return of the anarchy from which, in his better days, he had delivered them. They begged him to resume his position at the head of affairs, and flattered his despotic claims by acknowledging that he possessed an absolute right of life and death, which he might exercise in any way he pleased. At the end of a month he returned, so strangely altered in appearance that he could hardly be recognised. His figure was shrunk and emaciated; his eyes were dull, and his features marked by a ravenous ferocity. He had been violent and wayward before; he was now actually mad, and the spirit of solitude, which chastens some men, had infused into his nature a species of demoniac fury. Ivan surrounded himself with a body-guard recruited in distant provinces; built a great stronghold in the heart of Moscow, and drove hundreds of people from their homes, that he might appropriate the land. Executions succeeded one another with appalling rapidity. The more important of the nobles were poisoned, while the populace were massacred on the bare suspicion of treason. The people of Novgorod were accused of corresponding with the King of Poland, and Ivan slew many with his own hand, until exhaustion forced him to desist. Sometimes the ice of the rivers was broken, that numbers of unoffending wretches might be drowned in the freezing currents. Nothing, in short,

was omitted, by which the Czar could strike terror into his people, or obtain for himself the reputation of a despot equal to any in recorded history.

While Ivan the Terrible was oppressing his subjects with the irrational cruelty of a madman, his dominions were suffering from an invasion of the Crim Tartars, who, instigated by the Poles, made an irruption into the southern provinces in 1571, and defeated the Russian army within eighteen leagues of Moscow. Though a valiant soldier when in his prime, Ivan was now wholly unnerved by the malady which had distracted his brain; and, shutting himself up in a fortified cloister, he left the Tartars to pursue their way to the capital, which they entered, and set on fire. Eight years later, Stephen Bathori, King of Poland, concluded an alliance with the Swedish monarch, invaded Russia, and took Narva, Riga, and the whole of Livonia, with but little opposition. The Russian nobles remonstrated with the Czar for his pusillanimous conduct, and the furious madman, conceiving that his son had entered into a league with the great territorial lords, struck him violently on the head with an iron-tipped staff. The prince died four days after, when Ivan endeavoured to soften the stings of remorse by active operations against the enemy. He could effect nothing, however, and was compelled to make a disgraceful peace with the barbarians. Feeling the approach of death, he enjoined his successor to liberate all political prisoners, and to undo, as far as possible, the evil which his insanity had caused. He expired in 1584, leaving to his countrymen a memory strangely compounded of good and ill.

In his earlier and better years, Ivan had rendered great services to Russia by the organisation of its forces and the promotion of its industry. A printing-press was set up at Moscow; a code of laws was published, which remedied many abuses; trade was encouraged, and the English were permitted to establish factories in the dominions of the Czar. The intercourse between Russia and England was at that time very intimate, and it was promoted by Ivan, who entertained a high respect for the character of Queen Elizabeth. This good understanding, however, dated back to the time of Edward VI., who in 1553 despatched a naval expedition, charged with discovering the North-eastern passage to India and China—one of the most cherished schemes of that romantic and exploring age. The chief commanders were Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor; of whom the former was frozen to death, together with several of his companions, in the following year, while the latter made his way into the

White Sea, and anchored in the Bay of Dwina, where the city of Archangel was soon afterwards founded. A company of Russian merchants was formed in London; English factories were established on the shores of the White Sea; and some half a century later, English merchants had dispersed themselves through all parts of the Russian Empire. The liberal qualities of Ivan's rule might have lasted to the end, but for that curse of distempered will which so often destroys the sanity of despots. The good deeds of the Russian Czar must not be forgotten; but the actions of his later years left his country little better than a desert.

The successor of Ivan, his son Feodor (or Theodore) I., was a weak-minded ruler, who fell entirely under the influence of his brother-in-law, Boris Godunof, a nobleman of Tartar origin, ambitious in his aims and violent in his disposition. The life of Feodor seemed likely to be not much prolonged, and Boris, hoping to obtain the Czardom for himself, contrived the assassination of Feodor's younger brother, Dmitri, or Demetrius, who was heir to the throne. Such, at least, is the view generally entertained by historians; but Boris always alleged that the child perished by an accident, and in after years there was considerable doubt whether he had died at all. At any rate, Boris obtained a verdict in his favour from a body of investigators to whom the facts were submitted. The Czarina was forced to take the veil, and large numbers of the great landed proprietors were executed, or banished to Siberia, then newly added to the Russian dominions. There had certainly been a movement amongst some of the nobles, headed by the Czarina, to get rid of Boris and his adherents; but whether he was really guilty of the young prince's death or not, is one of those doubtful points on which no certain judgment can be pronounced. The life of Feodor lasted another seven years; but it was the hand of Boris which really guided the State. The dictator is accused of many crimes; yet he was at any rate a good general, and his operations in the field delivered Russia from another attack of the Crim Tartars. On his return to Moscow after this successful expedition, Boris procured the banishment of the nobles opposed to him, and purchased the favour of the others by establishing the institution of serfdom, until then not actually recognised in Russia. The system thus sanctioned in 1593 was perpetuated until 1863, and its influence on Russian society and Russian politics was as evil and debasing as that of slavery in other parts of the world. Serfdom, however, did not actually originate with Boris, though he placed it on a firmer and wider basis than it had

previously occupied. In the early ages of Russian history, the peasants had been free to change their domiciles on St. George's Day, which was the termination of the agricultural year. But the princes and great nobles were opposed to the migration of their labourers, which, in so vast and thinly populated a country, was undoubtedly attended by some inconveniences; and encroachments were gradually made upon the rights of the humbler classes. Labourers were often forbidden to remove, unless they could find substitutes, and the nobles frequently used violence to hinder their peasants from quitting one estate for another. Still, these invasions of the subject's liberty were exceptional and irregular. What Boris accomplished in the matter was to organise and confirm a practice which until then had been surreptitious and illegal. The peasantry hated him for the change; but he acquired the support of the nobles, which was what he mainly wanted.

The opposition of the aristocracy being thus removed, Boris administered the affairs of the Empire with remarkable vigour and success. The dominion of the Czars was extended and strengthened, and the Swedes were defeated in their attempts to regulate the internal affairs of Russia. Feodor died at the beginning of 1598. He was the last direct representative of the House of Rurik, which, under some fifty-six sovereigns, had governed Russia for seven hundred and thirty-six years. The present Imperial family is connected with the older stock through a collateral branch; but the main line expired with Feodor. On his death-bed, that sovereign had successively offered his staff to several relations; and when, after all had refused the symbol of empire, he threw it on the floor, Boris took up the sceptre, and by that action seemed to claim power for himself. The throne had, indeed, been left by Feodor to his widow Irene, the sister of Boris; but in a few days she returned to the convent which she had temporarily quitted, and the crown was then offered to her brother. For some weeks he refused to accept it; but his hesitation was simply a well-contrived device to extract the most favourable terms for himself; and on the 20th of February the externals of royalty, and the coveted title of Czar, were added by this bold adventurer to the reality of power he had long enjoyed.

After the death of Casimir IV., in 1492, the affairs of Poland flourished under his able and vigorous successors. One of the most illustrious of these was Sigismund I., called the Great, who succeeded his brother Alexander in 1506. Poland was threatened by the power of Russia, and a long war ensued, which at any rate left the frontiers undisturbed. More formidable enemies were the Wallachians, who in 1498 had carried off 100,000 Poles, and sold them to the Turks as slaves, and who afterwards invaded the country during the reign of Sigismund. They were defeated in 1510, and again in 1531, when the Prince of Wallachia was obliged to conclude a treaty by which he acknowledged himself the vassal of the Polish King. Sigismund died in 1548, leaving the crown to his son, Sigismund Augustus, a child of ten, whose reign lasted until 1572. During this period, Livonia voluntarily submitted to Poland, as the only way of avoiding Russian conquest, and at the Diet of Lublin, in 1569, a legislative union was concluded between Poland and Lithuania. The throne of both countries became elective in the same person, while the laws, finances, and army remained distinct. The elective principle came into operation for the first time after the death of Sigismund Augustus in 1572, when the choice of a sovereign was rendered difficult by the religious contentions of the people. For some years past, the doctrines of the Reformation had made progress in Poland; yet the Church of Rome was still predominant, and a time of agitation ensued. It was decided, however, by the Diet of Convocation, which assembled in January, 1573, that all religious bodies should enjoy equal rights and privileges; and, shortly afterwards, Henry of Valois, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. of France, was elected to the vacant throne, but secretly left Cracow in 1574, on hearing that the death of his relative had placed the French sceptre in his grasp. In the following year, the Polish nobles conferred the crown on Stephen Bathori, who had already attained the dignity of sovereign Prince of Transylvania, and who, as we have seen, led the forces of Poland with great effect against the Russian Czardom. The kingdom of the Jagellons was now little else than an aristocratical Republic; and in time it suffered all the evils of that mode of rule.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Position of England at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth—Extraordinary Development of the National Genius—Causes of this. Renawakening—Restoration of the Protestant Religion—Elizabeth regarded as the Chief Support of the Protestant Cause at Home and Abroad—Rule of Mary Stuart in Scotland—Her Dislike of the People, Intrigues, Deposition, and Captivity—Escape into England, and Imprisonment by Elizabeth—Conspiracies against the English Queen—Trial and Execution of Mary Stuart—Antagonism of England and Spain—Exasperation of Philip II. against the English Government and People—The Spanish Armada—Relations of Elizabeth to the Continental Powers—Characteristics of her Domestic Government—The Queen and her Favourites—Disturbed Condition of Ireland—Attempts of Henry VIII. to Reduce the Island to Submission—Ireland under Mary—Turbulent and Uncivilised Character of the People—Violent Opposition to the Rule of Elizabeth—Rebellion of Shane O'Neill—Irish Disorder promoted by the Pope and the Spanish King—Edmund Spenser on the State of Ireland at the Latter End of the Sixteenth Century—Renewed Revolt under Hugh O'Neill—Settlement of Ulster by James I.—Explorations in America during the Reign of Elizabeth—Early Attempts at Colonisation by Raleigh and Others—Repeated Failures, and Temporary Abandonment of the Cause—Rise of the Puritans in England—Tyranny of Elizabeth in Enforcing the Act of Uniformity.

QUEEN ELIZABETH succeeded to a kingdom which required the most careful guidance and the most watchful protection. The Roman Catholics were still powerful and numerous, though doubtless not in the majority. Spain was known to be hostile; the friendship of France could not be relied on; even Scotland, though converted to Protestantism, was not likely to be a friend under the rule of the Catholic Mary, who, notwithstanding that she yet remained in France, was the acknowledged sovereign of the Northern realm, and had her party among the people. The position, therefore, was of the most difficult and perilous nature, especially for a woman only five-and-twenty years of age. Fortunately for England,—fortunately, it may perhaps be added, for the whole north-west of Europe, and for communities to be created beyond the Atlantic,—Elizabeth was gifted with a strong intellect and a resolute will. She had, indeed, the faults of her age and race; was often violent and domineering, and sought, like her father, to be the Pope of a State-controlled Protestantism. But she guided the nation through a dangerous stage of its history, and the instinct of the English people has always hailed her memory with a grateful pride. It must be recollected, however, that she was surrounded by a number of singularly gifted men, such as Lord Burleigh, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Christopher Hatton, and others. Later in the reign arose the mighty intellect of Francis Bacon, son of Sir Nicholas, and the keenly-penetrating mind of Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burleigh, and afterwards Earl of Salisbury. Abroad, England was served by ambassadors of the highest ability, who kept the Government at home well informed as to the intrigues of Pope

and Spaniard; while the spirit of naval and military adventure was represented by such men as Lord Howard of Effingham, Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Sidney, Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Cavendish, and their companions. When it is added that this was also the age of Spenser, of Shakspeare, and of many other poets only less great than they, it will be seen that the genius of the English race attained, under the sceptre of Elizabeth, a strength and splendour of development unequalled either before or since.

The causes of this development may be briefly stated. One is that the veritable English nation at length came into power, after many ages of greater or less repression. Until the Wars of the Roses, the dominant class had been the Anglo-Norman nobility. It is true that men of a more genuine native stock rose from time to time into the higher ranks; but they were the exceptions, and, for the most part, the race which had produced Offa and Egbert, Alfred and Athelstan, Cædmon and Wini- frid, Alcuin and Bede, Dunstan and Cuthbert, sank to the level of serfs and traders—the tillers of the soil and the keepers of the shop. With the reign of Henry VII., a new state of things commenced. The semi-foreign barons had nearly exterminated themselves in the deadly fields of civil strife; the commons, who drew their blood from days before the Norman Conquest, acquired power in the State, and, with the opportunities which power confers, once more asserted the genius that had long been dormant. The same tendency was seen in a yet more marked degree under Henry VIII., and it was permanently confirmed under Elizabeth. English names then abounded in all departments of the public life: it was the resurrection of a buried nationality. The Plan-

tagenets were always Continental in their sympathies: they reigned at London, but they looked across the Channel to Picardy, to Normandy, and to Guienne. The Tudors, more insular and native, shared the national sentiment and the national aims. This was the principal reason for that

reign of Edward VI. These alterations received the sanction of the Parliament which met in the early part of 1559, although the Bishops in the House of Lords—the Catholic Bishops, who had not yet been removed—opposed the measures to the utmost. With one exception, the Romanist



John Knox
minister of Edinburgh

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN KNOX.

(After an Engraving in Beza's "Icones.")

remarkable outburst of greatness which distinguished our country in the period with which we are now concerned. Another was the adoption of Protestantism, which gave a stimulus to the intellect, and set free all the force and manliness of the race.

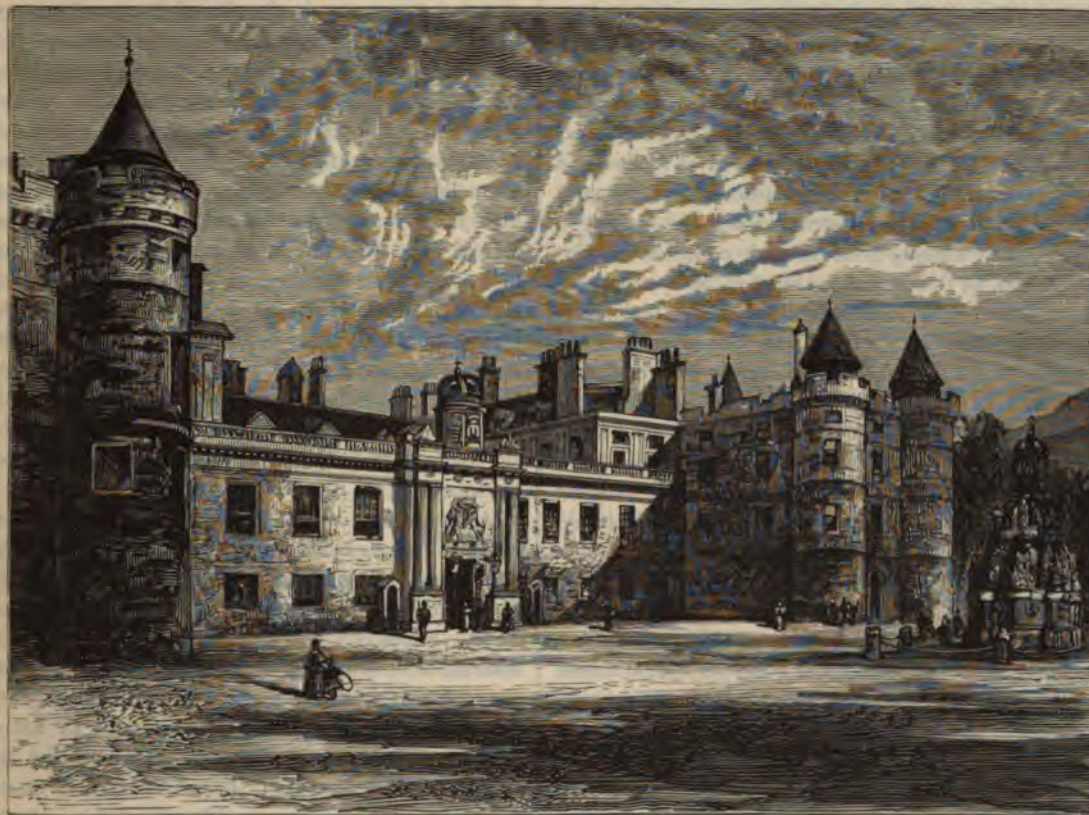
One of the first cares of Elizabeth, on succeeding to the throne, was to restore the reformed faith; but she did so gradually, and with caution. The ultimate tendency of her actions, however, was to re-establish the royal supremacy, and to place the Church of England on the same footing as in the

prelates were soon afterwards deprived for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and about a hundred prebendaries, deans, archdeacons, and heads of colleges, were also ejected. Of persecution in the extreme sense, there was none at that time. The people readily accepted the change, and even the Roman Catholic priests made but slight resistance. Many years later, however—in 1585—Parliament armed the Queen with very strong powers against Jesuit and other Popish priests, all of whom were ordered to depart the kingdom, on pain of death, while those who harboured or relieved them

were declared guilty of felony. Numerous priests were executed under this Act, and the Romish Church struggled ineffectually against its rival.

If there had ever been any hesitation on the part of Elizabeth with respect to her adoption of the reformed faith, the feeling speedily disappeared after her accession to the throne. In a little while she came to be regarded as the head of the Protestant body throughout Europe—a position to which

head. In 1567, the Protestants of Scotland violently deposed Queen Mary, and put her in prison; and with this insurrectionary Government, of which Knox was the inspiring genius, Elizabeth maintained friendly relations. Pecuniary assistance was sent to the French Huguenots, and the people of the Netherlands, then in revolt against the tyranny of Philip, excited the sympathies of Elizabeth, though for a long while she was unable



HOLYROOD PALACE, EDINBURGH.

her abilities, and the strength of her insular realm, appeared to entitle her. We have seen that the Huguenots besought her assistance when a civil war became no longer avoidable, and that the English Queen sent an army into France, to support the cause of Condé and Coligny. It cannot be said that the English forces distinguished themselves on that occasion. The Earl of Warwick capitulated at Havre on the 28th of July, 1563, and a treaty of peace was signed at Troyes on the 11th of April, 1564. The attitude of Elizabeth towards France and Spain was nevertheless extremely unfriendly, and it was well known that the English sovereign would omit no opportunity for the succour of Protestantism wherever it ventured to raise its

to furnish military help. It is of course not surprising that a princess so determined on the side of the Reformation should have excited the utmost hatred of monarchs who beheld in that movement nothing but the triumph of a detestable heresy. Elizabeth was accordingly made the object of many plots; rebellion was more than once fomented in Ireland by Spanish gold; and Scotland still formed a ground on which the enemy hoped to realise substantial gains.

When the Scottish Queen left France in the summer of 1561, after an absence from her own country of nearly thirteen years, she was completely imbued with French sentiments, and the habits of the French court. Her husband had died in the

previous December, and she returned to the north, a widow of nineteen, attractive in personal appearance, coquettish in manners, and altogether out of harmony with the rugged and violent people whom she was now to rule in person. Embarking at Calais, she kept her eyes steadily fixed on the French coast as long as it remained in sight, continually exclaiming, "Farewell, France! Farewell, beloved country!" On reaching Leith, she found herself in a land wholly repugnant to her feelings. The civilisation of Scotland was below that of France, and the courtly and debonair life to which Mary had been accustomed gave way to a cold and iron routine, rendered still more hateful by the diffusion of Protestantism in one of its most forbidding forms. Many of the old churches and abbeys were not merely disendowed, but actually ruined in their physical structures. The smiting of images had already gone on with considerable fervour, and, to the prejudiced mind of Mary, Scotland seemed devoted to heathenism. She had some personal interviews with Knox, but of course was unable to withstand the furious eloquence of that gloomy fanatic.

Mary allowed the government to remain in the hands of Protestants, but in 1565 gave great offence by being married, in accordance with the Romish service, to her cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and by conferring on him, without any appeal to Parliament, the title, dignity, and rights of King. Still, there was no serious opposition to this illegal act, and it was not until the Queen's intrigues with Châtelard, a Frenchman, and Rizzio, a Piedmontese, that Mary excited against herself all the antagonism of a strict and severe people. Châtelard was executed, and Rizzio assassinated; when the Queen, conceiving a disgust of her husband, whom she accused of complicity in the murder of Rizzio, bestowed unusual favour on the Earl of Bothwell. The tragic death of Darnley, which occurred in 1567, is one of the darkest mysteries of the Scottish capital. The King, if he is to be so called, was lodged, apart from the Queen, in a mansion standing by itself in a very open and solitary place near Edinburgh. Here, after a stay of ten days, he and his servants were blown up by an explosion of gunpowder which shattered the whole building. Mary was staying at the Palace of Holyrood, and it is possible that she knew nothing of the intended crime, which seems to have been planned by Bothwell. The Earl was placed on his trial; but the proceeding was a mockery, for no witnesses were examined, and the accused was at once acquitted. Three months after, he married the Queen, whom he had carried off a prisoner to his castle of

Dunbar—probably with no great opposition on her part.

The public indignation, which had been kindling against Mary for a long while, now burst forth in uncontrollable fury. An insurrection, headed by the nobles, and supported by the people, threatened the very lives of the offenders, who fled in dismay from fortress to fortress. A pitched battle was on the point of being fought near Carberry Hill, when Mary suddenly threw herself on the compassion of her subjects, and abandoned Bothwell to the wrath of the insurgents. The Earl escaped to Denmark, was imprisoned by order of the King, and died in 1576. Mary was conducted first to Edinburgh, and afterwards to the castle of Lochleven, where, on the 24th of July, 1567, she was compelled to abdicate in favour of her son, then little more than a year old, who thus became James VI. of Scotland, and later on appears in English history as the royal pedant, James I. The prince was born in the castle of Edinburgh on the 19th of June, 1566, and baptised, according to the Roman Catholic ritual, in Stirling Castle, on the 17th of the following December. Subsequently he became a Protestant; but a certain regard for the older faith was never entirely removed from his mind.

After a captivity of less than a year, Mary escaped from Lochleven, and collected a large army, but, being defeated at Langside, fled into England, which she reached on the 16th of May, 1568. Elizabeth had always regarded Mary with distrust and dislike, and had even endeavoured to prevent her voyage from France to Scotland. She now, however, declared her readiness to act as umpire between the Scottish Queen and her subjects. Mary refused the offer, and was therefore detained a prisoner. The English sovereign would doubtless have preferred that she should remain in Scotland, for her presence in the south gave occasion to one of those plots of which we have spoken. The Duke of Norfolk, although a Protestant, conceived the idea of marrying the Scottish Queen—perhaps without any actual design against Elizabeth, though the facts were in some respects suspicious, as Norfolk procured the support of several Catholic noblemen, and even interested the Kings of France and Spain in his design. The adherents of the Romish Church were undoubtedly inspired by traitorous views, pointing to the release of Mary, and the deposition of Elizabeth. The conspirators endeavoured to enlist Pope Pius V. in their plans; but the whole scheme fell to pieces directly the Queen's forces appeared in the field, and the Earls of Northumberland and West-

moreland, the leaders of the Catholic party, fled into Scotland. Pius, seeing that nothing was to be done by secret plots, published a Bull of excommunication against the Queen of England, depriving her of the throne, and subjecting her to the various penalties which such edicts carry with them. Other plots followed in later years, but all were frustrated by the vigilance of Elizabeth and her ministers. There can be little doubt that Mary Stuart sympathised with these conspiracies; and in 1586, after about nineteen years' captivity, she was tried by commission on a charge of being accessory to Babington's plot against the English throne. By this court of inquiry, the royal captive was condemned; and, on the 8th of February, 1587, she was beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle, in the forty-fifth year of her age. There is scarcely any character in history around whom so much romance and sentiment has gathered. Looked at, however, in the colder light of criticism, Mary appears to have been a frivolous, heartless, and profligate woman, possessed, indeed, of a certain indescribable charm of manner, but credited with the possession of a superlative beauty which her portraits do not confirm.

During all these years, the feeling between England and Spain was that of thinly-disguised hostility. No war had been declared on either side, but each Power took advantage of every opportunity to thwart and injure the other. At length, in 1578, Elizabeth determined to assist the States of the Netherlands in their endeavour to obtain freedom of religious worship after the Protestant theory and practice. We shall have to review this struggle with Catholic Spain farther on; but it is here referred to as one of the reasons which induced Philip, in 1579, to invade Kerry, in a vain attempt to detach Ireland from the English crown, and, in 1588, to essay the conquest of England by means of that enormous naval force which was styled the Invincible Armada. The King of Spain had undoubtedly, from his own point of view, some justification for his attack on England. Elizabeth had for several years (at first secretly, and afterwards without disguise) given armed assistance to his rebellious subjects in the Low Countries, and an English fleet had attacked and ravaged the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Philip, therefore, may have very naturally persuaded himself that he was justified in crushing a Power which had long been acting against his interests. The enterprise, however, had the result of calling forth some of the finest qualities of the English race, and all know how triumphantly it was defeated. Numerous ships

were collected by Philip in Spain and the Netherlands; and when the vast array of vessels sailed into the English Channel in July, it might well have struck dismay even into manly hearts.

The Armada was disposed in the form of a crescent, extending seven miles from one extremity to the other. The first destination of these war-vessels was the coast of Flanders, where they were to raise the blockade of Nieuport and Dunkirk by the English and Dutch ships; after which they were to proceed to England. On their eastward voyage, they were attacked by the English Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, who, though provided with a much inferior fleet, harassed the Spaniards by repeated attacks, hunted them to Calais Roads, and, when their ships had cast anchor, drove them from their moorings by the device of sending out a swarm of fire-ships, which spread consternation and havoc wherever the wind carried them. Lord Howard having now been sufficiently reinforced, a desperate encounter took place within sight of Dunkirk—an encounter which terminated in favour of the English, owing to the smaller size and greater lightness of their vessels, and the admirable manner in which their guns were served. Next to Lord Howard of Effingham, the principal English heroes were Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins; and, of these, perhaps Drake was the most important. At length, the great Armada was so shattered and broken up that further conflict was impossible, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had command of the armament, gave orders for a retreat. But to escape along the English Channel was impracticable, and the Spanish Admiral therefore determined to sail northwards, to make the circuit of the British Isles, and thus to reach the Atlantic. After rounding the Orkneys, the whole fleet was dispersed by a terrible storm. Several vessels foundered in the North Sea; others were wrecked on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, of the Orkneys and the Faroes; only a small proportion of the mighty Armada reached the shores of Spain, and even those more fortunate vessels were in a highly damaged state. Rarely in the history of the world has so vast an expedition ended in so complete and absolute a failure. This may have been partly owing to the elements; but it was due still more to the courage of the English people, and the calm self-reliance of the Queen.

The remainder of Elizabeth's reign, so far as foreign politics were concerned, was chiefly occupied by the religious wars of the Continent, in which the forces of England supported the Protestants of the Low Countries against Philip of Spain.

That sovereign even laid claim to the throne of England, partly because of his descent from John of Gaunt, and partly in consequence of Mary Stuart having, in her will, left the crown to him, in the event of her son remaining a heretic. Pope Sixtus V., moreover, had granted him the English realm, and the Roman Catholics in this country were still sufficiently numerous to render Elizabeth's position extremely perilous when so powerful a monarch as Philip, backed by all the influence of the Romish Church, advanced pretensions to the kingdom. It was therefore quite as much from considerations of self-defence as from any abstract approval of Protestantism that the English Queen entered the lists against her Spanish rival. Philip II. died in September, 1598; but the war between England and Spain continued, and in 1601 Philip III. sent a force to Ireland, which captured Kinsale, but was speedily forced to surrender. In the following year, Elizabeth despatched a naval expedition which took some rich prizes from the Spaniards, and again proved the superiority of English seamen. The Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands were supported by the naval and military forces of Elizabeth, and the reputation of England was advanced among continental nations by the spirit, activity, and valour with which the enormous power of Spain was encountered and harassed. The home government of Elizabeth was that of a despotic sovereign, determined to assert the prerogatives of the crown to the utmost, yet in the main reflecting the popular sentiment, and advancing the general interests. The personal character of this great monarch was made up of contradictory qualities, none of them extremely noble, yet few that can be called debased. A certain hardness of disposition, combined with a towering vanity which the courtiers and poets of the time did the utmost to flatter, is observable throughout her career, and explains some of the worst features of her life. She made it her boast that she would live and die a virgin queen; yet her male favourites were numerous, and her reputation has not entirely escaped the touch of scandal. Her suitors among foreign princes included some of the most illustrious then in Europe; and the Archduke Charles, a younger son of the Emperor Ferdinand I., advanced his pretensions with no little pertinacity. With Francis, Duke of Alençon, afterwards Duke of Anjou, she had almost concluded an engagement, but drew back at the last moment, probably influenced by a fear lest such an alliance should compromise the Protestant cause which she had made her own. It is indeed difficult to see how Elizabeth could have married any foreigner who

would not have involved the country in troubles which might have proved disastrous. For her reticence in this respect she must receive the praise of patriotic forethought; but her intrigues, first with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and afterwards with Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, were little to her credit, either as a sovereign or a woman. The latter of these favourites raised a wild and utterly hopeless insurrection against the Government in 1601—not, indeed, with any disloyal intention against Elizabeth herself, but with a view to changing her ministers, and altering the policy of the country. Essex was condemned to the block, and the Queen never enjoyed a tranquil hour from the moment she had signed his death-warrant.

One of the principal features of Elizabeth's reign, apart from the manifestations of its foreign policy, was the subjection of Ireland to the supremacy of English rule. The western island, though nominally conquered in the reign of Henry II., had long been in a state of virtual independence, except within the bounds of the English Pale, lying on the east coast. The Plantagenets gave very slight attention to the country; the descendants of the Anglo-Norman nobility soon merged in the native population, and became the most insubordinate and defiant of the great territorial chieftains; even where communities of English origin were most thickly clustered, the authority of the English sovereigns had but little force. Henry VIII., who subjected Wales to the forms of English law, undertook a similar task in respect of Ireland, but with inferior success. By an immense display of military power, the island was reduced to submission; but it was the submission of a sullen despair. In 1542, Henry assumed the title of King of Ireland, instead of the older appellation of Lord; but by the great mass of the people he was acknowledged neither as Lord nor King. The attempt to set aside the native Irish laws for English laws gave offence to the Celtic population, and the subsequent introduction of Protestantism completed the feeling of estrangement. Beyond the limits of the English Pale, the language of England was totally unknown, and the sermons delivered by the reformers to the native Irish might as well have been expressed in Hebrew or Sanskrit. Nevertheless, although these discourses could not be understood, their intent and purport were well known, and the utmost rage of religious bigotry was roused by attacks on a faith to which the Western Celt has always been deeply attached. Even the descendants of the English settlers were equally opposed to the new ideas in theology; and what may be called the two halves of the Irish nation—the Celtic half and the

English half—were for a time united on the common ground of religion. But for this source of contention, it is possible that Ireland might have been reduced to a willing obedience, notwithstanding its ingrained dislike of English law. Henry VIII. won the favour of some among the great Irish chieftains by giving them titles of nobility; and wherever this was done, a certain measure of loyalty was observed to follow. But the religious quarrel was not to be composed. The Irish refused to acknowledge the King's supremacy in matters of faith: the Pope was still the sovereign to whom they looked for guidance in all the practices of their spiritual life.

The restoration of Roman Catholicism under Mary removed one of the grievances of which the Irish complained; but it did little towards creating a sentiment of loyalty to the English crown. In the northern part of the island, the clans were in a state of open revolt. The English settlers planted in the country of the O'Connors, which was called King's and Queen's County, after Philip and Mary, found themselves involved in an internecine struggle with the natives, which some years later ended in the extermination of the Irish. It was then resolved to colonise other districts, for by this time it had become evident that the Irish were neither to be won by favours, nor permanently controlled by military expeditions. The country, in fact, had never been thoroughly civilized. In the early Christian centuries, many of the Irish ecclesiastics were men of great ability and learning; but the mass of the people were always turbulent and unsettled, prone to strife, and naturally averse from settled and productive labour. This unhappy condition had doubtless become worse since the Anglo-Norman invasion of the twelfth century; for the power of England, while exasperating the native population, and weakening all the better elements in its composition, had not been sufficiently exerted to reduce the country to an orderly submission. When, therefore, Elizabeth ascended the throne, she found in Ireland a province disloyal to her rule, on the double ground that she was an English sovereign and a Protestant Queen. She herself was well inclined to a policy of conciliation, and the settlement of Englishmen on Irish lands was for a time suspended. But a spirit of distrust had been excited among the people, and the rebellion of Shane O'Neill in the North, which broke out in 1562, threatened the supremacy of the English to a greater extent than had been known since the conquest of Ireland. The O'Neills were Earls of Tyrone, and had therefore accepted honours from the English crown. Their loyalty

might perhaps have been taken for granted, had not experience proved that the Irish were never permanently affected by such influences. The struggle continued five years, and for a time the Irish carried all before them. Connaught was invaded by the successful insurgent, and the Council at Dublin was openly defied. When, however, Sir Henry Sidney succeeded the Earl of Sussex as Lord Deputy of Ireland, his skill and enterprise reduced Shane O'Neill to extremities; and in 1567 the rebel was slain by the Scots of Antrim, amongst whom he had taken refuge.

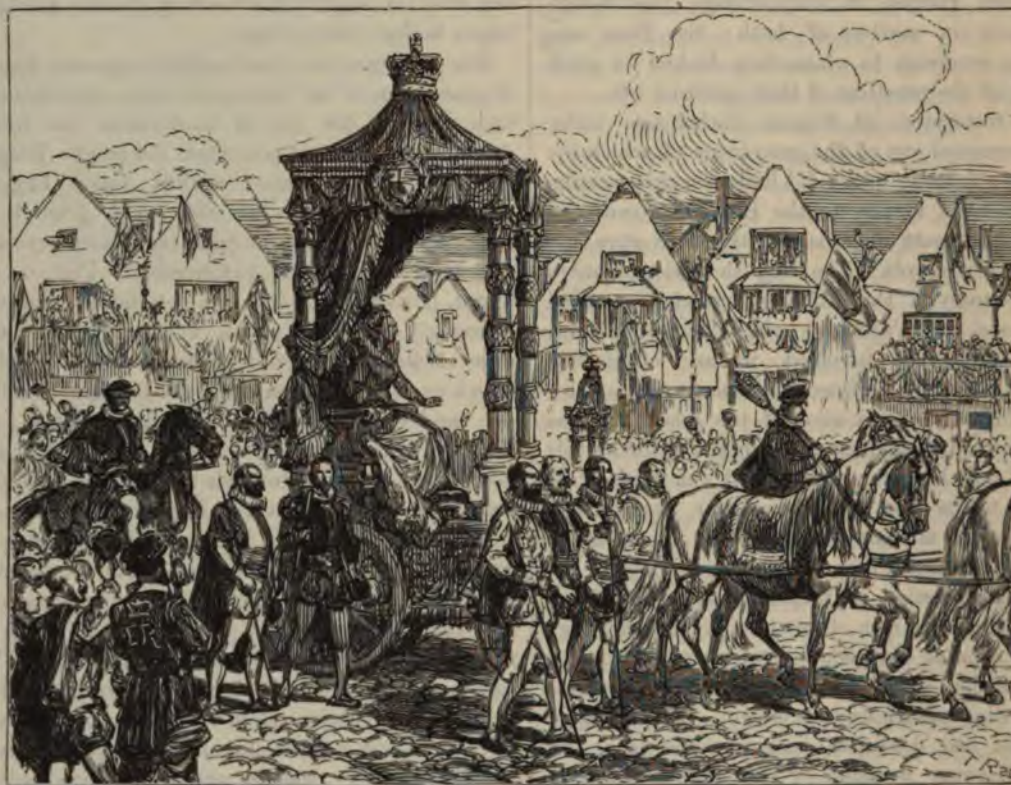
For ten years the island enjoyed a greater degree of peace than it had known for some generations, and, although the Act of Uniformity was introduced, it does not appear that the people alleged any religious grievance against their English masters. Yet it was on this very ground of religious oppression that Spain and Rome excited the Irish to renewed insurrection. Philip's attempt, however, ended in complete failure, and the supremacy of the English was asserted at the edge of the sword, often with a ruthless cruelty which even provocation could not excuse. On the one hand was the tyranny of an alien Power; on the other, the apparently incurable disease of Irish lawlessness. It was towards the latter end of the sixteenth century that the English poet Spenser, who had for some years been settled in Ireland as secretary to the Lord Deputy, wrote a masterly *exposition* of the state of that country, which shows how completely the Irish people were given up to the two great evils of idleness and disorder.* The songs of their bards, which had an enormous influence on the popular mind, were a continual incentive to rapine and violence, to loose living and barbarian ways. Spenser appears to have had no hope of the country, unless it were sternly taken in hand by English authority. He saw in every direction the materials of strife; and in 1598—two years after the composition of his work—a desperate revolt broke out under the leadership of Hugh O'Neill. The sedition spread like wildfire through all the northern tribes, and affected even distant parts of the island. The English were attacked with such fury that their complete extermination seemed at one time probable; and, in the burning of his own dwelling, and the death of his infant child in the flames, Spenser had terrible proof of the evils he had described. It was not until 1602 that the insurrection was suppressed. The native constitution of the island, with its tribal system of property, and its laws administered by the

* A View of the State of Ireland, 1596.

chieftains of the clans, was entirely set aside; and in 1610, under the reign of James I., a vast system of colonisation was introduced into Ulster, which was to a great extent repopled by English and Scottish settlers. To this day, the north of Ireland is the most prosperous part of the country—the part most inclined to steady labour, and the gainful ways of peace.

From this painful subject, it is a relief to divert

the barks turned back, owing to the disinclination of the sailors to pursue so perilous an adventure; but Frobisher went on alone, and discovered some new lands in the neighbourhood of what is now called Hudson's Strait. He repeated his voyage in 1577 and 1578, and in the latter year took possession of a territory to which he gave the name of West England. The attempt, however, led to nothing. The country was far too cold and



DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA: QUEEN ELIZABETH ON HER WAY TO THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE AT ST. PAUL'S.

the attention to another scene of English enterprise, which was ultimately productive of much better results. The discovery of North America by the Cabots took place during the reign of Henry VII.; but it was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth that any systematic attempt was made to colonize that distant continent. The settler, meanwhile, was preceded by the pioneer. The great ambition of those times was to discover a north-western passage into the Pacific Ocean; and by no one was this idea taken up with greater enthusiasm than by that heroic sailor, Martin Frobisher. In June, 1576, after fifteen years' meditation on the great geographical problem, he sailed from Deptford in command of two barks and a pinnace. The pinnace foundered at sea; one of

barren for a settlement, and the crews, after suffering many hardships, returned with a cargo of gold, which had been found in the rocky soil of those inhospitable lands. In 1577 and the three following years, Drake performed his celebrated voyage round the world, in the course of which he explored a large portion of the north-western coast of America. The north-eastern coast had already been examined by Spanish and French navigators, who planted colonies in several places, and whose success stimulated the enterprise of English seamen. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, formed a project for establishing an English colony in America, and in 1578 obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent vesting in him full powers for that purpose. The

emigrants started in 1579, but the expedition was doomed to failure. One of the vessels was lost on the voyage; the others, after being severely handled by a Spanish fleet, arrived at Newfoundland, where, however, they remained but a short time. A second squadron was afterwards equipped,

vessel, sitting in the stern, with his eyes fixed on a book. "Courage, my lads!" he cried, "we are as near Heaven by sea as by land." The *Hind* weathered the tempest, and regained the shores of England, with the story of a great failure and a great loss.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

and in 1583 Gilbert again started for America. He took formal possession of Newfoundland by erecting a pillar with the arms of England attached; and the adventurers then started in three vessels, to make discoveries on the continent. The largest of the ships was wrecked, with the loss of nearly a hundred men; after which Sir Humphrey set sail for England with only two ships—the *Squirrel* and the *Hind*. A violent tempest came on, and Gilbert, who sailed in the *Squirrel*, went down with his ship. A little before the bark disappeared, he was observed, by those in the other

The work of exploration was now taken up by Sir Walter Raleigh—one of the loftiest spirits of a lofty age. Raleigh was a thorough Englishman and an enthusiastic Protestant. Nothing was dearer to his heart than to checkmate the designs of Philip in America, the whole of which continent had been divided by Pope Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia) between Spain and Portugal, whose possessions he parted by an imaginary line, passing from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores. Sir Walter determined to plant the English flag in that vast region, and on the 26th of March, 1584,

obtained from the Queen a patent similar to the one which had been granted to Gilbert. The new attempt was to be made at or near a part of Florida where the French Protestants had formed some settlements, from which they were expelled by the Spaniards under circumstances of great barbarity. After a rather circuitous voyage, the explorers reached the coast of Florida, and were enchanted by the beauty of the land, the intense azure of the sky, the vivid sunlight, and the splendour of the starry nights. For a hundred and twenty miles, they sailed along those entrancing shores in search of a convenient harbour, and at length cast anchor in the haven since called Ocracoke Inlet, and now included in the State of North Carolina. Landing on the small island of Wocoken, which, together with some others, divides the Atlantic from Pamlico Sound, a country of extraordinary fertility spread out before them, and it was not until the third day that they had any proof of the island being inhabited. When at length the Indians appeared, they behaved with remarkable gentleness and hospitality, and the gratified explorers made them presents in exchange. On the return of the expedition to England, Elizabeth commanded that the country thus discovered should be called Virginia—a name now applied to a portion of the North American Continent somewhat different from that which was revealed in 1584.

Another expedition sailed from Plymouth under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, a relative of Raleigh, who unfortunately came into collision with the natives, and treated them with a severity which bore bitter fruit in subsequent years. At great peril, and at the cost of some lives, the colonists made explorations on the mainland; the natives became suspicious and unfriendly; and the English intruders struck terror into their minds by a treacherous massacre. Fresh colonists, including women and children, were sent out in 1587; but the affairs of the settlement did not prosper, and in 1589 Raleigh made over his Virginian patent, with some reservations, to a company of merchants. He had already expended £40,000 out of his own purse, and was unable to prosecute the scheme any farther. The families at Roanoke, sent out in 1587, mysteriously disappeared, and probably either perished of hunger, or were murdered by the Indians. Raleigh, who had conducted none of these expeditions personally, made five attempts, at his own expense, to discover and rescue the unfortunate settlers in the wilderness; but their exact fate has never been ascertained, and is now beyond all mortal knowledge.

Although the prospects of an American dominion were extremely tempting, Queen Elizabeth granted nothing out of the public funds towards the formation of new English communities in the west. This parsimony, which may perhaps have been unavoidable, explains the failure of the early attempts at colonisation. The settlements were not large enough to encounter the difficulties and dangers with which they had to cope, nor were they sufficiently supported by the power of the mother country. Such numerous disasters seemed for a time to daunt the national spirit; so that, from 1590 to 1602, little was done in the way of American exploration. In the latter year, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed due west across the Atlantic, instead of shaping his course, like his predecessors, in a south-westerly direction. In seven weeks he reached the Bay of Massachusetts; then, turning south, discovered a promontory, which he called Cape Cod. He and four of his sailors landed on the 14th of May, 1602, and were the first Englishmen who ever touched the soil of what was afterwards called New England. It was here that the Scandinavians of Norway and Iceland are said to have come, in the tenth century; but the nature of the country was little attractive to Englishmen, and Gosnold, returning to his vessel with his four companions, pursued his voyage to the south-west. The enterprising captain attempted to form a colony on an island which he called by the Queen's name; but the attitude of the natives was so hostile that the ground was speedily abandoned, and, on the death of Elizabeth in 1603, not a single Englishman was settled on the American Continent, after all the endeavours that had been made by Gilbert, by Raleigh, and by others.

The bases of a colonial Empire had, however, been laid, and, in another generation, America was to be the place of refuge for a body of religious dissenters who had arisen in England under the sceptre of Elizabeth. When the principles of the Reformation were adopted in this country, considerable difference arose as to how far they should be carried. Many were for retaining a good deal of the older Church, in doctrine, in ceremonial, and in government; others were for making the widest possible distinction, even to the abolition of episcopacy, and the abandonment of any distinctive clerical dress. The members of the latter party, whose influence in the Church of England was very considerable during the reign of Edward VI., were inclined to Calvinism in their theological ideas, and, had they ultimately prevailed, might perhaps have prevented the formation of those

Nonconformist bodies which James I. vainly endeavoured to suppress, and which founded enduring commonwealths beyond the Atlantic. Under Elizabeth, however, the Church of England leaned more towards the views of those who desired rather to reform the ancient practice than entirely to alter it. Queen Elizabeth herself was determined to establish a haughty and authoritative Church, which should leave nothing to the individual judgment. The Act of Uniformity of 1559 forbade the performance of divine worship otherwise than as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and empowered the Queen and her Commissioners to ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rights as might be considered decent and edifying. By a clause in the Supremacy Act of 1559, a tribunal was established, called the Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs. This Commission proceeded, not by the statute-law of the realm, but by the canon-law, and its prerogatives were so arbitrary and unbounded that the Spanish Inquisition itself is said to have been less powerful. The Commissioners might act on bare suspicion; might compel the accused to criminate himself, and send him to the rack if he proved contumacious. Nevertheless, the Act of Uniformity was not rigidly enforced for some few years; but in 1565 the Government

began to insist that its provisions should be observed. Two years later, thirty ministers in London refused submission to this tyrannical law. A separate congregation was set on foot, and Nonconformity assumed a tangible shape. The Puritan clergy, as they now began to be called, because they professed to restore the pure doctrines of Christianity, were deprived of their benefices, imprisoned, and fined. The Queen, who had assured the Archbishop of Canterbury that in matters of religion she would suffer no man to diverge either to the right hand or the left, set the laws in motion with unsparing rigour; but the Puritans resisted with a spirit equal to her own. Two of these troublesome people were hanged at Tyburn under a law passed in 1593; others took refuge at Amsterdam; others again held their ground in England, and disseminated their views in spite of everything the High Commission could do against them. The severity of the persecution, however, was somewhat relaxed before the death of Queen Elizabeth. The dissenters were largely represented in the House of Commons; their teaching was extensively received amongst the poorer classes; and the dictatorial policy of Elizabeth prepared the way for revolutionary movements in the future, of which she herself was only darkly conscious.

CHAPTER XVIII

WARS OF RELIGION IN THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE.

Association of the Netherlands with the Empire and with Spain—Origin and Character of the Population—Ancient Liberties of the Towns—Religious Persecution under Charles V.—Prosperity of the Netherlands—Spread of Protestantism—William the Silent, Prince of Orange—Opposition of the Netherlands to Spanish Encroachments—Arbitrary Directions of Philip II.—Beginning of Resistance—Cautious Policy of William the Silent—Persecution of the Reformers in Flanders—Proposals of Compromise—Origin of the Term, "the Beggars"—Political and Religious Missions—Preparations for Conflict—Outbreak of Civil War at the Close of 1566—Arrival of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands—His Arbitrary Powers and Pitiless Cruelty—The Council of Blood—Resignation of the Regent Margaret—The Inhabitants of the Netherlands Condemned to Death—Great Emigration of the People—Collection of an Army by the Prince of Orange—Warlike Operations in the Low Countries—Execution of Counts Egmont and Horn—Misfortunes of the Insurgents—The "Wild Beggars" and the "Beggars of the Sea"—Sympathy of the English People with the Patriots—William of Orange created Stadtholder—Character of the Dutch Population—Progress of the War—Charles IX. of France and the Protestants of the Low Countries—Treachery and Massacre—Battles on the Ice—Recall of Alva—The Battle of Mook Heath—Siege of Leyden—Breaking Down of the Dykes—Relief of the Besieged City—Desperation of the Spaniards—The Pacification of Ghent—France after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—Queen Elizabeth and the French Protestants—Siege of Rochelle—Huguenot Intrigues and General Disturbance—Success of Protestantism in the South of France—Mental Sufferings of Charles IX. after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew—His Last Illness, and Death—Succession of the Duke of Anjou to the Throne, as Henry III.—State of Anarchy and Civil War—Weak Character of the New King—Alliance between the "Political" Catholics and the Huguenots—Conclusion of Peace on Terms Favourable to the Reformers—Dissolution of French Unity—Formation of "the League"—Mutual Jealousy and Distrust.

PROTESTANTISM—the child of modern thought and re-awakening freedom—was nowhere more sorely tried than in the Netherlands, the association of

which country with Spain was a misfortune to both. To explain that association, we must go back a long way. In the eleventh century, the Netherlands

were divided into duchies, counties, and Imperial cities; and, of all the local princes, the Counts of Flanders were the most powerful. How prosperous, influential, and civilised were the Flemings of the Middle Ages, the reader has seen; but they were not sufficiently strong to preserve complete independence, and in 1384 they became subject to the rulers of Burgundy. Nearly the whole of the Netherlands soon followed; and when Charles the Bold perished at the battle of Nancy, in 1477, his dominions passed to his daughter Maria, who married Maximilian, son of Frederick III., Archduke of Austria and Emperor of Germany. By an edict of 1548, Charles V. united all the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries with the German Empire, under the name of the Circle of Burgundy, and they retained a nominal connection with that dominion as long as Charles continued to reign. When, on his abdication, the Imperial sceptre went to a younger branch of the House of Austria, the Netherlands were entirely disunited from the Empire, and became an appanage of the Spanish crown. The connection was ill-omened, for there was little prospect of harmony between the countries thus arbitrarily brought together. It was certain that the stronger would domineer over the weaker, and it was not certain that the weaker would submit.

Four of the Netherland provinces, adjoining France, were inhabited by a people to whom has been given the name of Walloons. They were the descendants of the Gallic Belgæ, and at the present day form one of the principal elements in the population of Belgium. The spirit of independence was always strong in these communities: they resisted the Caesars long after the rest of Gaul had been over-run, although ultimately compelled to accept the Roman government and manners; and, in later times, the habits of self-government have been jealously preserved. The Walloons were Gauls, and their name declares the affinity of the race with the Welsh and the Wallachians. Their language was, and still is, a dialect of French, and the people, in former ages, showed no difficulty in combining with their western congeners, though resolute to maintain their civic liberties. The other thirteen provinces were more or less Teutonic in their population, which was Flemish in the south-west, and Dutch in the north-east. As regarded local self-government, each province was an independent State, and the liberties of the people were peculiar and extensive. A slight bond of federal union was supplied by the States General (an assembly of deputies sent by each province), and by the Supreme Tribunal established at

Mechlin, which exercised an appellate jurisdiction over the whole body. The sovereign princes, acknowledged by the people from time to time, did not at first interfere to any serious extent in the rights of the several commonwealths, but considered themselves the heads of a free republic. Charles V., however, made some encroachments, and was extremely severe with the Protestants, who became numerous in the Low Countries during the latter years of his reign. The persons thus put to death are said to have numbered many thousands; but the full vigour of the persecution was reserved for the next reign.

The prosperity of the Netherlands at this period was remarkable. Three hundred and fifty cities, six thousand three hundred towns, and an immense number of villages, furnished occupation to a large body of merchants and handicraftsmen. A foreign trade of vast proportions brought wealth into the land. Antwerp, by sharing in the Indian commerce of Spain and Portugal, became a centre of unbounded riches, and in the middle of the sixteenth century a splendid future was disclosing itself for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and some other places. The people, even to the peasantry, were well educated, and the arts were cultivated in Flanders with more success than in any other country, save Italy. Protestantism could not be long excluded from such a soil; but it entered in various forms. The provinces bordering on Germany became Lutheran; the Anabaptists, notwithstanding the extravagances associated with their name and creed, were numerous in Holland and Zealand; while Calvinism found favour with the Walloons of the western parts. The Flemings furiously resisted the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, on which Charles V. had set his heart; and, although they did not entirely succeed, the Papal authority was placed under some degree of subordination to the civil power. Still, the evil was great, and it became greater under the sway of Philip II. He had three or four thousand Spanish troops in the Low Countries; and with these he hoped to coerce the dangerous independence of the people.

The provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland, were at that time ruled by a man destined presently to achieve enduring renown—William, Prince of Orange, called, from his quiet and discreet manner, William the Silent. The House of Nassau, to which he belonged, was originally a German family, seated on the Rhine, and distinguished in the Middle Ages for its power and influence in the Empire. Early in the sixteenth century, the Counts of Nassau obtained by marriage the French principality of Orange, in

Provence, from which their most famous historic title is derived; but they also possessed several large domains and hereditary dignities in the Netherlands, and this, on the marriage of the Archduke Maximilian with Maria, daughter of Charles the Bold, made them vassals of Austria, afterwards of the Empire, and ultimately of Spain. William the Silent was born in 1533 at Dillenburg, in Nassau, and was subjected in early life to conflicting religious influences. His father, having become a Lutheran, brought up his son in the same communion; but Charles V., who took an interest in the boy, effected a temporary change in his views, or at least in his professions. When Charles resigned his Imperial crown and sceptre, it was to William of Orange, then only in his twenty-fourth year, that he entrusted the mission of delivering them to his brother Ferdinand. Philip of Spain was far from continuing towards the young prince the goodwill always shown by his father. While staying in the Low Countries, he conceived a violent antipathy to the representative of the House of Nassau, whom he regarded as the cause of his unpopularity with the Netherlanders. Before leaving for Spain, in August, 1559, he openly and insultingly accused him of having organised the opposition that had been manifest for some time past. The two parted with feelings of mutual dislike. In time, they were to be arrayed against one another, as the representatives of opposing principles.

Two other conspicuous rulers of the Netherlands at that time were Lamoral, Count Egmont (a descendant of the Dukes of Guelderland), who had the government of Flanders and Artois, and Philip de Montmorency, Count Horn, belonging to a branch of the French Montmorencies settled in the Low Countries. These three influential persons belonged to the patriotic party, who viewed with great disfavour the domineering manners of the Spaniards. Philip had left his possessions in that part of the Continent under the direction of his half-sister, Margaret, wife of Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma. William of Orange and Count Egmont were in the Council of the Regent; but she was chiefly influenced by the advice of Granvella, Bishop of Arras, whose policy, in matters both of Church and State, was imperious and tyrannical. In 1563, the Prince of Orange, and Counts Egmont and Horn, addressed a letter to Philip, in which they prayed for his dismissal. The King procrastinated, in the hope of dividing the nobles; but the agitation at length became so threatening that Granvella resigned, and retired to his private estate near Besançon. Protestantism

spread with redoubled vigour, and in 1564 Philip directed his sister Margaret to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent for the extirpation of heresy. Count Egmont went to Spain, to implore more just and considerate treatment, but permitted himself to be flattered and bribed until he lost all power of discrimination, and consequently brought away with him no satisfactory assurances. The followers of the reformed religion were imprisoned, tortured, and executed with great barbarity; and the sullen wrath of the people grew every day more menacing.

It was in October, 1565, that Philip despatched a letter to the Netherlands, in which he gave final and peremptory directions for enforcing both his father's edicts and his own with reference to dissent in religion. The more timid suggested that this letter should be suppressed until communications could again be opened with the King; but William of Orange, Egmont, and Horn, agreed that under such desperate circumstances it was better to bring matters to an issue at once, and therefore supported the immediate publication of the royal missive. The effect was such as they anticipated: the popular indignation found vent in pamphlets and other writings, which showed that, in the last resort, the people of the Low Countries would take up arms in defence of their religious freedom. William the Silent was indicated as the fittest man to lead a revolt—the fittest not merely by his high position, but by his conspicuous talents. To such a task he was extremely well disposed; for, when a resident at the Court of France, as a hostage for the peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, the French King, Henry II., believing him to be in the confidence of Philip, revealed the existence of a secret treaty, by which the sovereigns of France and Spain bound themselves to extirpate the Protestants in the dominions of both. Although at that time nominally a Catholic, William was wholly disinclined to intolerant measures; and after his liberation he adopted the views of Calvin, and communicated to the leaders of the Protestant party at Brussels the information with which he had become accidentally acquainted. When, therefore, he read the letter of Philip II. with reference to the future treatment of the Netherland heretics, he knew well what was coming, and his firm intellect was directed towards thwarting it in every possible way. With his usual caution, however, he kept his plans in reserve, and used all his influence to restrain the popular impatience, lest a premature rising should destroy the hopes of the reformers.

The persecution now became so strict that thirty thousand Flemings emigrated to England, the



WILLIAM THE SILENT, PRINCE OF ORANGE.
(From the Portrait in Joannis Meursii "Athenæ.")

manufacturing industry of which was powerfully stimulated by these skilful and ingenious artificers. A league of mutual protection was shortly afterwards formed by the Protestants of the Low

Countries, and the views of this body found expression in a document called "the Compromise," the authors of which protested their entire loyalty to the crown, but characterised the Inquisition as an

and iniquitous tribunal. The paper was read by many Catholics as well as Protestants, William of Orange, while declining to attach himself, supported the proposals of the others in official capacity as a member of the Council of State. Within his territories he refused to sanction laws of Philip against heretics, his example was followed by the Governors, who declared that they would not send their countrymen to the flames for exercising the natural rights of freemen. The presentation of a petition by a troop of cavaliers, in the spring of 1566, gave rise to the curious nickname by which the Flemish malcontents were subsequently known. One of the ministers having reassured the Regent Margaret that the petitioners were simply beggars, Viscount Brederode, one of the more liberal visitors, observed at a banquet, not long after, that his

undertaken. Thenceforward, the term *Gueux*, or Beggars, became the watchword of the party.

The popular agitation continued to increase. Western Flanders swarmed with missionaries, who



NOTRE DAME, ANTWERP.

had no objection to the name, as they were about to become beggars in the service of their country. He shortly afterwards left the hall, and, coming with a wallet and a wooden bowl, caused some of his companions to pledge themselves on those terms of mendicancy to the cause which they had

preached in a sense that was partly religious, partly political; and the congregations were protected by bodies of men on horseback who barricaded the roads with waggons, that the meetings might not be suddenly interrupted by the approach of troops. The Regent became alarmed, and, on her urgent re-

presentations, Philip conceded a few points, though none of material importance. It was well known that the King was not sincere in these favours, partial though they were; and he was supported in his original intentions by Pope Pius V., who exhorted him and his sister to persevere in extreme measures against the Protestants. Tumults broke out in several of the chief cities; saintly images were destroyed, and the susceptibilities of the Catholics outraged in many ways which the more reasonable members of the party deeply regretted. The terror of the Regent was so great that she made substantial concessions, only to withdraw them when the danger appeared to be removed. All this while, the Prince of Orange seemed to be doing nothing; but he was in truth doing a good deal. He had his secret agents in Spain, who kept him well informed as to what was intended by the Court; he was also enlisting troops in Germany, in view of the civil war which could not be long in coming. He had now returned to the Lutheran form of Protestantism, and this made him additionally popular with a large proportion of the Netherlanders. War broke out in the latter part of 1566, when the royal troops laid siege to Valenciennes, one of the strongholds of the Protestant heresy. Utrecht was shortly afterwards taken, and in March, 1567, a battle was fought near Antwerp, in which the insurgents suffered heavily. While the fight was proceeding, William of Orange, who was then in the city, ordered the gates to be closed, that the people might not join in the contest. This act of prudence occasioned him to be denounced as a traitor, and almost cost him his life. But he was doubtless right, for the movement was premature, and in a little while ended in a general collapse. The malcontents were punished with the ferocity that might have been anticipated from their tyrants; and William withdrew for a while to Dillenburg, in Nassau, his native place.

By the summer of 1567, all resistance seemed at an end, and peace might perhaps have been permanently restored, though on terms very unfavourable to the reformers, had not Philip resolved on sending to the Netherlands a military commander who had already distinguished himself by his unmitigated barbarity, and whose presence in any land was worse than fire or plague. The King talked of going in person to Flanders; but his courage was apparently not equal to the enterprise, and he despatched the Duke of Alva instead. The commission of this nobleman nominated him Captain-General of the Netherlands; and civil as well as military power was confided to his hands. On entering the Low Countries, Alva was

met by Count Egmont, whom, though in truth he was a Catholic, he insulted by describing as a great heretic—a description which he afterwards found it necessary to explain away. He entered Brussels on the 22nd of August, in the midst of a deep silence; and Margaret herself, who had been virtually deposed by his appointment, received him with studied coldness. The proceedings of the Captain-General in the new scene of his operations have justly earned for him the execration of mankind. He knew that the wish of his royal master was to effect the complete extermination of the Protestants, and his own nature and disposition completely fitted him for such a task. He began by substituting Spaniards for Walloons in the garrisons of the principal towns, and soon afterwards arrested Egmont and Horn. Further emigration was prohibited on pain of death, and Alva then organised a tribunal, of which the official title was the Council of Tumults, but which the people soon learned to call the Council of Blood. One of the principal members of this body was a Spanish lawyer of the worst character, named Juan de Vargas; but several of his colleagues were equal to him in atrocity, if not in vigour and enterprise. Among the earliest acts of the Council was the issue of a summons to the Prince of Orange and his companions to appear at Brussels within six weeks, that divers charges might be alleged against them. Before the close of 1567, Margaret had retired from the administration of the Netherlands, and Alva succeeded her as Regent and Governor-General. She had always been reluctant to push matters to the worst extremities, and, as long as she remained, the ferocity of Alva was held in some degree of restraint. After her departure, the savage disposition of the new Regent was unchecked by any authority higher than his own. A sentence of the Inquisition, published on the 16th of February, 1568, condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death, with only a few exceptions: ten days later, the decree was confirmed by a royal proclamation, which commanded that this almost inconceivable crime should be carried out without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Fully to accomplish such a purpose was of course impossible; but large numbers of people were tortured, hanged, or beheaded, by the sentence of Philip and the agency of Alva. Many of the people escaped from the cities into the neighbouring forests; several of the towns were to a large extent depopulated; and it is affirmed that at Ghent half the houses were abandoned within a short period. The Prince of Orange, in his German retreat, was no uncon-

cerned spectator of these horrors. His first care was to raise money by contributions from the Netherlands, and by pawning his own plate and jewels; his next was to create an army sufficiently numerous to encounter the forces of Alva with a fair probability of success. It is lamentable to record that the German Lutherans deliberately refused to assist the Prince, because some of the Low Country Protestants were Calvinists, whose extermination it would be a wickedness to hinder. Nevertheless, William the Silent was able to collect a body of forces, with which he entered the Netherlands in the spring of 1568. The first efforts of his lieutenants were unsuccessful; but, on the 23rd of May, Louis of Nassau, the brother of William, defeated Count d'Aremberg, and a body of Spanish veterans, in the neighbourhood of Heyligerlee. Somewhat alarmed by this reverse, Alva determined to strike terror into the people by the speedy execution of Counts Egmont and Horn; and both were beheaded in the great square of Brussels on the 5th of June.

Having swept these leading patriots out of his path, Alva marched in person against Louis of Nassau, who retired before his formidable opponent, and took up a position between Emden and Leer. His forces were numerous, but ill-disciplined, and he had concentrated them in a narrow peninsula, from which escape was impossible in the event of defeat. Several of his troops deserted; the rest were killed, or put to flight; and the General himself escaped by swimming across the river Ems. By this time, the Prince of Orange was himself in the field, in command of a German army occupying the banks of the Meuse and the Scheldt. Lack of money hampered his operations, and Alva wore out the patience of his men by a series of manœuvres, ingeniously contrived to avoid a general action. William and Louis retreated into Germany; Alva entered Brussels in triumph; and for some time the country enjoyed a species of tranquillity—the tranquillity of terror and exhaustion. The cruelty of Alva, however, underwent but little diminution. Every kind of extortion was employed to obtain money; but the country was impoverished by its sufferings, and the Regent was embarrassed for want of funds. Except under the immediate pressure of his forces, anarchy had settled on a land once famous for its orderliness and prosperity. The open parts of the country were infested by banditti, calling themselves "Wild Beggars"—men who had been driven from the towns by the savage persecutions of Alva, and who, taking up their abode in the forests, lived by violence and rapine; while on the neighbouring

waters there were pirates, termed "Beggars of the Sea," to whom the Prince of Orange had granted letters of marque, and who sold their prizes in the English ports. Alva alleged many grievances against the Government of Elizabeth, and a sort of irregular warfare, without any declaration of hostilities on either side, sprang up between the English nation and the Spanish administrator of the Netherlands. As yet, Elizabeth refrained from sending an army into the Low Countries; but she helped the patriots with money, and Alva arrested every Englishman he could find, besides confiscating all English property within his jurisdiction.

At length the Spanish Government made serious complaints at London with respect to the succour granted in English ports to the Beggars of the Sea; and in 1572 Elizabeth issued an order forbidding her subjects to supply the Dutch pirates with provisions. One of the principal of these privateersmen, a commander named de la March, was at that time in England; and, finding it necessary to leave, he went with twenty-four vessels to Voorne, the most northerly of the Zealand isles, seized on Briel, and made the fortified harbour of that town the chief stronghold of the Water Beggars. This was a very important position, the command of which added immensely to the resources of the insurgents. The revolt, which for a time had languished, sprang up again in several towns and provinces. All the principal cities of Holland combined in resisting the Spanish tyranny; a state of virtual independence was established; and, in the summer of 1572, the Prince of Orange called a meeting of nobles and deputies, to consult with him at Dort. Representatives from eight of the cities appeared in answer to this summons, and it was declared that the States thus constituted recognised William of Orange as the Spanish King's lawful Stadtholder in Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht. The deputies bound themselves, moreover, to use their influence with the other provinces to procure his appointment as Protector of all the Netherlands during the absence of Philip. This memorable act, though it still recognised the dependence of Holland upon Spain, and observed all the forms of loyalty, was in truth the first step towards the formation of that Dutch Republic which afterwards became so famous. Holland was the Batavia of ancient Roman history. From the tenth to the fifteenth century, it had been governed by Counts under the German Emperors. In 1436 it was annexed to Burgundy, and in 1477 went to Austria with the rest of the Netherlands, owing to the marriage of Maria of Burgundy with the

Archduke Maximilian. The population of Holland belongs to the Low German division of the Teutonic race, and is therefore very closely allied to the English people. The land, flat, bare, and marshy, protected from the inroads of the sea by vast dykes and mounds, and traversed by numerous canals, is so artificial in its character that it has been said "the Dutch built Holland." In courage, self-reliance, industry, commercial enterprise, and masterly seamanship, the Dutch have never been surpassed; and nothing but their numerical inferiority could so long have kept them in an obscure position among the nations of Europe.

The year of this important declaration was that tragically distinguished by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The meeting of the Dutch nobles and deputies took place on the 15th of July, and the famous Massacre began on the 24th of August. In the intermediate weeks, it had seemed that France was inclining towards the Protestant cause, and Philip of Spain became very uneasy in consequence. We have seen that Charles IX. even despatched some troops to the Netherlands; but it is said that they consisted entirely of Huguenots, who were purposely led into positions where they were certain to be overmatched and slaughtered. In July, however, it was not known that the French Government entertained such a design, and Philip, dreading a combination against him, thought it prudent to authorise some few concessions. As usual, they came too late. The insurrection went on, both in Holland and Flanders. William the Silent, and his brother Louis of Nassau, had already in the spring obtained some marked successes over the Spanish troops. Various cities were captured, and Alva, notwithstanding his military genius, and his numerous triumphs during a long career, began to despair of success against the aroused patriotism of a whole nation. He resorted to his former system of manœuvring in such a way as to wear out his antagonist, without giving him the opportunity of fighting a general engagement. The Massacre at Paris showed the Protestants that nothing was to be hoped from France. William of Orange could do little. His funds ran out; his troops became insubordinate; and in the autumn of 1572 he again crossed the Rhine into Germany. Louis of Nassau, who had seized Mons, was obliged to capitulate, and the remaining Huguenots returned to France, where it is said they were all put to death by order of the King, with the exception of their leader, La Noue, who was received with distinction, apparently with a view to some ulterior purpose. The King actually instructed his envoy in the Netherlands to urge upon Alva the

propriety of slaughtering all the French prisoners he had made, or might make, notwithstanding that they had been despatched into the Netherlands by his own directions. It would be difficult to believe such an accusation, if the evidence did not rest upon a letter from Charles himself to his envoy Mondoucet, discovered not long since in the library at Rheims. The diabolical suggestion was endorsed by Philip of Spain, and to some extent carried out by Alva. In every place where his power could be freely exercised, men, women, and children were massacred with unswerving pertinacity.

The insurrection languished in Brabant and Flanders; but in Holland the patriots became every day stronger and more successful. William the Silent soon returned to his Dutch subjects, and a Council of State was assigned him, to assist in the government of the revolted territory. The struggle continued for several years, and in every direction was disgraced by unsparing cruelty on the part of the Spaniards—a cruelty so excessive that it was occasionally revenged by the patriots in acts of equal horror. Battles took place during the winter upon frozen lakes and streams; a Dutch fleet, caught in the ice near Amsterdam, was attacked and defended by infantry; and the evolutions of the insurgents were sometimes performed on skates. Alva, seeing the advantage this conferred upon the adversary, ordered his own troops to be instructed in the same method of passing over the ice; but the Spaniards suffered from the rigour of the season in a far greater degree than those to whom a low temperature was native. Haarlem was invested by the royalists, and held by the Dutch with extraordinary valour and constancy. A corps of three hundred women aided in the defence; but, after a siege of seven months, the place surrendered on the 12th of July, 1573. The usual slaughter followed, although Don Frederick de Toledo, the son of Alva, who conducted the siege, had promised that none should be punished, except those who were condemned by the citizens themselves. Alkmaar was attacked without success, owing partly to the heroism of the people, partly to the fear inspired by a design of William the Silent for cutting the dykes, and flooding the whole country. Alva was now getting weary of his task, and, in December, 1573, was relieved, at his own request, from further service in the Netherlands. He returned to Spain, boasting that he had executed 18,600 of the people he had been charged to govern, and his post was conferred on Don Louis de Requesens, who had acted as Vice-Admiral to Don Juan of Austria, and shown courage and ability at the battle of Lepanto. The

new Regent was a just and humane man; but his good intentions were hampered by instructions from Madrid, and by the influence of the Council of Tumults created by Alva. The revolutionary movement had gone too far to be bought off by a few partial concessions, extorted by fear, and liable at any moment to be treacherously withdrawn. Hostilities were pursued with energy and varying success; but, for the most part, the insurgents were more fortunate at sea than on the land. The battle of Mook Heath—a village on the Meuse, not far from Nimeguen—ended in a great disaster to the patriots. The Dutch were commanded by Louis of Nassau, who, together, with a small body of his companions, was slain in some manner which could never be exactly ascertained.

This was about the close of February, 1574. Shortly afterwards, the siege of Leyden, which had been commenced at a somewhat earlier date, was pressed with additional vigour. The defence of this city was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war; but it would in all probability have failed, had it not been for the special, and even desperate, measures to which William the Silent resorted, as the only means of saving the position. His head-quarters at that time were at Delft and Rotterdam; and it occurred to him that he might relieve Leyden by breaking down the dykes of the Meuse and the Yssel. As, however, the flood would submerge a wide tract of land, and destroy a vast amount of property, including the crops then far advanced towards the harvest, he hesitated to adopt so extreme a course without first obtaining the consent of those more immediately affected. This was given with noble self-abnegation; and, on the 3rd of August, 1574, William the Silent superintended the cutting of the dykes on the Yssel. The sluices of Rotterdam were opened at the same time, and the liberated waters quickly spread over the low-lying and marshy district near the outfall of the Meuse. Two hundred flat-bottomed boats, stored with provisions, were ready to sail for the beleaguered city; but the difficulties of the passage proved greater than William had anticipated. The course of the flotilla was interrupted by successive dykes, which it was necessary to cut through, at a vast expenditure of labour, and under fire of the Spanish guns. The wind was dead against the relieving force, and more than once drove the waters back towards the North Sea; but after a while more favourable gales set in and, on the night of October 1st—a night of storm and darkness—the vessels floated on towards their place of destination. Before they could attain that point, however, a

naval battle had to be fought with the ships of the enemy. It was one of the strangest encounters in history. The opposing craft floated over a drowned country, and, from the midst of the waters, the tops of trees and the roofs of houses rose up amidst the vessels of the combatants. Victory at length fell to the Dutch, and the Spanish troops around Leyden found the inundation so close upon them that a hurried retreat became imperative. The beleaguered city was relieved on the morning of October 3rd, and on the following day a gale from the north-east blew the waters, now no longer needed for defence or succour, back towards the ocean whence they had been temporarily drawn. Assistance had arrived only just in time; for the citizens of Leyden had already suffered miserably from want of food, and must ere long have succumbed to the pressure of famine and disease, if not to the assaults of the enemy.

The Emperor Maximilian now repeated an offer of mediation which had been refused once before, and a congress was held at Breda in the early months of 1575. No arrangement, however, was effected, and, on the resumption of the war, the Spaniards obtained some successes which placed the insurgents in a critical position. Queen Elizabeth, fearful of offending the Spanish sovereign, turned a deaf ear to the prayers of the Netherlands, and even William of Orange began to lose heart. The Regent Requesens died in March, 1576, and a period of anarchy ensued, in which the Council of State—the only representative of Spanish authority at Brussels—was unable to curb the insolence of a soldiery debauched by long excesses, and infuriated by lack of pay. Cities were sacked; Antwerp was desolated with fire and sword. But the patriots were now animated by a greater community of purpose than in the earlier days of the struggle. An alliance between the northern and southern provinces of the Netherlands was effected about this time by a treaty called the Pacification of Ghent, which bears date November 8th, 1576. The conclusion of the agreement had been preceded by the surrender of the Spanish garrison in that ancient city, after a very determined resistance; and nearly the whole of Zealand was soon recovered from its foreign masters. At the close of 1576, therefore, the prospects of the insurgents were brighter than they had been for a long time; yet the insane pride and ferocious bigotry of Philip prevented his withdrawal from a conflict which was almost as ruinous to himself as to the people whom he was making such frantic efforts to subdue.

During the progress of these events in the Low Countries, France was gradually recovering from the effect produced by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Charles IX. had in the first instance endeavoured to fix the guilt of that enormous crime upon the Guises; but he afterwards publicly admitted that the Huguenots had been slaughtered by his command. When, however, the excitement of the time had passed,

feeling of horror at what had been accomplished. Yet, with her usual prudence, she abstained from any active interference, lest a combination of France and Spain should endanger her own realm. The French Protestants still held Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Nismes, together with several fortresses in the Cevennes. The retention of Rochelle was especially important, and for a time it was hoped that Elizabeth would send an



THE ROYAL PALACE, AMSTERDAM.

even the French courtiers felt ashamed of what had happened. In other countries, the events of August 24th, 1572, were regarded with indignant horror; and when Fenelon, the French Ambassador at London, presented himself before Elizabeth, shortly after the dreadful tragedy, he passed through ranks of ladies and gentlemen dressed in deep mourning, and was received in a dead silence, which the Queen, who sat with averted face, was long before she dispelled.* When at last she spoke, she conveyed to the French representative her

army to help the citizens in their defence. Nothing of the kind, however, was even offered, and in 1573 the Queen gave great offence to the Huguenots by consenting to become godmother to the infant daughter of Charles IX. In their indignation, they intercepted an English squadron conveying the Earl of Worcester to France as the representative of England at the baptism, captured and plundered one of his ships, and killed some among his suite. The defence of Rochelle was conducted with memorable gallantry. The position was naturally very strong; men, women and children were alike animated by the most exalted spirit; the besieging force was weakened by a dreadful pestilence, which caused numerous deaths; and in

* This is the subject of the picture by Mr. W. F. Yeames, R.A., which is engraved on p. 187 of the present volume.

June, 1573, a peace was concluded with the Huguenots, by which the cities of La Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban capitulated to the royal armies, but only on the understanding that they were to be governed as small local republics, and to enjoy religious liberty.

Notwithstanding this arrangement with the Huguenots, France continued to be deeply agitated by religious dissensions, and, in the early part of

the Huguenot forces in the Low Countries, and had afterwards, been sent to La Rochelle to negotiate with the malcontents, headed a great insurrection in the south, and a large tract of country was speedily reduced under the rule of the Protestants. In the midst of these ominous events, Charles IX. reached the termination of his miserable life. Ever since the frightful scenes attending the massacre which his mother had planned, Charles



LA ROCHELLE.

1574, several of the south-western provinces united with Languedoc and Guienne in opposition to the Catholics. Shortly after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Henry of Navarre and the young Prince of Condé were persuaded, as the only means of saving their lives, to make profession of the orthodox faith; but their seeming compliance was a mere device for gaining time, and it soon became known that they were connected with intrigues for revolutionising both Church and State. Catherine de' Medici, who still, to all intents and purposes, exercised the paramount authority, endeavoured to remove her enemies by secret assassination, but was not always successful in the attempt. La Noue, who had commanded

had suffered the keenest agonies of dismay and apprehension. He told his physician that he was haunted by pale, blood-stained faces; that he burned with fever; that his mind and body were equally upset. To his overwrought imagination, the air was often filled with shrieks, groans yells, threats, and blasphemies, such as he had heard on that memorable night when the assassins were summoned to their work by the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. These mental terrors increased as the last illness of the King acquired a resistless hold. It was one of the features of his malady—a phenomenon rare, but not altogether unknown—that blood would at times ooze through his skin; and he regarded this awful fact as a sign of the

Divine anger at the massacre he had authorised. If the most favourable accounts are to be believed, he exhibited at the last profound contrition; but it is doubtful how far the natural agitation of his mind carried him in the direction of a sincere repentance. He expired on the 30th of May, 1574, wanting about a month of twenty-four. As if to give an additional horror to a story not easily to be paralleled in its tragic gloom, rumours were current at the time that the King had really died of poison, and suspicion pointed to his mother as the person who had contrived his end. There are circumstances which favour this view; but it is not capable of proof, and we must forbear from adding another shade of blackness to a dark and evil memory.

As Charles IX. left no legitimate son, the French crown passed to his brother, the Duke of Anjou, who, for some little time, as the reader is aware, had occupied the throne of Poland. Catherine de' Medici urged him to come back without delay; but he had no little difficulty in escaping from the country of his adoption. When at length he got away by a stratagem, he carried with him several crown-jewels of great value, and, riding off with breathless speed, paused not until he had crossed the frontiers of Moravia, where the Poles in pursuit could not follow him. Finding himself in safety, he traversed the rest of the way with so much deliberation, that it was the early part of 1575 before he entered his French dominions. In the meanwhile, Catherine acted as Regent, and took advantage of her power to make a truce with the Huguenots. Nevertheless, the south of France continued in a state of anarchy. The Protestants assumed a position of irreconcilable hostility to the Government; various associations were formed for the promotion of different designs; the opposing factions conducted wars with one another, made peace, appointed officials, and imposed taxes; and the authority of the crown was almost at an end in some of the most fertile and wealthy of the French provinces. When Henry III. took up the loosened reins of government, he found himself deprived of many advantages enjoyed by his predecessors. The forms of centralisation which had existed since the days of Louis XI., and which rendered government comparatively easy, had been shattered by recent events, and the unity of the Church was broken by the existence of a powerful schism. Henry at once resolved that he would make no terms with the Huguenots. They were ordered to leave the kingdom, unless they would conform to the State religion; but the character of Henry was too nerveless, profligate, and frivo-

lous to act with decision. Discontent became general; even the Catholics were dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs. A certain number of them, representing the more moderate and reasonable side of orthodoxy, enrolled themselves in a body, called by its own members "the Politicians," and by its enemies "the Malcontents." In February, 1575, a league was signed between the Huguenots, under the leadership of the Prince of Condé, and the party of the Liberal Catholics, represented by Marshal de Damville, one of the three brothers Montmorency. This confederacy was afterwards joined by the King's brother, the Duke of Alençon, who was animated, however, by no better feeling than personal ambition.

Henry of Navarre managed to escape from the watchful care of Catherine in 1576, and, crossing the Loire at Saumur, joined the Protestant insurgents. The King and his mother felt alarmed, and negotiations were opened with the enemy. Peace was signed on the 6th of May, 1576, when extremely favourable conditions were granted to the Protestants. They were to be free to practise their religion throughout the kingdom, except at Paris, and in the precincts of the court. Mixed chambers, composed of an equal number of Catholic and Protestant judges, were to be instituted in all the Parliaments of France; all sentences passed against the Huguenots were annulled; and eight towns were placed in their hands, as security for the fulfilment of these concessions. The Duke of Alençon, who had not the least sympathy with the Protestants, but desired to use them as a means of promoting his own ends, obtained as an appanage the provinces of Touraine, Berri, and Anjou, where he was allowed to exercise powers not far short of sovereign. He now took the title of the Duke of Anjou, which had been that of his brother before his accession to the throne. Important powers were also conferred on Henry of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Marshal Damville. France seemed on the eve of splitting up into a number of small, independent States, and, as the King was childless, it was feared that, under certain contingencies, such as in fact afterwards ensued, the crown might devolve to the House of Bourbon, the leaders of which were Huguenots.

It was under these circumstances that the Catholics formed, with a view to mutual defence, the celebrated association called "the League." By a close alliance the Protestants had done much for themselves; it was therefore natural to suppose that, by a resort to the same means, the Catholics might be equally successful. Certain associations had been already formed by the clergy and the

Jesuits in the principal towns and rural districts ; and it was now the task of Henry, Duke of Guise, to combine the several brotherhoods into one large body, bound together by a corporate interest, and by the faith which they held in common. A document was speedily put in circulation, which declared that the objects of the League were to re-establish and maintain the service of God, in harmony with the rites of the Catholic and Apostolic Church ; to preserve the authority of King Henry and his successors, according to the tenor of the coronation oath, and the constitutions of the States-General ; to restore the ancient liberties enjoyed under Clovis ; and to punish with death any one who, after taking the oath, should abandon the League. It seems not improbable that the members of the League entertained other objects besides those which they avowed ; that they proposed to exterminate the Huguenots, to bring the Duke of Anjou to justice, to shut up the King himself in a monastery, and to bestow the crown on the Duke

of Guise. When the existence of these projects (if, indeed, they were really entertained, which is not absolutely certain) came to the knowledge of Henry III., he determined to disarm the League, so far as any danger to his own power was concerned, by placing himself at its head. This gave great offence to the States-General when they met ; and the voting of supplies was refused, though the extirpation of Protestantism was demanded, as necessary to the general repose. The peace of 1576 had not been observed by either side, and, while the States were sitting, the Huguenots were making conquests in the South. Another pacific arrangement was concluded at Bergerac in September, 1577 ; but it was as illusory as those which had gone before. Neither party could place any reliance on the other, and France continued to be desolated by civil and religious feuds, which were fast losing all the dignity they had ever possessed, and becoming identified with worldly ambitions and frivolous designs.

CHAPTER XIX.

FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS.

Disgraceful Character of Henry III. of France—Expedition of the Duke of Anjou (Alençon) to Flanders—His Brief Rule in that Country, Expulsion, and Death—Disputed Succession to the French Throne—Action of the Catholic League—The Duke of Guise in Arms against the King—Concessions of Henry—The "War of the Henries"—Conspiracy of the League—Continued War with the Huguenots—Collision between the King and the Duke of Guise—The "Day of the Barricades"—Flight of Henry III. from Paris—His Submission to the Demands of the League—Assassination of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine—Death of Catherine de' Medici—Excommunication of the French King—Insurrection against his Authority—Assistance rendered by Henry of Navarre—Discomfiture of the Leaguers—Assassination of Henry III.—Affairs of the Spanish Peninsula and of Northern Africa—Conquest of Portugal by Spain—Struggle for the Possession of the Azores—Progress of the Revolt in the Netherlands—Don John of Austria appointed to the Regency—Popularity of the Prince of Orange—Queen Elizabeth Assists the Low Country Protestants with Men and Money—Varied Fortunes of the War—Rivalry of Foreign Patrons—Separation of the Walloon from the Dutch Provinces—Capture of Maestricht—Rewards offered by Philip II. for the Assassination of William the Silent—French Assistance in Flanders and Brabant—Deposition of Philip from the Sovereignty of the Netherlands—Assertion of the Doctrine of Popular Right—William of Orange wounded by a Fanatic—Tumult at Antwerp—Recovery of Spanish Power—Assassination of the Prince of Orange—Siege and Capture of Antwerp—English Troops sent to the Netherlands under the Earl of Leicester—Siege of Zutphen, and Death of Sir Philip Sidney—Arrogant Conduct of Leicester—Siege of Sluys by the Duke of Parma—Return of Leicester to England—Spain and the Protestants—Sir Francis Drake at Lisbon—Successes of the Dutch—Death of the Duke of Parma—Vigorous Operations of Prince Maurice of Orange—Domestic Tyranny of Philip II.—Suppression of the Liberties of Aragon—Rapid Decay in the Prosperity of Spain.

In the long and miserable list of bad monarchs, it would be difficult to find one more weak, vicious, and contemptible, than Henry III. of France. When a youth, he showed some courage and military aptitude at the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, on both which occasions the Huguenots were defeated ; but the unmitigated profligacy in which he afterwards indulged, with alternations of bigotry and superstition, seems to have de-

stroyed every fibre of manliness in his nature, until at length his character approximated closely to those of Nero and Commodus. Surrounded by disreputable favourites, he gave himself up to idle debaucheries and effeminate pleasures, while the country sank into a vortex of revolution and civil war, which threatened to dissolve the very substance of political and social life. The hopes of the nation were fixed on the Duke of Anjou

(formerly the Duke of Alençon), who, though an intriguer, insincere in his friendships and ambitious in his views, was at least vigorous and enterprising. But the life of this prince was not much prolonged. It will be recollected that in 1575 he joined the Huguenots, for the promotion of his own ends; six years later, he collected a French army in support of the Flemish patriots. The project was favoured by Henry III.—not, assuredly, out of any love for the Low Country Protestants, but in order to rid himself of a troublesome brother and a number of heretic subjects. The Duke of Anjou, who had recently been invested with sovereign power over Flanders and Brabant, crossed the frontier in August, 1581, and besieged Cambrai. He was at first received by the Netherlanders with some favour; and as, at that time, there seemed a prospect of the French prince marrying Elizabeth of England, he was regarded as the future head of the Reformation. The nuptials, however, were broken off, and the Duke of Anjou soon afterwards gave deep offence by endeavouring to rule despotically, with the aid of French garrisons in the principal cities, such as Antwerp and Bruges. He was expelled from the Low Countries in June, 1583, and in the course of another year expired in France, the victim of broken hopes, and of a life ill spent.

The death of the King's brother, in 1584, was an event of great importance to the French nation; for it was now pretty certain that Henry III. would have no children, nor had the Duke of Anjou left any issue. The question, therefore, arose—who would be the lawful sovereign of France, in the event of Henry's death? Henry of Navarre was in the right line from Louis IX.; but, as a Protestant, he was distasteful to the majority of the French people. A claim was accordingly put forward on behalf of Henry, Duke of Guise, a descendant of Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carolingian race which once ruled in France; though, in such a case, the rightful heir would have been the Duke of Lorraine, and not Henry of Guise. The Catholic League supported the claim with great animation, and let slip no opportunity of insisting on the duty which Frenchmen owed to their religion. For the present, however, a puppet was advanced in the person of Cardinal Bourbon, uncle of Henry of Navarre, an old and imbecile ecclesiastic, who might be set aside at any moment. A manifesto was published in the name of this dignitary, and the Leaguers at once took up arms against the King. They had previously entered into a compact with Philip of Spain, by which the contracting

parties engaged to extirpate heresy both in France and the Netherlands, and to exclude from the French throne any prince who should either profess or tolerate the doctrines of Protestantism. Philip was to grant a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns in aid of the cause; and the designs of the conspirators received the approval of the Pontiff. Thus aided, the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne entered the field in the early part of 1585. A large proportion of Frenchmen enthusiastically endorsed their pretensions; Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany, declared against the King; and all the principal cities of the north, east, and south-east, threw in their lot with the insurgents.

Henry III. was staggered by this sudden and unexpected revolt. Several important cities still preserved their loyalty, and he might, by a display of courage and resolution, have re-established his power. But the prospect of an immediate advance on Paris scared him into a policy of conciliation, to which he might otherwise have been little inclined. By a treaty concluded at Nemours, he promised to revoke all edicts in favour of the Protestants, and to enforce the universal profession of orthodoxy. At this period of her history, France required a firm and just ruler, capable of repressing faction, whether in the one direction or the other. Unhappily, the last sovereign of the House of Valois was a man of feeble will and corrupt nature, who yielded to each side in turn, as it happened to be in the ascendant, and who counted nothing higher than his own safety and enjoyment. His convictions were those of a Catholic; yet he intrigued with the Huguenots, in the hope of avoiding danger. He now sacrificed the Protestants, out of no conscientious scruple, however mistaken, but from the mere instinct of self-preservation. Of course the leaders of the reforming party were indignant at the betrayal of their cause, and civil war again broke out. This war has been called that of "the Henries," from the three persons principally engaged—Henry III., Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Guise. It was distinguished by no decisive battles, but kept a large part of the country in a state of permanent devastation, from which every class suffered in a ruinous degree.

Paris was now completely under the dominion of the Duke of Guise and of the League. The latter proceeded to establish a species of working committee, which, from the number of its members, was called the Council of Sixteen. This secret body, to which each of the sixteen wards of the French capital sent a representative, employed itself in organising the popular forces against the Government. When their preparations were com-

plete, the conspirators determined to surprise the chief military posts, blockade the royal palace of the Louvre, execute the principal officers of the court, and force the King to abdicate. A disclosure of the contemplated plot prevented its accomplishment; but Henry felt his insecurity, and saw that his only chance lay in the speedy suppression of the Huguenots. The war was therefore prosecuted with redoubled vigour; and, although Henry of Navarre gained an important victory over the royal forces at Coutras on the 20th of October, 1587, the balance of advantages, as concerned the whole campaign, was on the side of the Catholics. The power of the Duke of Guise, however, remained as formidable as ever. Indeed, the late events had even increased it; for the general voice declared that the successes of the royal army were almost entirely due to the genius of the popular hero. The Sorbonne passed a decree affirming that it was lawful to depose rulers who had betrayed their trust; and Henry, well knowing the source from which that doctrine was derived, and the object of its promulgation, interdicted Guise from entering Paris. This brought matters to an issue, and a struggle ensued between the power of the King and the power of the Duke.

During four months, Guise remained in the provinces, while the Council of Sixteen endeavoured to excite an insurrection in his favour. At the end of that time he returned to Paris, and, on the 8th of May, 1588, was received by the people with every manifestation of rejoicing. He had an ally in Catherine de' Medici, who introduced him into her son's cabinet at the very time when Henry and his ministers were consulting as to whether he should not be put to death. Some consultations followed, in which the Duke assumed a much higher tone of authority than Henry himself. The latter was seeking to gain time, that he might bring reinforcements into Paris. Several additional troops arrived during the night of May 11th; but the managers of the League were not taken by surprise. The citizens of Paris were rapidly armed; the chief thoroughfares were blocked by heavy barricades—a species of extemporary fortification often adopted in later days; and the King's troops were quickly overpowered by the forces of the revolution. This was the celebrated "Day of the Barricades," and it ended in the complete supremacy of the Duke of Guise, from whom the King was compelled to implore terms. The conditions which he imposed were so humiliating that Henry fled in despair from his capital, and power passed completely into the hands of Guise. A municipal government, strongly imbued with democratic principles, was at once established;

the Huguenots were proscribed, together with the so-called Political Catholics, whose object was to effect a liberal compromise; and the provinces were desired to send delegates to Paris, that all might consult upon the general welfare. Renewed negotiations were opened with the King, who had taken refuge at Chartres, and the terms originally proposed at Paris were now accepted, with but slight modifications. A session of the States-General was commenced in September at Blois, to which the King had shifted his quarters; but the tone of this body was so hostile that the prospect of an accommodation became extremely remote. The great object of the States was to confirm the sentence of exclusion from the throne already pronounced against the Bourbons; but they also demanded a redress of grievances. Henry was so wanting in all real power, so poor, and so unpopular, that he had no choice but to do as he was required; and on these conditions he was granted a small subsidy.

The dictation of the Duke of Guise was fast becoming intolerable. Henry cared nothing for the Huguenots, and could have had no great desire that Henry of Navarre should succeed him on the throne; but he was naturally sensitive on the score of his own dignity, and, as a man of pleasure, did not like the idea of being consigned to a monastery, which he knew to be one of the objects of the conspirators. Had he been a stronger man, he would have arrested the Duke of Guise, and brought him to trial; being weak and irresolute, he determined on a great crime. He persuaded himself that circumstances justified him in striking secretly at the life of his enemy, and he arranged with his intimate advisers the assassination of the Duke of Guise. That powerful leader was accordingly stabbed by a party of nobles on entering the King's chamber in the early morning of December 23rd, and expired at the foot of the royal bed; on the same day, his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was arrested, and put to death in prison. After the murder of the Duke, Henry entered the apartments of the Queen-Mother, and exclaimed, "Madam, congratulate me! I am once more King of France, for this morning I have put to death the King of Paris." Catherine was at that time lying in a mortal sickness, which seems to have unnerved her usually firm and composed nature. She was greatly agitated by the news, and it is probable that the shock of so grave an event accelerated the termination of her life. She died thirteen days later, on the 5th of January, 1589, when she had nearly attained the age of seventy. Cold, crafty, and remorseless, Catherine de' Medici was a true product of the political school of Macchiavelli, which taught that

cunning, cruelty, and disregard of conscience, were the only principles of wisdom for the guidance

The assassination of the Guises produced an effect entirely opposite to what the King had

hoped. Paris revolted immediately on learning the facts, and the Sorbonne passed a decree releasing all Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance—a sentence which was afterwards confirmed by the Parliament. By murdering a Cardinal, Henry had brought himself under the ban of the Church, and, being excommunicated by the Pope, stood in the position of an outlaw, against whom any man might act as he pleased. The greater part of France burst into a flame of insurrection, and the Duke of Mayenne, a brother of the murdered Guise, was made supreme chief of the Catholic Confederacy. Henry was terror-stricken at the opposition which his crime had aroused; but, gathering his adherents about him, he retired to Tours, and prepared to resist the Leaguers with such forces as he could command. Obviously, however, there was not the slightest chance of



ASSASSINATION OF HENRY, DUKE OF GUISE. (After the Picture by Delaroche.)

of sovereigns. Her influence on the characters of her two royal sons was in the highest degree pernicious; and the French people generally were much the worse for her long residence among them.

success unless he could materially augment his army; and, as a last resource, he craved succour of the Huguenots, and of the King of Navarre. An alliance was concluded in April, 1589, when

y of Navarre showed all the spirit and
osity which were leading characteristics of
ature. Even the French sovereign seemed to
regained the manliness of his earlier years,
he two Kings, advancing towards Paris, drove
eaguers before them. At the end of July,

on the 2nd of August. On the 31st of July,
therefore, Jacques Clement, after having fasted
and received the sacraments, quitted Paris with a
forged letter of recommendation to the King, and
proceeded to the outposts of the royal army at St.
Cloud. Next day he was conducted into the



PARIS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

y III. established his head-quarters at St.
l, and the Huguenots under the King of
re encamped at Meudon.

ris was threatened with capture, and the
rs of the revolution began to tremble for
lives. The Duchess of Montpensier, a sister
e late Duke of Guise, appealed to the
icism of the priesthood and the religious
s, and a Dominican monk, named Jacques
ent, was persuaded to undertake the murder
e King. No time was to be lost, for it was
n in Paris that an assault would be delivered

presence of Henry, who, not having the slightest
suspicion of what was contemplated, ordered his
attendants to retire, that he might privately confer
with his unknown visitor. The monk put a paper
into his hands, and, while he was reading it, drew
forth a knife, and stabbed him in the lower part of
the stomach. The King's outcries brought in the
royal guards, who killed the assassin on the spot
by repeated blows of their halberds. Henry
lingered until the early hours of the next morning
(August 2nd), when he expired in the thirty-eighth
year of his age. With him, the dynasty of Valois,

which, in the person of thirteen sovereigns, had occupied the French throne for a period of two hundred and sixty-one years, came to an end, and the House of Bourbon succeeded to a precarious crown. The assassination of Henry III. was approved by Pope Sixtus V. in full consistory, and the citizens of Paris hailed the mother of Clement, when she went there, with cries of extravagant laudation. Nothing is more remarkable, in this bloody contest between Henry III. and the Guise party, than the union of high Catholic with extreme democratic ideas. In the events of those days, we see the beginning of that much larger movement which broke out two centuries later. But by that time the religious element had disappeared, and the proletaire was at deadly feud with the priest.

The affairs of France have diverted our attention from those of the Spanish peninsula, where, however, during the reign of Henry III. at Paris, some events of importance had been proceeding. Chief amongst these was the conquest of Portugal by Spain—an achievement which, only a few years earlier, could hardly have been anticipated. Although a much smaller kingdom than Spain, Portugal had in some respects exhibited greater enterprise and vigour, and a greater aptitude for the difficult work of government. The explorations of the Portuguese, and their conquests and settlements in Asia, Africa, and America, showed the possession of certain high and imperial faculties in the nation, which the Spaniards may indeed have shared, but which they manifested in a less conspicuous measure. Under the reign of Manuel I., surnamed the Great, much was accomplished by which Portugal attained the rank and reputation of a first-class Power. John III., who succeeded that monarch, and reigned from 1521 to 1557, still further increased the strength of the kingdom. Unfortunately, however, John was the slave of the Jesuits, whom he invited into the country, and encouraged by the royal countenance. Two very distinguished members of this religious brotherhood, Simon Rodriguez and Francis Xavier, companions of Loyola in his earliest efforts, were for a time established in Portugal. After a while, Xavier was sent to the East Indies and Japan, where he achieved some remarkable results in the conversion of large numbers to Christianity. In Portugal itself, however, the influence of the Jesuits was as injurious as in all other European countries. The tyranny of the Inquisition became, under their guidance, so excessive that Spain itself was less intolerant. Everything was subordinated to the teachings of this priestly body,

and the followers of Loyola were the supreme power in the State when, on the death of John III. in 1557, the Portuguese crown descended to his grandson, a child of three, whose guardian was his grandmother Catherine, a sister of Charles V., and a bigot of the most unmitigated order. The infant King was brought up under the control of the Jesuits, and, on attaining to manhood, was little else than a crowned priest, disposed to martial achievements, but acting solely in the interests of the Church.

To the mind of King Sebastian, nothing seemed more glorious than to conduct a crusade against the Moors; and in 1574 he undertook an expedition to Africa. His operations were not attended by any brilliant success; but the ardour of his religious zeal experienced no abatement, and his thoughts were still bent on planting the banner of the Cross in territories which had long owned the supremacy of the Crescent. A disputed succession to the throne of Morocco filled that dominion with destructive anarchy, and exposed it to the assaults of the foreigner. Muley Mohammed, who had been deprived of the throne in 1575, after a brief and troublous reign, sought assistance from Sebastian of Portugal, who gladly seized the opportunity of again displaying his power in the north of Africa. Heedless of all dissuasions, Sebastian entered Morocco in the summer of 1578, accompanied by a large army, made up of Portuguese, Spaniards, Germans, and Italians. It was decided to attack El Arisch, which Sebastian, in the reckless spirit of knight-errantry, determined to reach by a dangerous and difficult march across the sandy deserts, though the place might have been reached by sea. At Alcassir, the Christian forces were defeated with enormous loss, and Sebastian himself was among the slain. The throne of Portugal was afterwards occupied by Cardinal Henry of Braga, a brother of John III.; but, as the direct line would manifestly end with him, several candidates for the succession soon arose. Of these, Philip II. of Spain was the most conspicuous. He was the son of an elder sister of John III., and many of the clergy and nobles were inclined to favour his pretensions. King Henry died on the 31st of January, 1580, and Philip II. prepared to support his cause by arms. The great body of the Portuguese people were adherents of Don Antonio, the natural son of Louis, a brother of John III.; and he was declared King, first at Santarem, and afterwards at Lisbon. Philip, however, sent an army into Portugal, under the command of the veteran Alva, who again showed his military genius and his savage disposition. The

Portuguese were defeated at Alcantara, and Antonio after hiding for some months, succeeded in escaping to Calais in January, 1581. Philip II. then entered Portugal, and received the homage of the Portuguese States assembled at Tomar. He took measures to secure his new possessions, and Europe looked on with seeming indifference at this vast accession to the power of Spain.

It must be remembered that the dependencies of Portugal in various parts of the world went with Portugal itself; so that by the brief war of 1580 an unscrupulous monarch had acquired, in addition to his own immense dominions, an Empire such as no other Power, except Spain itself, could boast of ruling. France and England were especially concerned in this act of rapacity and violence: France, because Spain under the House of Austria was animated by a feeling of hereditary antagonism; England, because Philip II. was the great champion of the Romish Church, and an inveterate conspirator against English Protestantism and English liberty. Yet neither country was in a position to save the lesser kingdom from the grasp of the greater. France, indeed, furnished some military and naval succours to Don Antonio in his attempt to hold the Azores; but the movement was crushed in a great naval battle fought on the 26th of July, 1582, in which the allies were totally worsted by the Spanish fleet under Santa Cruz. Antonio once more escaped, and, taking up a position at Terceira, one of the Azores, maintained a desperate resistance until 1583, when Philip succeeded in reducing the whole of these western islands to subjection. In 1589, the Portuguese hero combined with Sir Francis Drake in another attempt to re-establish the independence of his country; but his operations were as unfortunate as those of previous years, and in 1595 he died at Paris. No war had been declared between France and Spain in respect of Don Antonio; so that, when Santa Cruz took a number of French prisoners, he put them to death, on the ground that they could be regarded only as pirates—a contention which it would not have been easy to dispute. France and England were manifestly in dread of Spain; yet both sought to do covertly what they dared not openly avow. Philip II. retaliated by frequent plots against Henry III. of France and Elizabeth of England. He even, at one time, intrigued with the Huguenots, in the hope of effecting a revolution in France; but Henry of Navarre honourably acquainted the French sovereign with the offers made to him from Madrid.

The conquest of Portugal by Spain did much towards retrieving the military reputation of the

latter country, which had suffered by the revolt of the Netherlands, and the inability of the royal commanders to restore the authority of their master in that region. After the Pacification of Ghent, in November, 1576, the Low Countries enjoyed a brief period of repose, due, however, more to the temporary paralysis of Spanish power than to any sense of justice or humanity on the part of Philip. For eight months no successor to the Regent Requesens was appointed by the Government at Madrid, and, in the meanwhile, the predominance of Spain had no very distinct representative among the Dutch and Flemings. At length Philip nominated his half-brother, Don John of Austria, to the vacant post; but the revolution had by this time attained such serious proportions that the victor of Lepanto found it necessary to enter the Netherlands in the disguise of a Moorish slave. He saw that he could do little against the will of an armed and resolute people; and in January, 1577, the Union of Brussels, by confirming the arrangements that had been concluded at Ghent two months earlier, gave further guarantees that the Netherlands would not rest until the Spaniards had been expelled. Don John made various flattering concessions, but with no other design than to throw the patriots off their guard. His real intentions were apparent from intercepted letters, which fell into the hands of William the Silent; and on this account the leader of the revolution maintained an attitude of hostility, which to some appeared unreasonable.

The mass of the people, however, never lost faith in the Prince of Orange, and, in a progress through Holland and West Friesland, made in the year 1577, he was received with affectionate exclamations of "Father William." The Brabanters elected him to a position of so much authority that it was generally reserved for the heir to the throne. This position he accepted, while refusing the Stadtholdership of Flanders, which was likewise offered him. On the 7th of December, 1577, the States-General formally deposed Don John, and, on the 18th of January, 1578, the Archduke Matthias, a brother of the Emperor Rodolph II., was inaugurated at Antwerp as Governor-General of the Netherlands, with William of Orange as his Lieutenant-General. Queen Elizabeth, who in 1575 had, for prudential reasons, refused the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, was now beginning to render some military assistance to the revolted Protestants of the Low Countries. A treaty with this view was signed on the 7th of January, 1578; according to the terms of which, the English sovereign was to send five thousand

foot, and one thousand horse, into Flanders, and to advance a sum of £100,000 on the security of the chief cities. The English commander, Sir John Norris, was to be received into the Council of the States, and the expenses of the entire force were charged on the Netherlanders. The bargain was not a very generous one, but it answered the purposes of the struggling patriots.

Thus threatened on all hands, Philip II. assembled a large army of veterans under the command of Alexander Farnese, son of the Duke of Parma, and of Margaret, the sister of Philip, who had formerly acted as her brother's Regent in the Netherlands. The patriotic forces were attacked near Gemblours, in the county of Namur, on the 31st of January, 1578, when the royalists were completely successful. Several towns were afterwards reduced by Don John; but the important city of Amsterdam, which had previously held aloof from the revolt, now sided with William of Orange. On the 1st of August, Don John was defeated at Rymenants, chiefly owing to the good generalship of Sir John Norris, and the valour of his English troops. Two months later, Don John died in the vicinity of Namur, and was succeeded in his position by Alexander Farnese, the nephew of the Spanish King. Shortly after the battle of Rymenants, the Catholic party in the Walloon provinces called in the Duke of Anjou, as a substitute for the Archduke Matthias, who had proved a failure, and who was, indeed, too youthful to exercise any important authority. Queen Elizabeth, disliking the extension of French influence over the Netherlands, advised the States to solicit the protection of John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine; and she even advanced money to pay the German troops whom he should bring with him. The interposition of the Duke of Anjou (which, however, was to be repeated at a later date) came to a speedy end; that of John Casimir was even less distinguished. The former, after a few exploits as a soldier, retired from the Netherlands, in deference to the wish of Elizabeth, whom he hoped to espouse; the latter had no military talents, and seems to have acted without any sincere regard for the cause he nominally championed. The Netherlands now fell into a state of anarchy, owing to the violence of influential demagogues in Ghent and other towns, and to the antagonism existing between the Catholic Walloons in the Western provinces, and the Protestants of Holland and Zealand. The Brussels Union came to an end, and the Walloons showed symptoms of a desire to make terms with Farnese. In January, 1579, they concluded a

separate league at Arras, while, by the Union of Utrecht, promoted by the Prince of Orange, the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, and Groningen, subsequently reinforced by those of Friesland, Overysse, and Drenthe, bound themselves to mutual support against the tyranny of Spain. The sovereignty of Philip was still acknowledged; but the national liberties were asserted as the supreme object of the combination. The Walloon provinces concluded a treaty with Farnese on the 17th of May, 1579; but, while the authority of the King was restored, it was placed under distinct limitations, tending to the preservation of local freedom.

After a gallant defence of three months, Maestricht was taken by Farnese on the 29th of June, 1579. The citizens were surprised in their sleep, and for three days the victorious Spaniards pursued the congenial work of slaughter and pillage. On the other hand, William the Silent persuaded the Flemish provinces to join the Union of Utrecht, and order was soon restored in Ghent, where both religions were tolerated by the liberal policy of the Government. The Spanish King perceived how powerful an antagonist he had found in the leader of the Protestant cause; and, in the course of 1580, William of Orange was proscribed as an enemy of the human race. A price of 25,000 gold crowns was set upon his head, and his assassination was specifically suggested by a promise that whoever compassed his death should be pardoned for any crime he might have committed, and be advanced to the rank of the nobility, if he were not already in that order. William replied by publishing a vindication of his actions, accompanied by a fiery indictment of his enemy for divers crimes which he had certainly committed, and some, perhaps, of which he was not really guilty. The Prince of Orange had at length determined to repudiate even that slight connection with the Spanish monarchy which he had hitherto preserved; but, considering that some degree of foreign support was necessary under such extreme circumstances, he once more solicited the patronage of the Duke of Anjou. That prince was made Stadtholder of the Netherlands, with the exception of Holland and Zealand, to which the Prince of Orange had an hereditary claim. The States-General, sitting at the Hague on the 26th of July, 1581, proclaimed Francis of Valois sovereign lord of Flanders and Brabant, and, as we have already related, he retained that position until June, 1583, though with little satisfaction to the people who had besought his help. Much more important in its ultimate effects than the appointment of this

prince was the publication by the States of a solemn Act of Abjuration, by which Philip was deposed from his sovereignty. The document is especially remarkable because it proclaimed for the first time (apart from the interested reasonings of priests) that doctrine of popular supremacy over the arrogant claims of kings from which all modern ideas of political right and reason have legitimately proceeded. The deposition of Philip was justified by an appeal to the law of Nature; and it was plainly asserted that subjects were not created by God to be the mere tools of the prince, but that the latter is bound to govern according to justice, and may be dismissed if he rule as a tyrant. This remarkable act, which was drawn up by Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, a great friend of William the Silent, and a man of varied accomplishments, is an anticipation of the celebrated declaration by which, nearly two centuries later, the English colonies of North America declared their independence of the mother-country. It was in truth a statement of principles calculated to have an immense effect on the future course of civilised nations.

The sovereignty of Holland and Zealand was conferred on William of Orange a few days before the Act of Abjuration was published, and, on the 18th of March, 1582, he nearly fell a victim to the murderous incitements of Philip II. William was shot on that day by a fanatical clerk named Jaurégni. The wound was most serious, and for three weeks the life of William the Silent hung trembling in the balance. Ultimately he recovered, but his wife died of anxiety. The assassin was slain on the spot: unfortunately, his fate did not deter another and more successful conspirator from repeating the same crime two years later. The Duke of Anjou was suspected of some complicity in the act of Jaurégni; but the belief was unjust, for the papers found on the assassin clearly proved that the design had been concocted in Spain. Anjou nevertheless became extremely unpopular, and a savage tumult at Antwerp, on the 17th of January, 1583, in which the Flemings came into collision with the French soldiers of the Duke, led to the retirement of that potentate from the country which he had injudiciously undertaken to rule. The power of the Spaniards was successfully exerted shortly afterwards in many parts of the Netherlands, and in the latter days of 1584 the Protestant cause appeared doomed to extinction, except in the Dutch provinces. By this time, William of Orange had been removed from the scene. In the early summer, he had accepted the dignity of sovereign Count of Holland and Zealand, and on the 10th of July the great leader of the

Netherlanders was assassinated by a Burgundian named Balthazar Gérard, who was encouraged in his project by Alexander Farnese. He was shot while going upstairs, after dining in a lower apartment of his palace, and expired on the instant. Gérard was executed, after being put to the torture; and the promised reward was conferred by Philip on his parents, who thenceforward took their place among the landed aristocracy of Franche-Comté. William was buried at Delft with almost regal honours, and later times have recognised in him one of the greatest assertors of national independence and religious toleration that the world had then produced. The simplicity of his personal habits recommended him to a people whose tastes were homely, rather than ornate; but the geniality of his nature shone through the cautious self-control which earned for him the often-misunderstood appellation of William the Silent.

When the Prince of Orange thus succumbed to the bullet of an assassin, his eldest son, Maurice, was only eighteen years of age; yet, as a testimony of respect to the father, the States appointed him Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, and High Admiral of the Union; at the same time giving the actual command of the land forces to Count Hohenlohe. The cause of the patriots required firm and experienced guidance, for Alexander Farnese, a man of high military genius, was pressing the war with great energy, and his siege of Antwerp takes rank among the most extraordinary episodes of the whole struggle. To facilitate his operations, Farnese constructed, in spite of the desperate and prolonged opposition of the citizens and their vessels, a vast military bridge across the Scheldt. This causeway was partially blown up by fireships, when many hundreds of the besiegers were killed and wounded; but the work was soon made stronger than before, and the people of Antwerp, having suffered a severe defeat on the dyke of Kowenstyn, where they had executed a sortie, capitulated on the 17th of August, 1585. The city never recovered its full prosperity after that disastrous time. Many of the citizens removed to Amsterdam and Middelburg, and the centre of commerce in the north-west of Europe shifted to a district less threatened by the ruinous hand of war.

After the murder of William the Silent, the States again offered the Netherlands to Queen Elizabeth. She once more declined the sovereignty, but now resolved to support the Protestants by an open and declared alliance. The Earl of Leicester was sent to the Low Countries with a body of six

thousand troops, who, towards the close of 1585, arrived at Flushing, of which port the chivalrous and romantic Sir Philip Sidney was made Governor, it being part of the agreement with the States that

in the thigh during a skirmish before the town. It was then that, being about to drink from a bottle of water which had been brought to him in the extremity of his sufferings, he gave it to a



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AT ZUTPHEN.

Flushing and Briel should be placed temporarily in the hands of Elizabeth. The selection of Leicester for the chief command was unfortunate, as his military acquirements were very slight, and in Farnese—who had now, by the death of his father, succeeded to the Dukedom—he had a most formidable and vigorous opponent. After some operations in which little was achieved, the Earl of Leicester laid siege to Zutphen, when, on the 23rd of September, 1586, Sidney was wounded

dying soldier, with the memorable words, "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine"—an utterance not surpassed, for moral beauty and nobleness, in any period of the world's history. Sidney expired at Arnheim on the 16th of October, bequeathing to his countrymen, though barely thirty-two years of age, a brilliant reputation as a poet, a romance-writer, a critic, a courtier, and a knight. Unfortunately for the credit of England, and for the well-being of the Netherlands, Leicester was a

man of far inferior character to his subordinate. He was compelled to raise the siege of Zutphen; in other directions he accomplished but little, though it is probable that the general effect of his campaign was to check the career of Parma's victories; his conduct towards the people was marked by all the insolence of a conqueror; in

out; but the latter city was besieged in the summer of 1587. Following the plan which had proved so successful at Antwerp, Parma threw a bridge over the large canal connecting the town with the sea, and thus obtained a command over the forts by which Sluys was protected. The defence (in which the commandant was assisted by some English



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

some respects he appears to have acted treacherously, with an eye to his own interests and predominance; and the States sent warm remonstrances to Queen Elizabeth. The Earl, however, as one of the favourites of royalty, was able to make a sufficiently plausible defence; and, after a brief visit to England, he returned to the Low Countries in 1587, with the reinforcements that had then become necessary.

The cause of independence was seriously prejudiced by divisions in the counsels of the patriotic party, and almost the whole of Flanders was recovered by the Duke of Parma. Ostend and Sluys still held

officers) continued until the 4th of August, when, after a most determined resistance, the garrison was obliged to capitulate. Leicester and Prince Maurice, acting together, had made some attempts to relieve the town; but the operations were feebly pressed, and the former animosities broke out again. The States believed that their cause was being betrayed by the English Earl; Leicester, on the other hand, accused the States of not supporting him sufficiently. In any case, his mission had conferred little glory on himself, and but slight advantage on the Netherlanders. At the end of 1587, he returned to England, and Prince Maurice

was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the national forces. The following year was that of the Armada—an expedition which was of great service to the Netherlands, by diverting the forces of Spain to an enterprise in which they were doomed to overwhelming failure. The forces of the Duke of Parma were blockaded in the Flemish harbours by the Dutch fleet; and this was of equal service to England, by preventing the arrival of reinforcements to the discomfited Armada. Had the invasion of England been carried out, it would have been aided by the Duke of Guise, who had collected 12,000 men in Normandy for that purpose; but at that period many things worked for the advantage of the Protestants. The King of Spain, bent on acquiring a paramount influence both in England and France—in England, where he hoped to reinstate the religion of Rome, and in France, where he desired to support Henry of Guise against the reigning King—dissipated his strength in vain efforts, which gave the followers of the Reformation breathing-time for the recovery of their strength. The attack on Lisbon in 1589, when Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris took up the cause of Don Antonio, and even effected a landing in the Portuguese capital, besides capturing sixty Hanse vessels, freighted with supplies for a new Armada, was another circumstance which discredited the power of Spain, and inflicted positive damage on the resources of that country.

The war in the Netherlands continued with varying fortune after the defeat of the Armada; but, on the whole, the patriots retrieved some of their late disasters, and Parma, who was suffering from ill-health, left the scene of operations, and consigned a weakened army to the direction of inferior hands. Prince Maurice, about the same time, began to exhibit his great abilities as a military commander. In 1590, and the two following years, he overran Brabant and Flanders, captured several towns, and occupied the district near Antwerp called the Waes. The seven Dutch provinces were now almost entirely free from the stranger, and the power of the States was likewise established on the left banks of the Meuse and Scheldt. Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, who in the meanwhile had been employed in France, died on the 3rd of December, 1592, at the early age of forty-six. From what has been related, it will have appeared that his genius as a military man belonged to a very high order. It is but fair to add that his operations were not disgraced by the atrocious cruelties in which Alva seemed to revel. Indeed, he showed so much conciliation towards the Catholic provinces of the

Low Countries that he ensured their allegiance long after the Protestants of the North-east had fully established their independence. His successor in the Regency was the Austrian Archduke Ernest, son of the Emperor Maximilian II.; and, pending his arrival, which was long delayed, very little was attempted by the Spanish forces in the Netherlands, which, for the time being, were placed under the command of Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeldt. In 1594, Prince Maurice obtained possession of Groningen, an important fortress, the command of which gave security to the northern provinces. From this period we may consider the Dutch Republic fully constituted; and Maurice was elected Stadtholder, as a recognition of the brilliant services he had performed.

While Holland was thus advancing on the road of freedom, Spain had sunk completely under the leaden tyranny of Philip II. Until near the close of the sixteenth century, the people of Aragon preserved their ancient liberties, and cherished among themselves the best qualities of manhood. But a melancholy series of events in the year 1591 deprived them of those constitutional forms which had long been a valuable reality. Philip II. had conceived a violent hatred of his secretary, Antonio Perez, who had baffled him in a disgraceful intrigue, and whose death he afterwards endeavoured to compass in a singularly treacherous way. At a later period, he threw him into prison on a charge of malversation; but Perez managed to escape, and, flying into Aragon, of which he was a native, appealed to the Justicia, a very important officer in that ancient kingdom. The Justicia confined him in the State prison; but the Viceroy of Aragon, representing the supremacy of the Spanish sovereign, broke open the place of detention, and removed Perez to the dungeons of the Inquisition. The populace rose, set him at liberty, and enabled him to escape to France; upon which, Philip determined to strip the Aragonese of all their memorial privileges. This was effected by Alphonso Vargas, though not without an attempt at armed resistance. The Justicia was put to death without trial; the palace of the Inquisition at Saragossa was turned into a fortress; a large number of executions followed; and the Cortes, having been assembled for the purpose, were compelled to abrogate their national customs and immunities. Philip had no idea of government apart from the absolute submission of the governed; and the cradle of his dynasty was far too independent to escape the dull ferocity of his hand.

A policy so opposed to the most elementary

principles of justice may flourish for a while, by the aid of armies and the force of gold; but it is certain ere long to be visited by that Nemesis of destruction which waits on cruelty and oppression. Even in the days of Philip II., the power of Spain, which at one time had seemed almost irresistible, had begun to decline; and shortly after the death of that monarch, a Neapolitan monk, named Tommaso Campanella, addressed to his successor some remarks on the condition of Spain, which show how deeply the ulcer of unprincipled despotism had eaten into the national prosperity. Almost in the spirit of prophecy, this writer declared that the Spaniards would soon exhaust themselves, and that their wealth would pass into the hands of the foreigner. The most useful arts of life were already languishing; manufactures, agriculture, and trade, had scarcely any existence in that land of idleness and pride. Campanella boldly condemned the whole system of government then existing in Spain, and advised a radical alteration, such as would renovate the national

energies, and give to all classes a fair share of power. This remarkable composition was produced in a dungeon, where its author was confined for attempting to establish in Calabria a species of ideal republic. But, however impracticable some of his ideas may have been, it is certain that Campanella had a clear grasp of principles very necessary to the well-being of all civilised communities. The world, he proclaimed, must be regenerated by the discoveries of science, and the progress of human liberty and knowledge.* Spain was being ruined by despotism, by bigotry, and by the boundless influx of metallic wealth from the New World, which for a while gave a factitious prosperity to the land, but at the same time ensured its downfall by the encouragement of indolence and waste. Even the riches of Spain could not withstand the enormous draught made upon them by unjust and unsuccessful wars; nor could the moral health of any people survive the forgetfulness of industry, and the slavish habits of political and religious superstition.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Accession of Henry IV. of France—His Position towards the Papists—The Duke of Mayenne Lieutenant-General of France—War between him and Henry—Battle of Ivry—Siege of Paris by the King—Defeat of Henry by the Duke of Parma—Varying Fortunes of the War—Submission of Henry to the Papal Church—Surrender of Paris to the Royal Forces—Suppression of the Catholic League—Declaration of War against Spain—Attack on Cadiz by the English—Conclusion of Peace—The Edict of Nantes—Important Concessions to the Protestants—Disorganised State of France—Brilliant Administration of Sully—Financial Reforms, and Recovery of the National Prosperity—Liberal and Enterprising Government of Henry IV.—Marriage with Maria de' Medici—War with the Duke of Savoy—Conspiracy and Execution of Marshal de Biron—Henry's Scheme for a Union of European States—Preparations for a War with the Empire—Assassination of the French King—Death of Philip II. of Spain—Affairs of Germany, Poland, and Hungary—Decline in the Power of Turkey—Growing Luxury and Indolence of the Ottoman Race—Opening of Friendly Relations with European Countries—War between Turkey and the German Empire—Turkish Intrigues in Hungary and Transylvania—The Peace of Sitvatorok—Recovery of the Power of Persia—Brilliant Reign of Shah Abbas—Wars with Turkey, and Development of Internal Prosperity.

AFTER the assassination of Henry III. of France, the King of Navarre succeeded to the crown, with the title of Henry IV. As a direct descendant of Count Robert of Clermont, sixth son of Louis IX., he had, under the circumstances, the best claim to the throne; for the pretensions of the Guise family were too remote and doubtful to be successfully advanced. The Count of Clermont married Beatrix of Burgundy, heiress of the Archbishops, lords of Bourbon, in Berry; and their son Louis was created Duke of Bourbon, and a peer of France, by Charles IV. in 1327. From this Louis descended Anthony, Duke of Vendôme, who in

1548 married Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Henry, King of Navarre; and the future King of France was born to them at Pau, in the Béarn, on the 13th of December, 1553. Brought up with rugged simplicity in the defiles and valleys of the Pyrenees, Henry became strong, hardy, and courageous. His mother educated him as a Calvinist; but his conduct never conformed to the strictness of that communion, and his religious opinions always sat very lightly on him. We have seen how gallantly he fought on behalf of

* Dyer's History of Modern Europe, Vol. II., p. 407.

his fellow-Protestants in the religious wars of his youth, and how narrowly he escaped at the period of the great massacre in Paris, when an insincere profession of orthodoxy saved him from death, but not from a jealous and humiliating supervision. Escaping from that miserable servitude, he was again one of the chief heroes of the Huguenot cause, until, in 1589, we find him acting with Henry III. against the League. In the few hours of life which remained to him after the fatal blow of Jacques Clement, the murdered sovereign acknowledged Henry of Navarre as his lawful successor, and caused the nobles to take the oath of homage to him; at the same time expressing a hope that he would soon return to the Catholic faith. When urged by some of the Papists to give an immediate pledge to that effect, he declined, but qualified his refusal by declaring a willingness to be "instructed," and to abide by the decisions of a General Council. Two days later, he signed a document making great concessions to the Catholics. He was evidently trimming his sails, with a view to the most favourable wind.

The position was difficult and full of peril. A large part of France obeyed the dictates of the League, and the Duke of Mayenne, who now represented the house of Guise, bestowed the royal title of Charles X. on the Cardinal of Bourbon, then a prisoner at Tours. For himself, he assumed the official appellation of "Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France," in obedience to an appointment made by the Parliament of Paris. Henry was obliged to raise the siege of the capital, which he found himself not strong enough to press, now that his forces were equally deserted by the extreme Catholics, who saw in the ruler of Navarre an incorrigible heretic, and by the extreme Protestants, who accused him of tampering with idolatry. He then retreated into Normandy, where several victories were obtained over the army of the Lieutenant-General. A subsequent attack on Paris was partially successful, but ultimately repulsed; after which, Henry established himself at Tours, where the Royalist Parliament was then held. His cause gained rapidly in strength; several foreign Powers recognised his claim to the French throne; and Pope Sixtus V., who had openly applauded the assassination of his predecessor, now favoured the Bourbon from Navarre, in the hope that his heresies would be speedily abandoned. Thus encouraged, Henry again took the field in January, 1590, and, advancing on Paris, met the enemy on the 14th of March at the little town of Ivry, situated in

the modern department of the Eure. When arming for this memorable conflict, the King told his followers that if at any time they should lose sight of the colours, they were to rally round the white plume in his helmet, which they would always find in the path of honour and of victory. After two hours' desperate fighting, the Leaguers were driven back in headlong rout, and Henry triumphantly pursued his road to Paris.

In the battle of Ivry, the Huguenot King (for he had not yet renounced his Protestantism) showed the skill of a general, and the personal courage of a hero. Paris, however, remained in the hands of the enemy; but Henry captured several towns commanding the approaches to the metropolis. Desiring to force a surrender, rather than to seize the position by assault, he established a blockade; but, towards the end of August, the capital was relieved by the Duke of Parma, who had been sent from the Netherlands by Philip II. The Spanish King was among the aspirants to the French throne, which he claimed on behalf of his daughter, the Infanta, a niece of the late sovereign; he was also glad to oppose a Huguenot ruler, whether his pretensions were good or bad. Henry at once raised the siege, and, posting himself on the plain of Chelles, tried to draw his formidable antagonist into a general engagement. But Alexander Farnese, the greatest commander of his age, was not to be lured into any action where the choice of time and place would be that of another. He suddenly took Lagny by storm, and was thus enabled to send provisions to Paris by the river Marne. In company with the Duke of Mayenne, he entered the French capital on the 18th of September, 1590, and Henry for a time retired from the struggle. The Guise faction, however, was very far from having triumphed. The Council of Sixteen at Paris was at issue with Mayenne, and the latter was compelled to suppress that turbulent body, at some expenditure of blood. About the same time, the royalists were assisted by a number of English troops under the Earl of Essex; the League obtained reinforcements from Germany, Italy, and Switzerland; and in 1591-2 the war was continued with much spirit, but with little advantage to the Bourbon and his adherents, as the fiery valour which had prevailed at Ivry was no match for the consummate strategy and tactical skill of the Italian Duke, who was twice ordered into France, to support the Catholic cause.

Parties were so evenly balanced that the struggle might have continued for several years, had not Henry determined to sacrifice his Protestantism,

not merely to the security of his crown, but to the general peace of the country. At a conference held at Mantes on the 23rd of July, 1593, he declared his readiness to accept the faith of Rome; and two days later he was received into the Apostolic Church at St. Denis. Henry had previously described this act as "a perilous leap;" but its effect was fortunate. The cause of the enemy was irretrievably weakened and damaged; large numbers of Catholics rallied to the King; and many even of the Huguenots acknowledged the necessity of making some concession to the religious views of most Frenchmen. Paris, however, was still held by the forces of the League, including the Spanish auxiliaries originally under the command of the Duke of Parma, but now directed by his successor. To obtain possession of the capital was, of course, absolutely indispensable to the French sovereign; and this was soon effected. Count de Brissac, who had the government of Paris, was bribed to surrender the city into the hands of the royalists; Henry's troops entered on the morning of March 22nd, 1594; and the Spaniards, having laid down their arms, were permitted to retire with the honours of war. The day being at length won, Henry showed a generous and forbearing spirit, and, not underrating the power of gold, obtained the support of many former enemies by money payments, or territorial gifts. The most considerable part of France quickly submitted to his rule, and, by the Treaty of Folembrai, signed in January, 1596, the Catholic League was dissolved; but it was not until 1598 that the whole country acknowledged Henry for its monarch.

In the meanwhile, the King carried on a war with Spain, the animosity of which country to France had been made bitterly apparent for many years. Previously to embarking in the struggle, the French sovereign expelled the whole body of the Jesuits from his dominions, in consequence of an attempt on his life by one of that Order, who was thought to have acted on the instigation of Philip II. The declaration of war against Spain followed on the 17th of January, 1595, and the first active measure was the invasion of Franche-Comté, a part of the Burgundian possessions of the House of Austria. The Spaniards retaliated by entering Picardy, and, on the whole, the balance of success was very much against the French. Calais, Ardres, Amiens, and other cities, were taken by the enemy; but Amiens was afterwards recaptured by a French army, aided by an English contingent. In the course of this war, the English naval and military forces joined in two expeditions against Spain, the first of which was of a very effective nature. A

powerful armament was sent out under the command of Lord Howard of Effingham as admiral, and of the Earl of Essex as general of the accompanying army. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of those who embarked in the fleet, and Cadiz was attacked on the morning of the 21st of June, 1596, with extraordinary valour and resolution. A few of the largest of the Spanish men-of-war were taken; the others were dispersed; numerous merchantmen were burned; and Essex, landing with three thousand soldiers, penetrated to the market-place, where he was met by another party under Lord Howard, who had entered from a different point. The city was completely in the possession of its assailants, and the inhabitants paid 120,000 crowns for the privilege of their lives. Essex would have pushed forward with a small detachment into the heart of Andalusia; but the project was over-ruled as too dangerous, and the fleet turned homewards, after inflicting on the Spaniards an enormous loss in money. The expedition of 1597 came to nothing, owing to a terrible storm, from which both belligerents suffered equally; and in 1598 Pope Clement VIII. offered his mediation between France and Spain. Peace was concluded at Vervins on the 2nd of May; but this arrangement gave great dissatisfaction to England, and to the United Provinces of Holland.

The termination of the war was preceded, on the 15th of April, by a very memorable act on the part of the French King. The Edict of Nantes, signed on that day, was a guarantee of religious freedom, which for nearly a century secured a certain amount of toleration for the Protestants of France. The Huguenots had been harshly treated for some time past, and their complaints reached the ears of Henry, who, whatever his faults, was too good-natured a man to desire the oppression of his former co-religionists. Though probably devoid of any profound convictions in the matter of faith, the King was apparently more inclined to the Reformation than to the Church of Rome, notwithstanding that, on grounds of prudence, he had considered it advisable to enter the fold of the latter. During a conference at Chartres with Duplessis Mornay, shortly after his so-called conversion, Henry affirmed that his affections remained the same towards his friends of the reformed Church; and he expressed a hope that he would be able to bring about a union between the two religions, which, in his opinion—an opinion proceeding more from his amiability than his judgment—differed less in essentials than was usually supposed. The Catholics always

doubted the reality of his nominal change; and the Edict of Nantes must have confirmed their suspicions. By this decree, the Huguenots were allowed the free exercise of their religion in all places where it had been established during the two previous years, as well as in those designated by the ordinance of 1577. They were to enjoy the benefits of all colleges, schools, and hospitals, to be admitted on equal terms to public employments

in marriage; to renounce alliances with foreign powers; and in all respects to acknowledge the authority of the King. The Catholics were of course furious at the publication of this edict; but it was registered by the Parliament of Paris on the 25th of February, 1599, and it established for a while an epoch of toleration in the domestic affairs of France.

The remainder of Henry's reign was chiefly



THE ENGLISH FLEET BEFORE CADIZ.

and dignities, whether military or civil, and to share in other respects the ordinary rights of French subjects. Disinheritance on the ground of religion was declared invalid; a separate chamber for the protection of Protestant interests was added to the Parliament of Paris, together with similar courts in the provinces; a complete amnesty, covering all the events of the civil wars, was proclaimed; and the followers of the Reformation were authorised to hold a general representative assembly, once in every three years, for the discussion of all matters affecting the prosperity of their communion. The Huguenots, however, were required to pay tithes; to respect the holidays of the Church, and the prohibited degrees of affinity

occupied by internal affairs. A thorough reformation of the social state was sorely needed, for years of war and convulsion had left the country in a shattered and bankrupt condition. The public debt had swollen to enormous dimensions, and, although the people were heavily taxed, only a small proportion of what they paid found its way into the national exchequer, by far the larger part being absorbed by the expense of collection, and the dishonesty of officials. The authority of the central Government had been so weakened by the long continuance of civil strife, that the Governors of provinces, and even the great territorial nobles, levied taxes on their own account. Nearly all the royal domain was alienated, and the public creditor

obtained the satisfaction of his demands in any way he could. Bent on the redress of these abuses, Henry appointed for his Finance Minister a man of remarkable ability, Maximilien de Bethune, Baron

had profited by the former state of disorder; but Sully was a man of rugged character and powerful will, and, being heartily supported by the King, was enabled to carry out his ideas during a long



HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

de Rosny, better known by his subsequent title of Duke of Sully. This vigorous reformer adopted the plan of farming the taxes by public auction, and, by enforcing a strict examination of accounts, gradually suppressed the system of organised plunder by which the revenues of the State had been intercepted, in a thousand different quarters, for the benefit of private individuals. Such a policy was of course strongly opposed by all who

and successful ministry. The taxation of the country was largely reduced; several millions of the public debt were redeemed; the King's revenue was augmented; the treasury became richer than it had been for many years; and at the same time the public service received ample provision, and was brought into a state of high efficiency. Agriculture and commerce were encouraged by the honest and masterly administrator who shared the

counsels of Henry; marshes were drained, forests replanted, roads, bridges, and canals constructed or repaired, important manufactures fostered, and commercial treaties negotiated with England, Holland, Spain, and Turkey. It was in this reign that French colonies were first established in Canada, where an adventurous explorer, named Champlain, founded the city of Quebec in 1608. In these achievements, Sully was the leading spirit, as he had supreme charge of various branches of the administration, besides that of finance; but some portion of the credit is due also to the King, whose humane regard for the well-being of his people is beyond dispute. During the reign of Henry IV., Paris was adorned with many fine buildings. A hospital for invalid officers and soldiers was established; the royal library was enlarged; men of genius and learning received a liberal encouragement. Though he had forsaken the Protestant communion for the Papal Church, the hero of Ivry always retained an interest in the followers of the reformed faith. He was the ally of England and of Holland, and supported the Protestants of Germany against the aggressive fanaticism of Rodolph II.

Henry had for several years been separated from his consort, Marguerite of Valois, whose immoralities were equal to his own. A divorce was long sought for in vain; but in December, 1599, the Pope pronounced a dissolution of the marriage, under the pretext of spiritual affinity, and on the 5th of October, 1600, the King was married by proxy to Maria de' Medici, daughter of the late, and niece of the reigning, Grand Duke of Tuscany. The second marriage was not more happy than the first; but it resulted in the birth of several children, the eldest of whom succeeded to the throne as Louis XIII. The year 1600 was signalled by the discovery of a plot against the King, promoted by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, who wished to avoid transferring the Marquisate of Saluces, or Saluzzo, to France, in accordance with a stipulation in the treaty of Vervins. While staying in Paris, that he might negotiate with Henry in person, the Duke made proposals to various noblemen formerly connected with the League, who were discontented with the subordinate position to which events had reduced them. He even managed to bring over to his views one of Henry's former supporters, who had fought with him at Ivry, and on other famous occasions. Marshal de Biron had received many honours and rewards for past services; but his vanity regarded them as insufficient, and his resentment at some remarks of the King, which had been reported to

him, converted a doubtful friend into a secret enemy. War was declared by Henry against the Duke of Savoy when at length it became evident that he would not surrender the territory in dispute. The ensuing contest, which was of brief duration, ended entirely to the advantage of France; but the disloyal designs of Biron were afterwards communicated to the King. On confessing his bad faith, the traitor was pardoned, and sent as ambassador to England; but his intrigues were subsequently renewed, and, after a trial before the Parliament of Paris, he was executed on the 31st of July, 1602. Other plots of the nobility were sternly suppressed at the same time, and the King then gave his attention to a scheme which he had formed for the establishment of a great commonwealth of European nations, on the footing of religious equality among the chief forms of Christian belief. The internal government of each State was to remain perfectly independent; but the common affairs of the associated Powers were to be conducted by a Federal Council, or Diet. The scheme was a curious anticipation of many which have been advanced in modern times; but it was too manifestly directed against the predominance of Spain and the Empire, which were to lose some of their possessions in order to secure the general equilibrium, to be accepted by those States.

That jealousy of the House of Austria which had been so powerfully felt by Francis I., and in a less degree by other French monarchs, was a prevailing sentiment in the mind of Henry IV. Justly to estimate this feeling, it must be recollected that the House of Austria represented the power of the Empire, with all its large and important dependencies, and the equally considerable power of Spain. So vast an influence in the councils of Europe awakened a not unnatural jealousy in the minds of French politicians, who dreaded the ambition of monarchies so favourably circumstanced for over-awing other nations. To curb, or at least to balance, the dangerous predominance of the German and Spanish sovereigns, was doubtless one of the principal motives which suggested to Henry his somewhat Utopian scheme of European union, though a feeling of humanity, and a desire to substitute arbitration for warfare, may also have been present to the mind of its author. That he was not unwilling to draw the sword against the Empire, when he considered the opportunity favourable for so acting, is proved by the course which he pursued towards the end of his life, when a question arose as to the Dukedom of Cleves, which, on the death of its sovereign prince, without

heirs, in March, 1609, was claimed by the Emperor Rodolph II., on the ground that, as a fief of the Empire, the duchy reverted to him by default. Henry supported the rights of the Princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg; and in January, 1610, he engaged to furnish military assistance to those claimants. Preparations for a war with Germany were at once set on foot, and Europe was threatened with a renewal of those campaigns in the north of Italy which had brought so much misfortune to France a century before. The King's attention was for a time diverted by a disgraceful passion for the wife of Henry, Prince of Condé, whose husband carried her, for protection, to the Viceregal court of Brussels, then ruled by the Austrian Archduke Albert, son of the Emperor Maximilian II. Here was another cause of offence against the Empire, and Henry would doubtless have prosecuted the war with the utmost bitterness, had his life been spared.

He was shortly to take command of the army destined for the invasion of Flanders, but, on the 14th of May, 1610, was assassinated in his coach by a man named François Ravallac. The assassin, mounting one of the wheels of the carriage, struck the King twice with a large knife or dagger; and the second blow was delivered with such force that the King died almost immediately. It is said by a contemporary writer that none of the gentlemen in the carriage saw the King struck, and that, if Ravallac had only thrown away his weapon and mingled with the crowd, no one could have told from whom the blow proceeded. As it was, he remained upon the spot, without making any effort to escape, and, after being subjected to the torture, in the hope of obtaining information as to accomplices, which to the last he refused to give, was executed on the 27th of May, under circumstances of detestable barbarity. It is not impossible that he was a solitary fanatic; but, at the time, many persons attributed his act to the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, or to the hatred of the Jesuits, whom Henry had recently permitted to re-enter France, but who doubtless never forgave his previous enmity. The young prince, Louis, was not yet nine years of age when the tragical event occurred, and the conduct of affairs passed into the hands of the Queen, who had been appointed Regent during the absence of her husband in the wars, and whose coronation, as the royal consort, had taken place at St. Denis only the day before the assassination of Henry. The death of that monarch was in many respects a misfortune to France; but at any rate it saved the country from a war with foreign Powers, which would, in

all probability, have been disastrous and discreditable to France.

Long before the murder of Henry IV., his implacable enemy, Philip II. of Spain, passed away from a world to whose misfortunes he had so largely contributed. He had long been suffering from age, depression, and ill-health; and one of his latest acts was to abdicate the government of the Netherlands, as his father had done many years before. His daughter, the Infanta Isabella, was shortly to be married to the Archduke Albert, who had been appointed to the Regency of the Low Countries in the early part of 1595; and the sovereignty of those lands was conferred on them in the summer of 1598. The King of Spain was to be recognised as Lord-Paramount, and the policy of the smaller country was subordinated to that of the greater; but, for all ordinary purposes of administration, the Netherlands were placed on the footing of an independent principality. On the 14th of August, 1598, the States-General of the Flemish provinces took the oath of allegiance to the Infanta and the Archduke; and on the 13th of September, before the marriage of the two could be accomplished, Philip expired in his gloomy palace of the Escorial, at the age of seventy-one. He had long suffered from ulcers of the most terrible description, and his pains had been so great that death was welcomed as a kindly relief. His reign of nearly forty-three years had gone far towards ruining the Spanish monarchy, and his son, Philip III., succeeded to a bankrupt treasury and a disheartened realm. The example of the second Philip, together with his personal influence and teaching, had produced a very bad effect on his relative, the eldest son of Maximilian II., who, on the death of that potentate in 1576, succeeded to the German Empire, with the title of Rodolph II. Sharing largely in the bigotry of Philip, Rodolph treated the Protestants with great severity, and in 1579 decreed that only Roman Catholic teachers and books should be allowed in Austrian schools. In other parts of the Empire, Protestantism waned before the renovated strength of the older Church, and the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne was deposed by the Pope for adopting the reformed faith.

Reverting to the east of Europe, we find the kingdom of Poland again agitated by conflicting claims, owing to the death of Stephen Bathori in 1586, and the election, as his successor, of the King of Sweden's son, whose title was disputed by the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Rodolph. The Swedish prince was recommended to the Poles by the fact that his mother was a

sister of the last Jagellon; and, with the assent of the great majority, he ascended the throne as Sigismund III. Refusing to accept this decision, although he had not the slightest right to contest it, Maximilian entered Poland with an army, and laid siege to Cracow, but was twice defeated—once in 1587, and again in 1588—by the learned and heroic Zamoyski, Grand Chancellor of the Crown. At the battle of Bitschin, in Silesia, the Austrian prince was taken prisoner, but, after more than a year's captivity, was released, on the Emperor consenting to pay a heavy ransom, and to cede the county of Zips, which had been mortgaged to the Poles by the Emperor Sigismund. At about the same period, the Protestants made numerous converts in Hungary, and in 1588 the Jesuits were banished from Transylvania. That part of Europe, however, suffered continually from the encroachments of the Turks; and the weak-minded Sigismund Bathori, who exercised sovereign power, looked to the Pope, and to the Catholic nations of Western Europe, for assistance against the soldiers of the Crescent.

The Turks themselves were not as strong as they had been. The conquering energy which, a hundred years before, and even at a later date, had carried them over a large part of Europe, was beginning to decline. A far less haughty tone was adopted towards foreign countries; luxurious habits were sapping the vigour of the race; and it was thought by many that the Empire should not be further extended. This was far from being the opinion of Solyman the Magnificent, who used to declare that whatever belonged to the Roman Empire was his by right, as he stood possessed of the Imperial seat and sceptre of the first Constantine, whom, by a prodigious exaggeration, he entitled the commander of the world. But Solyman died in 1566, and the short reign of his son, Selim II., ending in 1574, marked a great falling off in the ambition of the Ottomans. Selim was followed by his son, Amurath III., during whose time Turkey opened friendly relations with most of the European countries. A commercial treaty was concluded with England, and war was no longer regarded as the sole duty of sovereigns and nations. It was now that the Turkish character first yielded to those slothful influences which have since become a disease that is perhaps incurable. Having grasped as much of Asia and Europe as he cared to possess, the Turk reposed in his gorgeous palaces and seraglios, and fell into moods of dreamy reverie, which destroyed his better qualities, and developed his worst vices. The Sultans and great lords loved to sit on a

carpet in the shade, to shoot languidly at a mark, and to send their slaves to pick up the arrows. The successors of Othman had lost the virility of their earlier days.

It was the policy of Amurath III. to stand well with the European sovereigns; and not merely did he confer important powers on the Turkey Company established at London in 1581, but he allowed Henry IV. of France to become the special guardian of the Eastern Christians, as Francis I. had been. The privileges of the monks connected with the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem were restored to them; and a better understanding might have softened the animosities of the two religions, but for a war between the Empire and the Turks, which broke out in 1593. Unfriendly relations had existed for several years, owing chiefly to the encroachments of the Ottomans upon the borders of Hungary and Transylvania. These reached a climax when Hassan, the Turkish Governor of Bosnia, was defeated near Sissek by a small body of Germans and Hungarians. Hassan had been the aggressor; but his discomfiture was so extreme, and was attended by such disastrous losses in men, guns, and materials of war, that Amurath felt himself bound to wipe out the disgrace by active measures. The war began in August, 1593, and continued during the next few years with varying results. On the whole, the Turks made little progress, although the Protestants of Transylvania were inclined to support their cause against the Jesuits and other Catholic bodies who oppressed themselves. While matters were in this unsatisfactory state, Amurath expired on the 16th of January, 1595. He was succeeded by his son, Mohammed III., who experienced even worse fortune than his father. The Turks lost several important strongholds on the Danube, and in the neighbouring countries; and prayers were offered up at Constantinople for the success of the Ottoman arms. A little before his decease, Amurath had sent to Damascus for the holy standard of the Moslems, which was supposed to have a mysterious effect in promoting the triumph of their arms. But the charm now failed, and Mohammed III., though unwarlike in his habits, considered it necessary to take the field in person. Erlau was speedily reduced, and its garrison slaughtered; and in October, 1596, a sanguinary battle, lasting three days, was fought on the plains of Keresztes. The result was a brilliant victory for the Turks, who slew vast numbers in the course of a disorderly flight, and seized one hundred guns, together with the military chest of the Imperialists.

This great advantage was not followed up with

proper diligence. Nothing of importance was accomplished in 1597, and in 1598 the Turks suffered many grave reverses. The war, however, dragged on its tedious course until 1605, by which time Mohammed III. had been succeeded by Achmet I., who ascended the throne near the end of 1603. In the meanwhile also, a series of revolutions in Transylvania had twice occasioned the retirement or expulsion of Sigismund Bathori, and in 1602 a Hungarian noble, named Stephen Bocskai, who had acquired considerable power as the leader of the Protestant party, set up pretensions to the principality of Transylvania and the kingdom of Hungary. He entered into an alliance with the Turkish forces then in the latter country, and, having assisted them in the campaign of 1605, was crowned King of Hungary on the battle-field of Rakosch. The crown was placed upon his head by the Grand Vizier, Lala Mohammed, who commanded the Turkish army; but Bocskai was at the same time reminded of his vassalage to the Sultan by the presentation of a Turkish sword, and of the Ottoman colours. In the following year he was persuaded by the Emperor Rodolph II. to renounce the Hungarian monarchy; but several places belonging to that dominion were added to the principality of Transylvania, which he was allowed to retain. By the Peace of Sitvatorok, concluded on the 11th of November, 1606, a long and mutually destructive war was brought to an end, on terms very favourable to the Empire. The Imperial title of the German sovereigns was thenceforward acknowledged by the Turks, and, in consideration of an immediate payment of 200,000 florins, Austria was relieved from the yearly tribute which had previously been extorted from her by the Porte.

The treasury of the Ottoman Sultans was exhausted by the wars of Selim II. Before that reign, the coin and other valuables of the State had been kept in the ancient Byzantine castle called the Seven Towers; and each of these towers had its separate use. The first contained gold; the second, silver; the third, plate and jewels; the fourth, curious relics of antiquity; the fifth, ancient coins and other relics, mostly collected by Selim I. during his expeditions to Persia and Egypt; the sixth, weapons and armour; the seventh, historic archives. Subsequently, the Seven Towers were used as an arsenal and State prison, and the treasure was removed into the palace. Amurath III. built for its reception a strong vault with treble locks, over which he slept, and which was opened only four times a year for the reception of tribute. The Christians were impoverished by the exactions of the Turks; but, towards the close of the sixteenth

century, the Greeks, who numbered about 100,000 in Constantinople alone, began once more to acquire wealth and influence. Michael Cantacuzenus, one of that body (if he was not rather an Englishman), enjoyed extraordinary power, and lived in regal grandeur, until Amurath III. sent him to the gibbet.

While losing ground in Europe, the Turks encountered their most formidable adversary in Persia. The splendour of that ancient sovereignty had greatly recovered under the Sophi dynasty, which began about the close of the fifteenth century; yet after the death of Tamasp, in 1576, a period of internal agitation ensued, which laid the country open to frequent attacks, both by the Uzbeks and the Turks. In 1585, however, the throne of Persia was occupied by a monarch who was destined to deliver the land from its enemies, and to establish an empire of no small influence and power. Shah Abbas, generally called Abbas the Great, had acted as Governor of Khorassan during the lifetime of his father, Shah Mohammed Khodabende, and on the death of that prince he succeeded him on the throne of Persia. Khorassan having been invaded by the Uzbeks, Shah Abbas bent all his force to their expulsion. For a while, he was unsuccessful, and a revolt in the interior parts of Persia added to the embarrassments of the new sovereign. In 1590 the Turks invaded Persia, but were defeated on two memorable occasions, when the Sultan was compelled to relinquish some of the territories he had won. Seven years later, the Uzbeks were driven out of Khorassan, and in the meanwhile the Persian dominions had been increased by the conquest of Lar, a province in the south, and of the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf, which were valuable on account of the pearl-fisheries. The Turks still maintained their struggle for predominance; but several places of importance, including Tabriz and Baghdad, were taken by the Persians, and in a little while Abbas recovered Azerbaijan, Shirwan, Kurdistan, Armenia, and part of Georgia, together with some other regions of less importance. Foiled in every direction, the Turks formed an alliance with the Tartars of Kiptchâk, but again underwent a terrible defeat in 1618, between Sultanieh and Tabriz. This action finally determined the superiority of the Persians over the Turks in that part of the world; and the interior of Persia was entirely delivered from the attacks of the Ottoman intruder.

Though often violent and arbitrary in his treatment of those who questioned his power or excited his suspicions, Shah Abbas was in some respects an enlightened monarch. He encouraged trade with

Europeans, and protected the factories which the English, French, and Dutch had opened at Gombroon. To the English he was particularly favourable, owing to the personal influence of two brothers, Sir Anthony and Sir Robert Shirley, who, about the close of the sixteenth century, arrived as private travellers in Persia. The

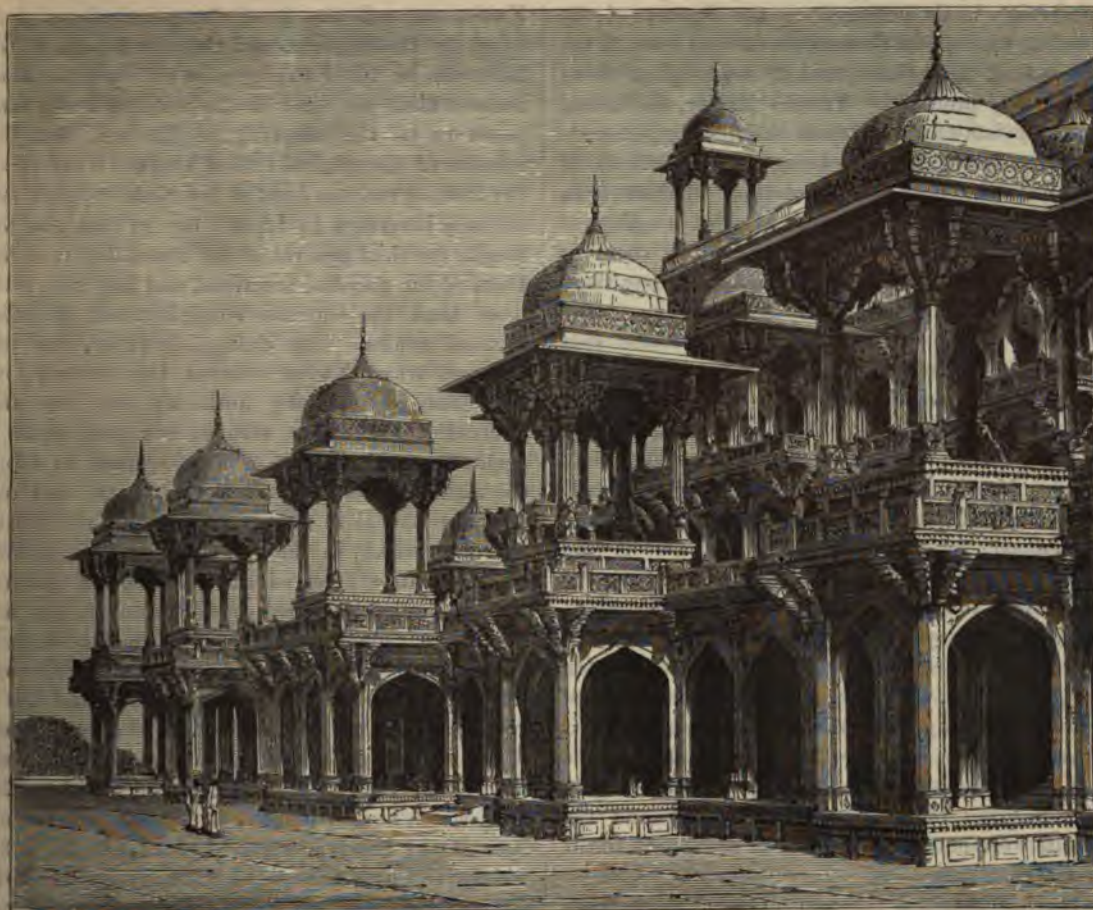
is said to have been exposed every day in the Hall of Justice, seated in a chair of state, with the eyes open, and the back to the hangings, behind which stood a person who answered any questions that were put. It is added that in this way the Shah's death was kept secret for six weeks; but, besides the extreme improbability of the relation,



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younger of the two knights remained at the court of Shah Abbas, while the elder was sent as envoy to the Christian princes of Europe, whose alliance the Shah desired to obtain, with a view to combined operations against the Turks. Nothing of importance resulted from these endeavours, and the English traders in the East, after some operations which will be related further on, failed to obtain the advantages they had expected. Shah Abbas died at Kaswin in 1628, and a strange story is told of the methods adopted to carry out his orders for concealing the fact of his death until the throne was secured to his grandson. His body

it bears too much resemblance to what is recorded of the Turkish Sultan Mohammed I. to find acceptance with the critical. Isfahan was by Abbas made the metropolis of Persia, and he caused some mountains at the distance of thirty leagues to be cut through, that the water-supply of the Imperial city might be augmented. Public works of the highest value were executed; the Armenian Christians, who were known for their industrious habits, were encouraged to settle in the kingdom; and the prosperity of Persia followed the independence from foreign rule which was secured by Abbas the Great.



MAUSOLEUM OF AKBAR, SECUNDRA.

CHAPTER XXI.

EUROPE AND THE EAST OF ASIA.

The Sixteenth Century an Age of Discovery—Distant Enterprises of the Jesuits—Xavier in the East of Asia—Extraordinary Conversions of the Natives—Expedition to Japan—Results of Xavier's Teaching—Subsequent Persecution of the Christians—The Jesuits in the West: Paraguay and its Theocratical Commonwealth—Intrigues of the Order at Constantinople—Voyages of Cornelius Houtman to the East of Asia—Commercial Enterprise of the Dutch—Formation of Distant Settlements—Beginning of the English East India Company—Retrospect of Indian History from the Fall of the Ghaznevites to the Sixteenth Century—Power of the Mohammedans in the North—Reign of Allah at Delhi—Spoliation of Hindoo Rajahs—Capricious Despotism—Reigns of Mohammed III. and Ferose III.—Irruption of Timour, the Tartar Chieftain—Early Life and Adventures of the Sultan Baber—His Conquest of Cabul and of Northern India—Destruction of the Delhi Sovereignty—Conquest of Part of the Deccan by the Moguls—Development of Internal Prosperity—India in the Sixteenth Century, as described by Baber—Death and Character of the Emperor—Reign of Humayun, and Temporary Restoration of an Afghan Dynasty—Splendid and Beneficent Policy of Akbar—His Tolerant Views in Religion—Enlightened Rule of his Successor, Jehanghire—Concessions to the English East India Company—Early History of that Corporation.

TORN as it was by internal dissensions, the sixteenth century was an age of maritime adventure, of far-reaching enterprise, and of extensive colonisation. The exploring spirit originated in the fifteenth century, when, as related in the First Chapter of this volume, the Portuguese made

discoveries on the coasts of Africa and India, the Spaniards in South America, and the English in the north of the same continent. But in the following century these expeditions were carried out on a larger scale, and bore ampler fruit. It is remarkable that some of the most energetic settlers

in foreign lands belonged to the Society of the Jesuits, who spread themselves far and wide in the interests of their Order, and of the religious views which they professed. Francis Xavier, the friend and associate of Loyola, was the first to penetrate into the East, and to bring all the forces of Jesuitism to bear on populations distinct from those of Europe. In 1542 he founded a college at Goa, a Portuguese settlement on the coast of Malabar, which had been commenced, thirty-three years before, by Alfonso Albuquerque. The primary efforts of Xavier in this remote spot were directed towards reforming the manners of the European colonists, which had become extremely dissolute; after which, he was the better enabled to operate with effect upon the native mind. Many of the pearl-fishers along the coast, from Cape Comorin to a point opposite the island of Manaar, accepted his teaching, and it is said that in Travancore he baptised ten thousand Indians in the space of one month. Such statements are always to be received with grave distrust; yet we need not on that account question the general fact that Xavier laboured in the East with unremitting zeal, and that the number of his proselytes was considerable. Something of the fervour of early Christian times had undoubtedly been revived by the Society of Jesus, and the results were not altogether out of proportion to the means employed.

Having obtained the assistance of three other Jesuit missionaries, Xavier went to Malacca, to the Banda Islands, and to the archipelago of the Moluccas. Here he found himself in the midst of a Malay population—a race not usually accessible to religious influences; yet he succeeded in a remarkable degree. On his return voyage to Goa, in 1548, he converted the sovereign prince of Kandy, in Ceylon, together with several of his subjects, and then organised an expedition to Japan, the conversion of which country had been suggested to him by a native whom he met at Malacca, and who adopted the Christian faith on the persuasions of his Spanish friend. Xavier prepared himself for this enterprise by learning on the voyage as much Japanese as would enable him to give expression to a few elementary religious ideas; and, thus furnished, he entered Japan in May, 1549. The country was scarcely known to Europeans, though it had been visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and by Mendez Pinto about 1542: of its previous history, scarcely anything can be related. The empire is said to date from the seventh century B.C.; but its doings for many ages were unrevealed to the West. When

Xavier entered the land, the principal religions were the Buddhistical and the Confucian, if the latter can be called a religion at all; but the most ancient faith was that of the Sinto, a being supposed to be the offspring of the sun, and the founder of the original line of kings. Until 1585, the Daïri Soma, the head of the Sinto religion, was the only sovereign in Japan; but in that year the Siogun (or chief general of the State) deprived the Daïri of his political functions, and left him little more than the supreme administration of ecclesiastical affairs. This change, however, had not occurred when Xavier entered the country: at that time, the priestly authority was sole and undivided. We have seen in our own times a disposition on the part of the Japanese to adopt the manners and civilisation of Europe, and can therefore the more readily understand the quickness with which, in the sixteenth century, several of their nation received the teachings of Xavier. The success of the great Jesuit, however, was not immediate, though his converts ultimately became numerous. After two years and a half of devoted toil, he left Japan for Goa, and, while on a voyage to China, which was to be the next scene of his labours, died in the island of Sancian, near Macao, on the 22nd of December, 1552. The faith which he had planted in the extreme east of Asia lasted nearly a hundred years, and in 1582 the native Christians were sufficiently numerous to send a deputation to Rome; but a fierce persecution began in 1590, owing, it is said, to the assumptions of the Jesuits. Thousands of converts were put to death, and the Portuguese (who suffered from the interested rivalry of the Dutch) were totally expelled in 1642. Christianity disappeared with its foreign protectors, and has never again struck root in Japan: one amongst many facts showing the fallacy of the popular belief that persecution is powerless to destroy ideas. The evangelisation of China, which the disciple of Loyola was unable to carry out, was attempted at successive periods by the Jesuits Ricci and Schall, with a little temporary success, but ultimately with as complete a failure as in the case of Japan.

Though we are at present concerned with the East, it will be convenient, before parting with the Jesuits and their missions, to relate one of the most remarkable of their achievements in the West. Paraguay is a large country of South America, lying between the rivers Paraguay and Parana. Originally discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1526, it subsequently passed into the hands of the Spaniards, who laid claim to all that part of the New World. The first European colony was

settled there in 1535 by Pedro de Mendoza, who established Paraguay as a province of the Viceroyalty of Peru. The Indians of this region, however, were a martial and spirited race, and the Spaniards made little progress in subjecting them to their rule or their religion. It was not until the arrival of the Jesuits that any striking results were effected. These missionaries were, in the first instance, Portuguese from the neighbouring country of Brazil, who wandered into Paraguay about the middle of the sixteenth century. The great work of the Spanish Jesuits began in the early part of the seventeenth. With that practical genius which so often distinguishes the members of their order, they introduced not merely the tenets of their faith, but arts and industries to which the Paraguayans had always been strangers. Flocks and herds were brought into the land, and the people were familiarised with the peaceful and humanising pursuits of agriculture. They were also taught to make bricks, to build houses, and to manufacture raw material; and in time their savage habits were subdued to the ways of civilisation. After a while, the Spanish Government consented to place in the hands of the Jesuits the sole administration of the province, which, being destitute of the precious metals, was not valuable as a source of revenue. For every one of their subjects, the Jesuits paid a piastre to the treasury at Madrid, and about 1690 they were invested with the right of excluding all other Europeans from the colony. Their efforts had previously been to some extent defeated by the intrusion of profligate adventurers from the old country, whose evil example corrupted the natives; but thenceforward the settlement progressed with extraordinary rapidity, and, unless the accounts are exaggerated, a species of Christian Utopia existed in Paraguay until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. The natives were allowed to possess neither money nor arms, and a state of peaceful communism was developed under the guidance of a theocratical autocracy.

Another great enterprise of the Jesuits had Constantinople for its object. The design of these restless enthusiasts was to overthrow the Greek Patriarch, and to bring the Oriental Church within the bounds of Rome—an attempt in which they were supported by the French and Austrian ambassadors to the Porte, and strongly opposed by the representatives of England and Holland. The Jesuits spared neither labour nor money to effect their purpose, and in 1622 a payment of 40,000 dollars to the Turkish Government purchased the exile of the Patriarch Cyril. The English

envoy, Sir Thomas Roe, interested himself in the fate of this dignitary, and after a while obtained his recall. Cyril is said to have been a Calvinist; at any rate, he was antagonistic to all interference from Rome, and was therefore not unreasonably befriended by a Protestant kingdom. The Mohammedan authorities, moreover, were little disposed to see the dominion of the Pope established in their midst, and for a time the Jesuits were entirely discomfited. Ultimately, however, they planted themselves in the Turkish capital, but do not appear to have enjoyed any great influence amongst a people whose ideas were so entirely distinct from their own. It was in consequence of these numerous establishments in non-Christian lands that, in 1622, Pope Gregory XV. commenced the "*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*," to which, five years later, Urban VIII. presented a collegiate building, which is still known by the same name.

But, however much we may concede to the energy and zeal of the Jesuits, the invasion of the East by Western ideas was mainly owing to commerce and maritime adventure. It was the secular, rather than the religious, spirit which discovered America, explored the coasts of Africa, and crossed the wide and little-known oceans of the South in pursuit of riches on the shores of India and the eastern islands. Towards the close of the sixteenth century, while the Netherlands were still in the most terrible throes of their great struggle with Spain, a certain Fleming, named Cornelius Houtman, was employed by the merchants of Amsterdam to open a trade with the Indies. Houtman had served under the Portuguese, and made several voyages to India, with the more frequented parts of which he was well acquainted. Starting in the early days of 1595, he penetrated as far as Bantam, in Java, and was not slow in discovering that the influence of the Portuguese in that part of the world had of late years considerably declined. The report which he brought home with him in 1597 encouraged the Dutch people in their ambition to found settlements in more opulent lands; and, in the following year, upwards of eighty vessels were despatched from the Low Countries to various parts of the world, including the East and West Indies, the coasts of Africa, and the Pacific Ocean. Many of the ships were provided with troops, for those were days when Holland was fighting for its very existence, and dared not count on the forbearance of any Power. It says much for the enterprise and vigour of the race that, while still engaged in a deadly conflict with Spain, the Dutch should already be taking steps to form a great

colonial empire, in the face of rival interests and antagonistic States. Several trading companies were commenced, but in 1602 all were fused into a single body, called the East India Company, which possessed a joint-stock capital of about £600,000 sterling. This association was invested with the right of appointing governors, executing justice, building forts, raising troops, and performing other administrative acts; and, being thus armed with extensive and peculiar powers, the directors of the Dutch East India Company established factories and settlements along the coasts of Asia, from Bassora, in the Persian Gulf, to Japan. Their central emporium was at a place in Java to which they gave the national appellation of Batavia. The Moluccas and other spice-islands fell entirely under their rule, and in the course of a few years their trade had acquired extraordinary proportions in all the Eastern seas.

The English East India Company was formed between one and two years before that of Holland, but not until after the Dutch had begun their extensive trade with the Indies. On the 31st of December, 1600, a charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth to a number of London merchants, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies." All Englishmen not belonging to this association were prohibited from traffic within the limits assigned to the Company, which included the entire space, whether of land or sea, between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn—that is to say, the whole of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The charter was for only fifteen years; but it was renewed from time to time, and the East India Company ultimately became one of the most important associations in the world. The first doings of the adventurers consisted of nothing more than the despatch of ships to Java and Sumatra, which returned laden with calicoes, silk, indigo, and spices. It was not until a somewhat later date that any attempt was made to establish settlements in Hindoostan itself.

When the English entered India, the chief military Power existing within its bounds was that of the Moguls. The country had passed through many revolutions since the fall of the Ghaznevides in 1186; but, during the whole of that time, the Mohammedans had asserted a paramount authority amongst the various princes who divided the peninsula into several distinct realms. The annals of the Ghûrian dynasty, which succeeded to the Ghaznevide, are extremely obscure; yet it appears certain that its power was established at Delhi by the Viceroy of one of the Sultans. This would

seem to have been about the close of the twelfth century; but the royal house came to an end almost immediately after, the reigning prince being assassinated in 1206. A few years later, all the sovereignties of Hindoostan were threatened by the resistless Mongolian, Genghis Khan, who, however, turned back without crossing the Indus;* and in 1284 the Mongols made an irruption into Hindoostan, but were eventually defeated and driven out. A second invasion by the same multitudinous and ferocious tribes occurred in 1290, when they were encountered by the heroic Zafir Khan, who, in a series of successful battles, expelled them from Hindoostan. At this time, the main seat of power in Northern India was at Delhi, the princes of which city (belonging to a Pathan or Afghan stock, like the Ghaznevides) extended their sway over the adjacent regions. One of the most brilliant of these rulers, but at the same time one of the cruellest, was the Sultan or Emperor Allah, who acquired the throne in 1295 by the assassination of the previous monarch, Ferose, whose justice and humanity might have produced the best results, had they been accompanied by a resolute will.

Allah was a great general, and previous to his usurpation of the crown had led a small army into Aurungabad, a part of the Deccan, whence, after taking the city of Deoghur, he returned in safety through hostile territories, with an enormous booty, consisting of gold and silver, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, four thousand pieces of silk, and various commodities of incalculable value. The Rajah of the invaded territories—one of the Hindoo race and religion—appears to have been completely panic-stricken by the suddenness and fury of Allah's attack. His son endeavoured, but in vain, to intercept the forces of the Mohammedan on his retreat; and Allah returned to Delhi with the fame of a mighty, almost a supernatural, conqueror. It was probably this marvellous success which induced him to murder Ferose, and take the reins of power into his own hands. His supremacy, however, was not uncontested. He had several times to repel the assaults of the Mongols, and, on some of these occasions, Delhi itself was threatened with capture. Nevertheless, Allah subdued Gujerat, Ajmeer, and other places governed by native Rajahs. Much was accomplished by the Emperor's favourite general, Kafoor, who particularly distinguished himself in the reduction of the Carnatic and various southern regions. In the temples of Bellal-deo,

* See the Volume on the Middle Ages, p. 417.

sovereign of the Carnatic, the Mohammedans from Delhi obtained a magnificent booty, in the form of golden idols enriched with precious stones. The conqueror built a small mosque in the capital city, and ordered divine worship to be performed according to the Mohammedan faith. At length, Kafoor turned his face towards Delhi, taking with him three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, vast masses of gold, several chests of jewels, and other things of almost equal value. Even the common soldiers had such abundance of gold that they threw away the silver, as being too cumbersome and too worthless to carry.

This immense accession of riches seems to have intoxicated the mind of Allah with ideas of boundless and irresponsible power. He had previously been licentious and wild in his conduct; he now added the vice of cruelty to the other faults of his character. Many of his designs were characterised by a species of insanity, and, when elated by intoxication, he would talk of establishing a new religion, and of conquering the world after the example of Alexander the Great. Alarmed by a conspiracy to murder him, which was discovered in time to prevent its consummation, Allah slaughtered fifteen thousand of his real or supposed enemies, and enslaved their wives and children, but was unable, even by this severity, to protect himself against a subsequent attempt by his brother-in-law. Further conspiracies were punished with the same ferocity. The latter years of the reign, however, were distinguished by a just, though vigorous, government. The Empire flourished under this new condition. Learning and science were encouraged, and magnificent buildings constructed, by order of the monarch. Yet the vice of tyranny remained, and the people chafed under a despotism which, while it promoted many of their interests, interfered vexatiously with all the actions of their daily life. Allah died in 1316, and by many it was supposed that poison had accelerated the effects of natural disease.

The power of the Moslem Empire declined rapidly after the decease of Allah, and under Mohammed III. the magnificent city of Delhi was deserted for Deoghur, in the Deccan, and left to the wild beasts and the owls. After a few years, it was found necessary to return to the older metropolis, and the miserable people, who had been unwillingly dragged seven hundred and fifty miles to the new capital, now returned with equal pain to their forsaken homes, or perished on the way. Famine pursued them even into the once proud seat of empire, and they were again compelled to depart, only to be confronted, soon after-

wards, by a rebellion of the tributary Hindoo princes and their subjects. Almost the whole of the Deccan was lost to Mohammed, and in the midst of these misfortunes he was carried off by a fever in the year 1351. The following reign—that of Ferose III.—was distinguished by reviving prosperity. With something, perhaps, of Oriental exaggeration, this monarch is said to have constructed forty mosques, thirty schools, twenty caravanserais, five hospitals, a hundred palaces, an equal number of tombs and bridges, ten baths, fifty sluices or canals, a hundred and fifty wells, and pleasure-gardens without number. The city of Ferorozabad, adjacent to Delhi, was founded and wholly built by the sovereign whose name it bore; and his dominions were largely benefited by works of irrigation, and the convenience of water-carriage. Yet, with all this beneficence and wisdom, Ferose could act with the deliberate barbarity of a tyrant where his enmity was roused; and the people of Kumaon, whose princes gave him offence, had reason to hold his memory in dread. He died in 1387, at the age of ninety, when the Empire again fell into the confusion from which it had temporarily emerged.

Eleven years later, the great Tartarian conqueror, Timour, took advantage of the anarchy existing in India, crossed the Hindoo-Koosh and the Indus, conquered and sacked Delhi, and even penetrated beyond the Ganges.* His presence was marked by atrocious spoliation and slaughter, and the devastation of his troops would doubtless have proceeded to an indefinite extent, but for the somewhat precipitate retreat of the invader, which may, in part, have been due to the unforeseen difficulties of a remote and little-known country. Timour does not appear to have appointed any sovereign to rule over Hindoostan, but confirmed in their positions the several princes who submitted to him. In the Punjab, the authority of his house was recognised for a few years after his withdrawal; he was prayed for in the mosques of India; and the coinage was marked with his name as long as the terror of his achievements survived. The destruction of life during his brief inroad was enormous; many thousands were led away into captivity; yet, notwithstanding this immense depletion, and the great losses caused by recent wars and revolutions, the population of India appears to have shown no serious diminution. A high state of civilisation, maintained through numerous ages, had resulted in a degree of populousness quite unknown to the West; and even the

* The invasion of India by Timour has been described in the Volume on the Middle Ages, p. 530.



THE FIRST FLEET OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY LEAVING WOOLWICH (1601)

sword of a Timour made but little difference to the teeming lands of the Indus and the Ganges.

The anarchy which preceded the appearance of the Tartar chieftain continued after the country had regained its independence. For more than a hundred years, the chronicles of Hindoostan present no circumstance of interest, except the formation of the Portuguese settlements on the western coast, of which the reader has already been apprised. In the

his occupation of the throne, the boy secured possession of his ancestral dominions, and for several years encountered the forces of his opponents, not, indeed, with invariable success, but with heroic constancy. In 1503, however, when only twenty, he was driven from his sovereignty by the Sultan of Kiptchâk, and, after many wanderings among the deserts and mountains, entered Khorassan, and besought the hospitality of Sultan



THE OLD INDIA OFFICE, LONDON (1803).

year 1483, however, a child was born, who, on attaining to manhood, restored the greatness of the Mohammedan power in India, and earned a name which is illustrious even in the European world. Zahir-Eddin-Mohammed-Baber, more generally known by the last of those names, signifying "the Tiger," was descended on the paternal side from the great warrior Timour, and through his mother from the equally martial Genghis Khan. His father, the Sultan Omar-Sheikh-Mirza, was sovereign of Ferghâna, a province situated on both sides of the Jaxartes, and corresponding with the modern Khokand. This powerful monarch died when his son was scarcely twelve years of age; and although the rulers of several adjacent territories resisted

Hussain Mirza, a descendant, like himself, of the famous Timour. Not receiving from this relative the assistance on which he had counted, he entered on the life of an adventurer, obtained the support of several Mongolians, and laid siege to Cabul, which surrendered to his forces in October, 1504. About the same time, he took possession of Ghizni and its dependent territories, without even fighting a battle, and, elated by his success, resolved to invade Hindoostan.

For the present, however, he confined his operations to the western bank of the Indus. The necessity of establishing his power over many rivals, and of securing a firm hold on Afghanistan and Khorassan before advancing into the East, delayed

his contemplated attack on India for several years ; but in the early part of 1519 he crossed the dividing river a little above Attock, seized on a few places, and appointed governors who were to rule in his name. Soon afterwards he recrossed the Indus into Cabul ; but his favourite design was not laid aside. In 1524 and the following year, he again entered the sunburnt plains of India, and marched in the direction of Delhi. The reigning Emperor of that territory was Ibrahim Lodi, a descendant of one of the Afghan dynasties which had been established there for many generations. Baber determined to attack this monarch in his stronghold. Ibrahim was a feeble and dissipated prince, who had allowed his realm to fall into a state of extreme disorganisation ; so that, when confronted by an energetic soldier like Baber, his defeat was a foregone conclusion. Unskilled in the art of war, he depended solely on the force of numbers ; but the dispositions of Baber were so masterly that the legions of the Delhi sovereign were driven back in hopeless confusion. Thousands were slain in the rout, and the Emperor himself was among those who fell. The action was fought before Paniput on the 21st of April, 1526, and it sealed the fate of the Afghan rule in Northern Hindoostan. Agra opened its gates to the conqueror on the 10th of May ; yet some further opposition had still to be overcome. With startling rapidity, all obstacles were swept aside, and, in February, 1527, Baber won a decisive victory, at Biana, near Agra, over Rana-Sanka, the most powerful of the Hindoo princes.

The larger part of Hindoostan now submitted to the sway of this fortunate warrior. It was a territory of immense extent, abounding in mineral riches, in jewels of inestimable value, in splendid manufactures, and in great historic cities ; but to the eye of Baber, who has left us a very interesting autobiography, it appeared simply as a country of monotonous ugliness, where all the towns presented a uniform aspect, and all the fields were barren. To his companions, the land was so excessively distasteful that they required to be at once led back to Cabul, and even began to make preparations for their return. The country had been desolated by many years of anarchy and failing empire ; the people were little inclined to submit ; and the heat was so intolerable that many of the Mongolian soldiers dropped dead in the open ways. Nevertheless, Baber was determined not to relinquish so brilliant an acquisition. He allowed anybody to retire who did not care to remain ; but only one of his chief officers took advantage of this permission. The Emperor then addressed himself to the organi-

sation of his vast possessions ; and, in the meanwhile, his son Humayun encountered the forces of the dispossessed monarchs, who endeavoured from time to time to regain what they had lost. When Baber entered Hindoostan, it was divided amongst five Mussulman sovereigns and two Rajahs of the older race, not to speak of a few petty chieftains who occupied the hills and woods. It was evident that these rulers would engage in repeated struggles for the recovery of their power ; indeed, it was not until the reign of Baber's grandson, Akbar, that the submission of Northern Hindoostan was fully secured. The new dominion is usually termed the Mogul Empire, because Baber's companions-in-arms were for the most part Mongolians ; but Baber himself must rather be described as belonging to the Tartar race, which is not wholly Mongolian, but, in some of its tribes at least, related to the Aryan stock. By western writers, the Emperors belonging to the House of Baber are called the Great Moguls.

The internal prosperity of his dominions was promoted by Baber with great intelligence and spirit. Public roads were either made or improved ; resting-places for travellers were erected at proper distances ; a regular line of post-houses was built from Agra to Cabul ; the land was measured with a view to the fair apportionment of taxation ; gardens were planted, and fruit-trees introduced from abroad. There can be no question that the ancient fertility of Hindoostan had suffered greatly from bad government and civil commotions, and that these works of reparation were much needed on all hands. In his memoirs, Baber gives an exceedingly poor account both of the people and of their country. "They have no genius," he writes of the former, "no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture. They have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazaars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not even a candlestick. . . . Besides their rivers, or standing waters, they have some running water in their ravines and hollows : they have no aqueducts or canals in their gardens or palaces. In their buildings, they study neither elegance nor climate, appearance nor regularity." It is probable that in some respects this description is over-coloured ; yet the country was doubtless in a very inferior condition to that which had been seen in earlier ages, or to that which has been since created by many

years of English rule. "In Hindoostan," says Baber, "the decay or total destruction of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. If, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight, large towns that have been peopled for a series of years are so completely abandoned in a single day, or in a day and a half, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population. If, on the other hand, they intend to settle on any particular spot, there is no need of building a strong house, or erecting a firm wall. They have abundance of strong grass and plenty of timber, of which they run up hovels; and a village or town is constructed in an instant."

Baber died near Agra on the 26th of December, 1530. It is said that, shortly before this event, his son Humayun was stricken with an illness which seemed likely to be mortal, and that his father offered his own life in exchange for that of his child. The belief that by these means a certain term of years may be added to the natural life of another, is ancient and widely spread; and it is probable that most Oriental contemporaries of the great Sultan fully credited the account thus given of his end. He was barely forty-eight years of age when, from whatever cause, his life reached its close; yet for thirty-six years he had enjoyed sovereign power, in a greater or less degree, over a varied region. In Hindoostan, however, he had ruled not more than five years, and it is amazing that in so short a time he should have done so much. Baber was one of those conquerors—not very numerous, it must be admitted—of whom it can be said that they used their strength for the purposes of beneficence. His affection for his relations displayed on a small scale the wide and impartial benevolence with which he governed the races that had submitted to his sway. He was not only a soldier, but a statesman, and a thinker of lofty and cultured intelligence. His high stature, extraordinary strength, courage, agility, and accomplishments as a swordsman and an archer, endeared him to those who had shared his dangers on the field of battle; but his chief claim to the respect of later times is to be found in the benignity and wisdom with which he ruled the countless myriads of the East.

Baber was succeeded by his son Humayun, whose reign was interrupted for fourteen years by the successful rebellion of Shere Khan, the Afghan Governor of Bahar, who, encouraged by the disloyal suggestions of the Emperor's brother, declared his independence. The supremacy of this usurper extended only from 1541 to 1545, when he was killed while besieging Chitore. At his death, his dominions reached from Bengal to the Indus, and he left behind him many witnesses of a brief, but

undisputed, power. Though gaining his position by treachery, he seems to have turned it to admirable account. The prosperity of India was increased by many excellent regulations, and it is said that during the reign of Shere Khan an absolute security of person and property was established throughout the Empire. The Afghan prince was succeeded by his son, Selim or Islam Shah, who died in 1552, after a reign of seven years. A period of confusion then ensued, which was terminated in 1555 by the recall of Humayun. This unfortunate prince, whose benevolence seems to have been equal to his father's, with more opportunities for its self-denying exhibition, died in consequence of a fall down the palace stairs in 1556, and the Imperial power passed quietly to his son, the illustrious Akbar, who was then only thirteen years of age. Although his intelligence was already considerable, he was as yet unable to administer affairs in a country such as India, where the dispossessed princes, whether Afghan or Hindoo, were always watching for opportunities of insurrection. He therefore bestowed the active conduct of affairs on Bahram Khan, a Turkoman noble who had served his father. The rule of Bahram was strict even to severity, and in 1558 Akbar, when about sixteen years of age, delivered himself by a stratagem from what had become a species of despotism, though of his own creation. Bahram endeavoured to establish an independent principality in Malwa, but was compelled, after an unavailing struggle of two years, to implore the mercy of the Emperor. With a generosity that might be called excessive, Akbar replaced Bahram in his former position at the head of the nobles, and offered him high military command in a distant province, with the alternative of an honourable station at court. But the spirit of the former regent was broken, and he simply requested of Akbar the means of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. He departed with a pension of 50,000 rupees and a befitting retinue, and Akbar was now free to reconstruct his realm, and to develop its internal resources.

When the grandson of the great Baber ascended the throne, his territory was confined to the Punjab, and the provinces of Agra and Delhi. The other portions of the Mogul Empire had been snatched away in successive insurrections; but they were gradually recovered by Akbar, who, though naturally inclined to peace, considered himself entitled to take back what had belonged to his predecessors. A portion even of the Deccan was conquered by himself or his generals; but the most southern parts of India maintained their

independence throughout the whole of Akbar's reign. Every province, as it was brought back to its former allegiance, was governed with justice and impartiality; and, although each of these regions was placed under the orders of a Viceroy, Akbar watched with unceasing vigilance over the conduct of his representatives, that the people might not suffer from unscrupulous authority. Nothing is more remarkable in the character of this great and noble sovereign than his perfect toleration in the matter of religion; and this, too, at a time when a large part of Europe was being rent by the animosities of Catholics and Protestants. Akbar was profoundly interested in all questions touching on the religious beliefs of men; but his curiosity was rather that of a philosopher than that of an enthusiast. He had of course heard a good deal about Christianity, and he desired to know more. In 1582, therefore, he wrote a letter to the Portuguese ecclesiastics at Goa, requesting that they would send him a few of their most learned members, that he might converse with them on the tenets of their faith. Three padres arrived at Agra (the Imperial capital) in the early part of 1589, and were well received by Akbar. A public disputation with the doctors of the Mohammedan religion was then appointed; but the results were unsatisfactory to both parties. The conferences of the rival theologians seem to have been characterised by a great deal of idle vaunting on each side, and the discussion ended with mutual recriminations. The Christians returned under a safe-conduct to Goa, and two other missions at subsequent periods were equally barren of any permanent effect. One of the priests, however, remained at Agra, that he might translate the Gospels into Persian; and in this task, which was not completed until 1602, he was assisted by a learned Mohammedan of Lahore. In the version thus produced, the text of the four Gospels is interspersed with Papal legends, which were not at all likely to obtain favour with a Mohammedan race. The book, when finished, was issued under the patronage of Akbar; but it certainly had as little effect on the mind of that sovereign as on the opinions of his people.

The religion of Akbar himself appears to have been a kind of Theism, and he even endeavoured to promulgate a new faith, which, however, made but few converts. The rationalising Emperor probably reckoned too little on the intense convictions and conservative sentiments of the Moslems, and doubtless supposed that a system agreeable to his own reason would necessarily be welcome to the minds of others. His great credit

in this respect was the splendid universality of his tolerance. The Hindoos, who formed the majority of his subjects, and who had been treated with much severity by their Moslem conquerors, suddenly found themselves restored to a position of equality with the professors of Islam. In the early part of his reign, Akbar abolished the capitation-tax which had been imposed on the Hindoos as a mark of inferiority, or as a punishment for their obstinate adherence to the systems of Brahma and Buddha. Taxes on pilgrimages were likewise removed; but at the same time all those Brahminical practices which were adverse either to morals or to humanity—such as trials by ordeal, the slaughter of animals for sacrifice, and the burning of widows at the obsequies of their husbands—were strictly forbidden. These prohibitions seem to have given no offence to the Hindoos, and may, indeed, have been secretly welcomed in many quarters. A century later, the Rajah of Joodpore addressed a remonstrance to one of Akbar's descendants, the Emperor Aurungzebe, on the bigoted policy which he had adopted. "Your royal ancestor, Akbar," he wrote, "conducted the affairs of his Empire in equity and security for the space of fifty years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of Brahma or of Mohammed; whether they were of the Dharian sect, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance. All equally enjoyed his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of 'Guardian of Mankind.'" So great was the humanity of Akbar, that, except in extreme cases, he looked with great disfavour on capital punishment, and even for the worst of crimes the penalty of death was not to be accompanied by any form of torture. Education and literature were encouraged by this truly superb sovereign, and the internal administration of his vast Empire was conducted on such enlightened principles that the general prosperity was increased, while the pressure of taxation was diminished. It is lamentable to add that the final years of a beneficent life were embittered by the misconduct of three sons. Two of these died in early manhood through the effects of dissipation. Selim, the survivor, frequently rebelled against his father, and, in one of his seditions, the Emperor's secretary, Abul Fazzel, was killed by the young prince in endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Worn out by mental distress at the repeated

offences of Selim, Akbar died in September, 1605, after a reign of about half a century. Over his remains, which were deposited near Agra, was erected a splendid sepulchre, with the simple but sufficing inscription, "Akbar the Admirable."

Succeeding to the throne under the title of Neir-ed-deen Mohammed Jehanghire (Lord or conqueror of the world), Selim almost immediately suffered from that spirit of insubordination which he had himself aroused against his father. His nephew Khosrou entered the field against his authority, but was soon vanquished, and thrown into prison. Jehanghire then turned his arms against that portion of the Deccan which had not been subdued by Akbar. The war was conducted with little spirit; but the Rana (or chief prince) of the Rajpoots was compelled to sue for peace, on terms very favourable to the Emperor. Notwithstanding the vices of his early life, Jehanghire was an excellent sovereign, and the best traditions of his father's reign were continued in his own. These results appear to have been largely due to the wisdom and probity of his Prime Minister, a Tartar named Actemad-ul-Dowlah, whose early life had been passed in the desert, but who, after his arrival at Agra, exhibited the highest capacity of a statesman. The various industries of the people were fostered by the regulations of this able politician; forests were cut down, towns and villages rose in the unpeopled wastes, manufactures flourished, and agriculture was improved by the care and attention of the Government. The benevolent toleration of Akbar was continued by his son, and no distinction was suffered to exist between the Mohammedan and the Hindoo. It was in the reign of Jehanghire that Sir Thomas Roe was sent as the first English Ambassador to Hindoostan. He brought with him a coach which James I. had charged him to present to the Emperor; and, by judicious flattery and deference, he obtained the object of his mission—viz, leave to establish factories at Surat and other places. The heir to the throne showed great displeasure at these concessions, and some of the native authors of that period condemn with remarkable freedom the permission accorded to what were termed "the idolaters of Europe" to form establishments on Indian soil.

The authorisation to open factories was granted in 1611, and, in consideration of this favour, the English East India Company agreed to pay the Great Mogul an export duty on all its shipments,

to the amount of three and a half per cent. The capital of this association was afterwards largely increased, and in 1624 the actual functions of government were first exercised by the corporation, the managers of which were empowered to punish their servants abroad, either by civil or by martial law. This authority was unlimited in extent, and even included the right of decreeing death in certain cases. Two years earlier—in 1622—the East India Company had engaged in a naval operation, which gave assurance of its growing strength. Shah Abbas, the sovereign of Persia, regarded with great dislike the establishment of the Portuguese on the island of Ormuz, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf, which they had acquired in 1507, and which ultimately became the emporium of an extensive commerce with India, Persia, Arabia, Bokhara, Turkistan, and Turkey. A military expedition was consequently fitted out by the Shah, to which the London Company added a fleet; and the island was taken on the 22nd of April, 1622. The English adventurers were rewarded by a part of the plunder, and by a grant of half the customs at the port of Gombroon; but, from various causes, their commerce in Persia did not increase to the extent anticipated.

Such was the beginning of a dominion based wholly on commercial principles, and directed from London by a small body of private merchants, whose original object was nothing more than the development of trade. In a subsequent age, the power of the East India Company became greater than that of all but a few princes, and the fears entertained by several of the Mogul's courtiers were realised in a degree which perhaps they themselves never expected, even in their most gloomy forebodings. The history of the East India Company is not one of the pleasantest chapters in the records of the English people; yet it is a chapter full of the glory of power, of brilliant genius, and of many-sided activity. Jehanghire could not have foreseen anything like the full effects of his policy towards the English strangers, nor does it appear that he ever repented of the step he had taken. His last days were tortured, not by any dread of European conquest, but (as if by way of retribution for the acts of his own youth) by the rebellions of his son, Shah Jehan. He died in 1628, while on a journey to Cashmere; and the son succeeded, though with some opposition, to the throne which he had coveted while it was yet another's.



THE ROOM IN EDINBURGH CASTLE IN WHICH JAMES VI. WAS BORN.

CHAPTER XXII.

PRELIMINARIES OF A GREAT STRUGGLE.

Reign of James VI. of Scotland—His Stormy Minority—Alliance with England—Rebellions and Plots of the Scottish Lords—Attempt on the King's Life by Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell—Conspiracies of Protestants and Catholics—Dissensions of King James with the Presbyterians—The Gowrie Conspiracy—Death of Queen Elizabeth, and Succession of James to the English Throne—Progress of the Latter from Scotland to England—Rapid Collapse of his Popularity—Arabella Stuart, Lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh—Conference of the King with the Puritans—Disposition of James towards the Romanists—Persecution of Puritans and Catholics—The Gunpowder Plot—Theories of the King on Divine Right and Passive Obedience—Interference with the Scottish Church—Last Expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, and Execution on an Old Charge—Prospects of a Spanish Alliance—Reaction on the Continent in Favour of Roman Catholicism—Reign of Louis XIII. in France—Intrigues and Revolutionary Movements—Rise of Richelieu—Dissensions of the King with the Queen-Mother, Maria de' Medici—Huguenot Risings in the South—Vigorous Administration of Cardinal Richelieu—State of France on his assuming Office—Persecution in the United Provinces of the Netherlands—The Arminians and the Gomarists—Fate of Barneveldt—Affairs of Germany and Bohemia—Marriage of the Elector Palatine to the Daughter of James I. of England—Formation of a Protestant League—Insurrection in Bohemia—Siege of Vienna by Count Thurn—Events in Russia—The False Dmitri—An Era of Impostors—Succession of the House of Romanoff—Restoration of the National Power and Prosperity—State of Poland.

NATIONS are not unfrequently made to suffer, even in the bitterest degree, from the vicious or defective education of particular men on whom exceptional power has been conferred. This was repeatedly the case in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it would be difficult to find a more instructive example of the fact than is supplied by the whole career of the Scottish King, James VI., who ultimately became James I. of England. Born in an epoch which carried the idea of kingly prerogative

to a very high pitch, the son of Mary Stuart inherited some of the worst traditions of a violent and deceitful age. Called to the Scottish throne in July, 1567, when he was little more than a year old, he fell into the hands of men who trained him in the school of arbitrary statecraft. Arriving at the more direct exercise of power in 1578, when a boy of twelve, he became the sport of fierce and unprincipled nobles, such as the Earl of Morton, the Duke of Lennox, and the Earl of Arran, who

gued, and plotted, and threatened, in the
ests of their own ambition. For several
the young King was a mere puppet in the
s of factious chieftains, who, in 1582, and

cluded an offensive and defensive alliance with
England, and he looked forward to the time when
he should inherit a more commanding throne, as
the successor of Queen Elizabeth. Though bap-



ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF ESSEX. (After the Portrait by Isaac Oliver.)

in 1585, coerced the sovereign by actual re-
son and interference with his liberty. During
his time, Queen Mary was a prisoner in Eng-
; and when, in 1586, she was condemned to
h, James talked for a while of vindicating her
e, but, in the result, acted with prudent
ve and caution. He had shortly before con-

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tised as a Catholic, James had been brought up as
a Protestant; and he was shrewd enough to per-
ceive, not merely that his own people, with but
few exceptions, were furiously anti-Romanist, but
that a good understanding with England was es-
sential when both countries were menaced by the
Pope and his faithful servants. In 1588, the

Scottish monarch had some vessels in readiness to aid in repelling the Spanish Armada, should their assistance be needed, and some trusty soldiers along the coasts, to resist any attempted landing. Scotland was no longer the enemy of England, or the ally of France. A common devotion to religious reform, a common danger from the enmity of the old Church, had prepared the way for the union of the two crowns.

The rebellions and plots of the great Scottish lords were more than once excited or fostered by Queen Elizabeth, who had possessed a friend in Morton, and who, after the final overthrow of that nobleman, and his execution (in 1581) on a charge of being concerned in the murder of Darnley, endeavoured to procure the appointment of some other minister equally favourable to her views. In these intrigues she was at length successful; and James, who in 1585 had been granted a pension of £5,000 a year, saw the wisdom of keeping on amicable terms with a powerful neighbour. A special weakness in the character of the northern sovereign revealed itself at a very early period, and continued throughout his life. He was largely influenced by a succession of male favourites, each of whom, as long as his ascendancy endured, could persuade him to almost anything. Their counsels were generally mischievous; nor had the advice of James's consort, Anne of Denmark, whom he married in 1589, a very good effect upon his lax and vacillating mind. Great unpopularity was the result, and, on the 27th of December, 1591, an attempt on the King's life was made by Francis Stuart, a relative who had been created Earl of Bothwell, but who was afterwards imprisoned on a charge of raising storms upon the ocean by wizardry, and thus endangering the life of the Queen, and driving her back towards Norway. Bothwell, having broken out of prison, collected a number of retainers, forced his way into Holyrood House, set fire to several apartments, and had nearly reached the King when he found it necessary to retreat. He fled to the north, but afterwards engaged with others in treasonable plots, and in 1593 actually made a prisoner of James, who was not released until he had promised some concessions.

The habits of sedition and conspiracy were always strongly developed amongst the Scottish nobles; and in the reign of James VI. the whole country seems to have been a fermenting mass of treason. The Earl of Bothwell and his friends professed to act in the interests of Protestantism and the English alliance, and were, indeed, countenanced by Elizabeth; but the Roman Catholic

peers were busy also, and in 1594 the two factions united their forces, notwithstanding the difference of religion, and defeated the royal army in Aberdeenshire. Their success, however, was but short-lived. The Romanists were forced to submit, and suffered to leave the country, on giving security that they would engage in no further intrigues against Protestantism, or the peace of the kingdom. Foiled in all his designs, Bothwell became a convert to the older faith, and died abroad; but the agitation in Scotland still continued. In one form or another, religion was usually at the bottom of these disturbances. Knox, who died in 1572, had given a Calvinistic and anti-prelatical character to the Scottish Reformation; and in 1592 the Presbyterian Church—a church governed by *presbyters*, or elders, elected by and representing the laity—was established as the national religion by an Act of the Scottish Parliament. James did not venture to resist this settlement; yet he was himself an Episcopalian, with a considerable partiality for some of the highest Papal assumptions, and he was regarded with suspicion and dislike by all Scotsmen—doubtless forming the majority—whom the genius, the fervour, the passion, and the self-devotion of Knox had drawn into the Calvinistic fold. With these Presbyterians James came into collision, and in 1596–7 something like a state of civil war existed. Supported on this occasion by the nobles, the King managed to effect a peace, and in 1598 some encouragement was given to Episcopacy by the restoration of seats in Parliament to about fifty ecclesiastics.

Nevertheless, the spirit of discontent had not been laid, and the year 1600 was signalised by a mysterious plot known as the Gowrie Conspiracy. The noble family of the Gowries had long been disaffected to King James, and in 1584 the Earl then in possession of the title had been executed for high treason. As he had been promised a pardon by the King, his decapitation was regarded as a cruel breach of faith, and desire of revenge may have been the motive which prompted the strange outrage of 1600. On the 5th of August in that year, James was at Falkland Palace, in Fife-shire, when Alexander Ruthven, brother of the existing Earl of Gowrie, lured him, under a false pretence, into the family castle at Perth, and, leading him into a retired apartment, all the doors approaching which he locked as they passed, menaced him with immediate death. A struggle ensued, and James, getting to an open window, called for help, which was not long in coming. The result was that the King was rescued, and

that the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were slain on the spot by the royal attendants. Whether the conspirators really intended to take the life of the sovereign, or only to seize his person, and afterwards to give him up to the English Government, with a view to the administration of affairs in Scotland on a Presbyterian basis, are matters involved in mystery. The whole incident, in truth, is extremely obscure, and, of the various explanations given, not one seems entirely satisfactory. In any case, however, it is improbable that Queen Elizabeth or her ministers had anything to do with the plot. There was nothing to be gained by it; and Cecil was well inclined to support the interests of James.

The reign of Elizabeth was now drawing to a close. The Queen fell into a confirmed melancholy, followed by a lingering distemper, after the execution of the Earl of Essex in 1601; and on the 24th of March, 1603, death terminated her brilliant reign of more than forty-four years—a reign ever memorable in English history for a certain lofty and superb development of the national genius, such as, taken altogether, later times have not equalled. When the ministers who gathered about her bed asked the dying Queen whether the King of Scotland was to be regarded as her successor, a motion of the head gave token of assent; and indeed it had long been known that such was the only legitimate issue. There were other distant relations of Elizabeth who might have advanced a claim; but none had so good a right as James of Scotland. His father, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the grandson, while his mother, Mary Stuart, was the granddaughter, of Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, who married James IV. of Scotland. For the last two years of Elizabeth's life, the English Prime Minister, Sir Robert Cecil, had been in secret correspondence with James on the subject of the succession; and the cause of the Scottish monarch had been previously supported by the Earl of Essex, as it was afterwards by several Englishmen of high position. In fact, no serious opposition existed, and the progress of James from Edinburgh to London was like a triumphal procession. He reached his new capital on the 7th of May, after a journey which had lasted since the 5th of April. His reception at the seat of government was loyal and friendly; and it was only when he showed undue favour to his northern followers that his popularity began to wane.

The reaction, however, set in very soon. James had not been on the throne many weeks before it was discovered that several plots were being formed against him. Of these, the most serious was one

for placing on the throne the Lady Arabella Stuart, a cousin of the King—a conspiracy in which Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were implicated; though it is doubtful whether the latter had anything more than a knowledge that some sedition was contemplated. The life of the great adventurer was spared for the time; but for twelve years he was confined in the Tower, where he wrote his "History of the World." Delivered from the danger of a conspiracy which appears to have been prompted by Spain, James I. undertook to settle the disputes which had arisen between the Church of England and the Puritans. The Nonconformists had greatly increased in strength during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, and the Episcopalians were beginning to regard them with bitter jealousy. It was perhaps not unreasonable, considering his previous association with a Presbyterian country, that the Puritans should have cherished hopeful anticipations of the new sovereign; but the event showed that they had been very ill-informed. Before the end of 1603, they presented a petition to the King for the redress of grievances, and a conference was appointed at Hampton Court. This was held on the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January, 1604, and the Puritan divines were not long in discovering that Calvinistic Scotland had sent them a monarch with very high ideas of ecclesiastical supremacy. James told the petitioners that he would have but "one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and in ceremony." He denied the Dissenters the right of assembly, and the liberty of discussion; and he declared with cynical frankness that he would make them conform, or "harry them out of the land," if not worse, for he afterwards spoke of hanging them. The clergy were delighted with the King's learning, penetration, and skill, as they flatteringly described the characteristics of his disputation; and the Puritans saw that a day of persecution was at hand. This time they were not mistaken.

James prided himself on his accomplishments as a theologian; but many of his views were such as the English and Scottish nations regarded with dislike. He earnestly desired to effect a compromise with the Papal communion, and, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, on the 19th of March, 1604, he made some very significant remarks. "I acknowledge the Roman Church," he said, "to be our mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions, as the Jews were when they crucified Christ." He recommended an amelioration of the laws affecting the Catholics, with whom he conceived a Christian union might be established; but for the Non-

conformists there was to be nothing but repression. He alluded to the Puritans as "a sect rather than a religion"—a body "unable to be suffered in any well-governed commonwealth;" and, with the aid and sanction of the Church, the process of "harrying" the Dissenters out of the land began with great energy soon afterwards. It was carried on in so unrelenting a spirit that at length some escape from extermination seemed imperative. In 1607, a considerable number of these poor sufferers for conscience' sake started from the mouth of the Humber, and joined a body of their countrymen long settled in Holland, whither they had gone to escape the persecutions of Elizabeth. The tyranny of James, however, surpassed that of his predecessor. He endeavoured to prevent the escape of the fugitives, that they might be made to conform, or be subjected to the extreme penalty of the law. Fortunately, conviction has a strength beyond despotism, or the cause of religious freedom in England would have been lost.

The state of war with Spain which had existed for several years was brought to a close on the 18th of August, 1604; but internal peace was less easily secured. Notwithstanding the King's civilities to the Roman Catholics, the members of that body were not conciliated. They very speedily perceived that James was either unwilling or unable to carry out his professed views; for the penal laws, which at first were considerably softened in practice, were afterwards made still more severe. Those laws, passed in the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, bore with great hardship on the Catholics. The exercise of their religion was strictly forbidden; they suffered from heavy fines, and were compelled to attend Protestant places of worship, or were punished for refusing. Like the Puritans, they were subjected to persecution, and the spirit of revenge and hatred found vent in the famous Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The conspiracy which was to terminate on the 5th of November in the blowing-up of both Houses of Parliament, and the substitution of an entirely new Government, with a Romanist sovereign, is too familiarly known to require any detailed description here. The chief agents in the scheme were Robert Catesby, its originator, Thomas Winter, Thomas Percy (a relation of the Earl of Northumberland), Sir Edward Digby, Francis Tresham, and Guido (or Guy) Fawkes, the last of whom has furnished a distinctive name to the plot. Happily, the project was revealed to the Government, though in dark and ambiguous terms, in time to prevent its execution. Tresham was probably the author of the warning; but the secret

history of the transaction is quite unknown. Some executions followed, and the whole body of Catholics became more detestable than ever to the great majority of Englishmen, who identified the principles of Rome with the practice of assassination and incendiarism.

James I. was a man of considerable ability and learning; but his mind was wanting in practical discernment, and he entirely misunderstood the temper of the nation he was called upon to govern. His grotesque appearance, his cowardly and effeminate habits, his pedantry and dictatorial manners, caused him to be heartily disliked, except among the narrow circle of favourites whom his ridiculous affection exalted to power and honour. To these petty and vexatious characteristics he added those despotic tendencies which only the highest genius, or the most manly and attractive ways, can render acceptable to any nation not degraded to a slavish level. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had undoubtedly acted in many things with the license of tyrants; but some element in their personal character enabled them to tamper with the freedom of their subjects. Elizabeth, in particular, had embodied and emphasised whatever was most distinctive in the English nature, and, with but slight reactions, she preserved her popularity to the end. James, on the contrary, preserved only his power; his popularity was dissipated almost before the acclamations that greeted his arrival had died away. Yet, in face of all the opposition by which he was encountered, he ventured to put the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the passive obedience of subjects, on a more distinct footing than it had ever occupied before. In a work called "The True Law of Free Monarchies," written in 1598, before his accession to the English throne, he declared that "although a good king will frame his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto but of his own will, and for example-giving to his subjects."

Upon this pernicious theory James acted, first in Scotland, and afterwards in England; and in both countries he found courtiers base enough to endorse his pretensions. In England, the Church was eager to uphold a doctrine which, so long as the throne was in accordance with the Bishops, worked very well for the repression of Dissent, but which the King might at any moment, had he been so minded, have turned equally well against the Church. From many pulpits and many presses, it was authoritatively proclaimed that the people had no rights at all; that the monarch was invested by God himself with an inalienable prerogative of governing, and that it was the duty of the subject

to obey. Such were the doctrines laid down by Convocation in 1606, and a layman named Cowell declared that the King, being above the law by his absolute authority, might, notwithstanding his oath, alter or suspend any particular statute that in his opinion was hurtful to the commonwealth. This was going a little too far even for those times. The House of Commons remonstrated, and Cowell's writing was suppressed; yet the ethics of despotism spread widely amongst the influential classes. The favourite doctrines of James had frequently been acted on before; but they had never been so formally or so offensively stated. Earlier departures from the habits of English freedom might have been regarded as exceptional; but the principle of tyranny was now sharply defined, and transformed into a rule of political life. It was evident that, if this principle were persistently carried out for a sufficient term of years, a precedent would be established, from which it would be very difficult to escape. In that case, the government of England would have differed but little from the government of the Grand Turk.

The policy of the King in Scotland was as unpopular as that which he pursued in England. In 1617 he revisited the Northern kingdom, and soon became involved in bitter disputes with the clergy. Being wholly devoid of any sympathy with Presbyterianism, he desired to restore Episcopacy to the Church of Scotland, and in this he finally succeeded. A Parliament was summoned, and, after some opposition, gave its assent to various changes which assimilated the Scottish to the English Church. The General Assembly was also induced to sanction these innovations; but there can be no doubt that it was the arbitrary power of the King, and not any alteration in the national feeling, which thus for a time destroyed the work of Knox. Returning to England, James disgraced the year 1618 by one of his most shameful actions. When Raleigh was found guilty (upon doubtful evidence) of participation in the Cobham plot, he was at first condemned to death, but his punishment was afterwards commuted to imprisonment. Twelve weary years of confinement in the Tower had passed away, when, in 1615, Raleigh proposed to make an attack on the Spanish settlement of Guiana in South America, where he said he could open a mine of great richness. The captive was accordingly released, and suffered to equip a fleet. Ultimately, thirteen vessels were got ready, and the coast of Guiana was reached about the middle of November, 1617.

Raleigh was by this time so ill that he could not lead the attacking force in person, and his principal lieutenant, Captain Keymis, landed with

a body of two hundred and fifty soldiers. The Spanish town of St. Thomas was hastily attacked; but the assailants were beaten off, and Raleigh's eldest son, Walter, was slain in the conflict. Keymis then went in search of the mine, but, after twenty days' wanderings, failed to discover it, and at length returned to the fleet with a miserable and disheartening tale. Raleigh bitterly reproached him for his ill-success, and the unfortunate officer committed suicide. The expedition then sailed for Newfoundland, to victual and refit; but Raleigh's own crew mutinied, and a return to England was no longer avoidable. Old, worn-out, and dispirited, Raleigh arrived at Plymouth in July, 1618, and was soon afterwards arrested by order of the King. Philip III. of Spain had strongly remonstrated against the attack on one of his colonial possessions, and it is impossible to deny that the act was that of a freebooter. Had James punished the brilliant adventurer for this, nothing could be said against the justice of the sentence, except that the King himself had sanctioned the outrage. As it was, however, he had the extravagant meanness to revive the capital sentence of fifteen years before, and Raleigh was beheaded, in Old Palace Yard, Westminster, on the 29th of October, 1618. James was at that time endeavouring to establish an intimate alliance between England and Spain; and it is said that, while allowing Raleigh to sail on his piratical expedition, he privately gave warning to the Spanish authorities of what was intended, and thus enabled them to defeat the plan. It would be difficult to speak too severely of his conduct in the whole matter.

The prospect of a Spanish alliance was particularly distasteful to the English people, as it was evident that the deadly struggle between the Papacy and the Reformation would shortly be resumed on a still larger scale, and a friendly understanding with Madrid would hamper England as a Protestant Power. On the Continent there had for several years been a marked reaction in favour of Catholicism. The earlier faith had triumphed in Southern Germany. The Walloon provinces of the Low Countries had separated themselves from Holland, that they might preserve the traditions of orthodoxy; and Protestantism thus lost its hold on Flanders and Brabant. In France, the Huguenots were much depressed after the conversion of Henry; and in Poland the division and subdivision of the Reformers into a variety of jarring sects dissipated the strength of the entire body. Mutual antagonism, and bitter disputation about non-essentials, had done incalculable evil to the Protestant communions; and when the first lofty enthusiasm had



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died out, the power of making proselytes decreased. Meanwhile, the devotion of the Jesuits infused new life into the Romish Church, and theological writers of great ability drew converts to the side of prescription. With respect to the Jesuits, moreover, there is too much reason to believe that they

the Queen-Mother obtained the support of the great nobles ; but the compliance of Sully was not to be purchased, and although, for a little while, he continued at the helm, the opposition of the courtiers was so extreme, that, in January, 1611, he relinquished office, and for the remaining thirty



CARDINAL RICHELIEU. (After the Portrait in the Gallery at Versailles.)

were not disinclined to win some of their triumphs by the aid of the conspirator and the assassin. The times were full of danger for all who ventured to resist the dictation of Rome, and the forces of the Continental States seemed gathering for a war of giants.

After the assassination of Henry IV. in 1610, the crown of France descended to his son, Louis XIII., who, being then only nine years of age, was placed under the Regency of his mother, Maria de' Medici. By pensions and promises of favour,

years of his life dwelt in retirement on his paternal estates. The policy of Maria and her advisers was in favour of an alliance with Spain. The Huguenots, considering that their prospects had been seriously darkened by the death of Henry IV., again showed symptoms of insubordination. The whole of France was convulsed with revolutionary movements, and in the spring of 1614 the Prince of Condé took up arms, but ineffectually, against the supremacy of Maria, and the contemplated co-operation with Spain and Austria. He

and his friends were bought off by lavish grants, and the rebellion was soon at an end; but it was evident that a good many Frenchmen were hostile to the Italian Regent and her favourites. In October, 1614, Louis XIII. was declared of age, and in the following year he married Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III. of Spain, after another rising by Condé, the Huguenots, and the discontented nobles, which was again averted by valuable gifts and concessions.

While still a boy, the King was called upon to deal with an unsettled and menacing condition of affairs, rendered still more perilous by the intrigues of Condé, who, for some time before his arrest in the autumn of 1616, exercised a despotic power in the Government. The favourite minister of Maria de' Medici was a Florentine named Concino Concini, who had been created Marshal d'Ancre, and who managed to retain his influence after the cessation of the Regency. In 1617, however, Louis, offended by the insolence of this foreigner (who had also, by implication, been denounced by the Parliament of Paris), ordered Vitry, an officer of his body-guard, to arrest Concini. In carrying out these directions, Vitry slew his opponent on the drawbridge of the Louvre, and the citizens of Paris afterwards disinterred the corpse, dragged it through the streets, hacked it into pieces, and threw the fragments into the Seine. The Parliament, which he had formerly insulted, declared him guilty of treason and sorcery, and, for the same crimes, sentenced his wife to be beheaded, and her body burned. The Queen-Mother was banished to Blois, whither she was followed by Armand Jean du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu and Bishop of Luçon, who for the previous seven months had occupied a position in the Ministry, and who had already given evidence of the magnificent abilities by which in later years he was pre-eminently distinguished. The ruling favourite of the King at that time was the royal falconer, Charles d' Albert, Sieur de Luines, the natural son of a French ecclesiastic and an Italian woman. Deputing to this adventurer the more serious cares of State, Louis devoted himself to his favourite pastimes of hunting and hawking. The disposition of the sovereign was cold, weak, and irresolute, and, although his courtiers flattered him with the title of "the Just," his actions were those of a despotic monarch, without sufficient talent to give his despotism the outward semblance of respectability. It is a fact of great moment in the history of France, that the States-General of 1614 was the last assembly of that body before the memorable year of revolution, 1789.

While Richelieu was in attendance on the Queen-Mother at Blois, he appears to have acted as a spy upon her actions, and to have reported all she said and did to the King. Nevertheless, he himself fell under suspicion, and was obliged to leave for distant parts of France. At length, the treatment of Maria became so intolerable that she determined to escape. On the night of February 22nd, 1619, she descended a rope-ladder from a window of the castle, and, under protection of an escort of horsemen which had been provided by her adherents, made her way to Loches, whence she wrote a letter to her son, to explain and justify her proceedings. Louis and his courtiers were alarmed at the news, and not without reason, for the Queen had several supporters amongst the nobility, and a civil war broke out soon after. The Bishop of Luçon, however, acted as mediator between the sovereign and his mother, and, in acknowledgment of his services, received from the Pope a Cardinal's hat in 1622. The same year saw the termination of a civil war originated by the Huguenots of Béarn, Poitou, and Languedoc, in the course of which—towards the close of 1621—de Luines died in camp of a malignant fever. His incapacity as a general had been marked and extreme, and, had he lived, it is certain that he would not much longer have retained his power. In 1624, Richelieu obtained a seat in the Council, and rapidly advanced to the position of Prime Minister, which he held until his death in 1642. The condition of France was such as to require the guidance of a firm and penetrating mind. The improvement which had been effected by Sully during the reign of Henry IV. was entirely lost under the administration of Maria de' Medici and her followers. The roads were infested with robbers, and the laws were so hesitatingly enforced that crime went almost entirely unpunished.

Richelieu was gifted with some of the highest qualities of statesmanship. Not only was he a most effective speaker and acute disputant, but his administrative skill was equal to that of Sully. The King was afraid of his power and jealous of his influence, but soon found that he had no choice save to follow the directions of a master-mind. The political ideas of Richelieu were in some respects entirely opposed to those of Luines, who, after the death of Marshal d'Ancre, directed the fortunes of the monarchy. Luines was in favour of the Spanish alliance, whereas one of the great objects of Richelieu was to increase the power of France by humbling the House of Austria, both in its German and Spanish branches. Two other

ends to which he directed his great abilities were the weakening of the feudal aristocracy (which would of course augment the absolutism of the Crown), and the annihilation of the Huguenots as a political party. In these designs he had considerable success; but the means employed were often unscrupulous, and the exaggeration of the monarchical power, which his methods fostered and his plans required, was productive of infinite evils to the country in a not distant future. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that reforms of some kind were very urgently needed. In a writing which he addressed to the King towards the end of his life, Richelieu observed that, at the period of his entering on office, the great nobles conducted themselves as if they were not subjects of the Crown; that the governors of provinces acted like independent sovereigns; that private interests were preferred to those of the State; and that the majesty of the throne was so profoundly degraded that it was scarcely recognised at all. Hence the paralysis of authority from which the whole nation suffered.

Unhappily, the practice of despotism was at that time almost the only alternative to anarchical commotions. Even the United Provinces of the Netherlands disgraced themselves by a piece of religious persecution more worthy of an infallible Church than of one which professed to respect the liberty of the individual conscience. A minister of religion named Jacob van Harmine, better known by his Latinised appellation of Arminius, ventured to dispute the doctrine of predestination, and, at his death in 1609, left behind him a large body of followers who were entitled Arminians. Of these, two of the most illustrious were the patriot Olden-Barneveldt, and the celebrated scholar Hugo Grotius; but the opinions of the sect were fiercely opposed by Gomarus, a Calvinistical divine, whose adherents were called Gomarists. The Arminians—who were also designated Remonstrants, from a paper which they addressed to the States of Holland in 1610—were subjected to a severe persecution, at the instigation of the English sovereign, James I. Barneveldt, on the other hand, persuaded the magistrates of some of the Dutch States to make certain reforms in their religious administration, and to curb the violence of the Gomarists. The chief of the federation, Prince Maurice of Nassau, had long been bitterly hostile to Barneveldt; and in 1618 he caused him to be arrested at the Hague, together with Grotius and a few others, although the Stadtholder had no power to interfere in the domestic concerns of the separate States. The

provinces of Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, were decidedly Arminian in their tendencies; but in 1619 a synod was assembled at Dort, at which the followers of Arminius were condemned without a hearing. Sentences of deposition or banishment were pronounced in several instances; but the Stadtholder—who in the previous year had assumed the title of Prince of Orange, and who seems to have put on the habits of tyranny with that semi-regal appellation—would be satisfied with nothing short of Barneveldt's death. The result was, that on the 13th of May, 1619, one of the greatest of the Dutch patriots, who had laboured long and earnestly to establish the independence of the States, was beheaded on a charge which it was an infamy to bring, and which was supported by methods even more disgraceful. Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but in 1621 escaped to Paris, where he composed his celebrated treatise on the law of nations.

In the northern parts of Germany, the Lutherans persecuted the Calvinists; in the south, the Roman Catholics persecuted every form of Protestantism. Under the feeble rule of the Emperor Rodolph II., anarchy and civil war prevailed throughout the Austrian dominions, and the only real exhibition of power was on behalf of religious intolerance. The Elector Palatine, Frederick IV., proposed a general union of the Protestants; whereupon, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, assembled the Romanist princes, and suggested that they should establish a Holy League in opposition to the heretics. The German Protestants were supported by Henry IV. of France, though, as we have seen, from no worthy motives; and he would have marched an army to their assistance, had not his life been taken by Ravallac. Rodolph, who in 1606 had been forced to cede Hungary and Austria to his brother Matthias, endeavoured to obtain the permanent sovereignty of Bohemia by granting the people a charter, which conceded both political and religious freedom. But in 1610 he permitted his cousin, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, to raise an army, with which he invaded Bohemia, and stormed the suburbs of Prague. On the approach of Matthias from Vienna, in March, 1611, the forces of the Archduke withdrew to a safer position, and a Provisional Government was then formed at Prague, which, while it professed to be the servant of Rodolph, was in fact his master. Matthias entered the Bohemian capital on the 24th March, and Rodolph resigned his sovereignty into the hands of his brother, though with such bitter reluctance that he exclaimed, while contemplating the city from a window, "May the vengeance of God

overtake thee, and my curse light on thee, and on all Bohemia!" He died on the 20th of January, 1612, and Matthias was elected Emperor in his place. Rodolph was a man of eccentric character, bordering on madness, and in the earlier years of his reign had neglected the business of the State, that he might devote himself to horses, to the fine arts, and to the study of astrology under the Dane, Tycho Brahe, and of astronomy under the German, Kepler. Both Kepler and Brahe rendered magnificent services to the cause of science; but in those days even science was not entirely emancipated from the influences of superstition.

One of the noticeable events of the year 1612 was the marriage of Frederick V., the young Elector Palatine, to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England. The nuptials were celebrated at London with much magnificence, and the King is said to have expended on them the enormous sum of £146,572. The greatest geniuses of the day, in poetry, music, and scenic decoration, were employed to produce those stately masques in which the lords and ladies of the court took part as performers; and great events were anticipated from so promising a union. Frederick's guardian, John II., Duke of Zweibrücken, made an alliance with England in the name of the German Protestant Union, and in 1613 negotiated a treaty with the Dutch Republic for a term of fifteen years; so that a veritable League was established amongst the chief Protestant Powers, whose very existence was threatened by the intolerance of the Romanists. It was also anticipated that the reformed cantons of Switzerland would assist their brethren in case of attack; and even Venice—though of course from political rather than religious motives—was disposed to resist the encroachments of the Catholic princes. The latter were not so well agreed among themselves; but the adherents of Rome were more numerous than the Reformers, and could count upon military forces greater than those which were likely to be brought against them.

The reign of Matthias as Emperor was distinguished by much the same characteristics as that of his brother Rodolph. He was a fanatical oppressor of all who differed from him in religion, and Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, were torn by spiritual dissensions. On succeeding to the Imperial dignity, he had quitted Bohemia, the sovereignty of which he bestowed upon his nephew, the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, who soon became more intolerant than his uncle. "Better a desert than a land full of heretics!" he exclaimed, when entreated to spare Bohemia. His bigotry was stimulated by the Jesuits, one of whom declared, in

a wild and incendiary writing, that the only way to destroy Protestantism was to wade to that consummation through a sea of blood. The followers of Huss were still numerous in the native land of that reformer, and, having ventured to erect some new churches, they brought down on themselves the anger of Ferdinand, who ordered that the buildings should be demolished. The States protested against this mandate; but the King took no heed of their representations, and the Emperor Matthias threatened to punish the objectors as insurgents. The subscribers to the remonstrance became exasperated, and, proceeding with a large body of armed men to the castle where the Government was sitting, flung three of the authorities out of a high window. By an extraordinary accident, they alighted on a dwarf alder-tree surrounded by a heap of rubbish; so that none received vital injury, and all succeeded in escaping from the wrath of their enemies. This extraordinary outrage occurred on the 23rd of May, 1618, and is generally regarded as marking the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. Count Thurn, the leader of the malcontents, now organised a revolt in Bohemia. Thirty directors formed the governing body, and the Protestants of Austria and Hungary were solicited to furnish support to the Leaguers of Bohemia.

Both sides immediately prepared for war, and in the meanwhile the Protestants of Bohemia drove out the Jesuits—an example speedily followed by the people of Austria, Hungary, and Silesia. Count Thurn, the instigator of the revolt, reached Vienna on the 5th of June, 1619, and prepared to lay siege to that city. Ferdinand, who had assumed the Imperial functions after the death of Matthias on the 20th of March, was so much dismayed that he took refuge in a strong tower within the walls; but the populace broke into his place of retreat, and with threats required of him to grant freedom of religion to the Protestants, and to sanction a confederation with the Bohemians. He might perhaps have yielded, had not a small body of cavalry, despatched to his relief by Henry Duval, Count of Dampierre, entered Vienna by the Water Gate, which Thurn had left unguarded, and, appearing at the critical moment, changed the whole position. The Bohemian commander had, in fact, lost valuable time in fruitless parleys with the enemy; and when at length he commenced the bombardment of Vienna, his opportunity had passed. Count Mansfeld had captured the important town of Pilsen, in Bohemia, during the previous November, and, having afterwards formed a junction with Dampierre, was now threatening Prague itself. It was therefore found necessary to

recall Count Thurn to Bohemia, and, raising the siege of Vienna, he left Ferdinand at liberty to proceed to Frankfort, where he soon after obtained his formal election to the throne of the German Empire, which as a matter of fact he had filled since the death of Matthias.

The religious dissensions which thus convulsed the Western half of Europe were scarcely known in that immense North-eastern Empire which in those days was called Muscovy. Under the sceptre of the Czars, no other religion than that of the Greek Church was permitted, nor were the people disposed to any form of dissent. Russia, however, had its troubles none the less, and the reign of Boris Godunof, who ascended the throne in 1598, was disturbed by the intrigues of the nobles, by the discontent of the peasants, who groaned beneath the tyranny of serfdom, by three famines, which are said to have swept away half a million of people, and by the general disorganisation of society consequent on these afflictions. Finally, in the year 1603, a formidable claimant to the throne arose, in the person of a young man who declared that he was the Prince Dmitri, brother of Feodor I., generally believed to have been killed by Boris Godunof when a child, twelve years before. The individual so claiming had been brought up in Poland, and it was supposed by many that he was a monk named Otrepief; others, however, believed in his claims, and there are those who still assert them. Sigismund III., King of Poland, hailed him as Prince of Muscovy, assigned him a pension of 40,000 florins, and permitted his subjects to offer their services in the cause. Dmitri (if he is to be so called) abjured the Greek faith for that of Rome, and received a very general support amongst the Poles. Getting together a small army, he invaded Russia about the close of 1604, and was joined by many Russians and Don Cossacks who were disaffected towards Boris. After some temporary success, the Pretender suffered a grave defeat, and was compelled to fall back towards the Polish borders; but, on the 13th of April, 1605, Boris committed suicide, after the failure of several attempts to assassinate his rival. This was a happy circumstance for Dmitri, and his fortunes thenceforth advanced with such rapidity that a rising in his favour took place at Moscow itself on the 13th of June, when Feodor, the youthful son of Boris, who had succeeded to the throne, was taken prisoner by the insurgents, and murdered a few days after. Dmitri was conducted in triumph to the capital, and Maria, the widow of Ivan the Terrible, being brought from the convent where she had been

confined, acknowledged him as her son—an admission which at a later period she repudiated.

The new reign began with great magnificence, and with some hopeful prospects; but Dmitri soon disgusted the Russian people by his Polish habits and his foreign guards, and a marriage with a Roman Catholic princess completed the bad impression. The Muscovites denounced him as a Pole, a heretic, and an impostor, and in 1606 a conspiracy was formed against his rule by Prince Zuiski. It was determined that the signal of revolt should be given by the great bell at Moscow, the sound of which would be immediately answered by all the other bells of the city. At the appointed moment, three thousand tongues of metal filled the air with a dreadful clangour, and Dmitri sent a messenger to learn the cause. It was but too evident that a terrible revolt was in progress. The whole population of Moscow was in arms. Cries of "Death to the heretics!" rose into the air. The Poles were hunted down with savage vehemence, and Dmitri himself was pursued from room to room of his palace, until he leaped from a high window, and broke his leg. The mob followed with relentless hate, and, surrounding the fallen sovereign, denounced him as an impostor. "I am the Czar," he replied, "the son of Ivan;" but they were the last words he was permitted to utter. A massacre of all the foreigners succeeded the death of the monarch, and the throne was then occupied by Prince Zuiski, who had been the soul of the revolt. Strange to say, the imposture, if it was one, still survived, and in a little while it was rumoured that Dmitri yet lived. The "second false Dmitri," as he is called, appeared in arms at Tushino, a village near Moscow, and asserted that he was the Czar. Seizing Marina, Dmitri's widow, he induced or compelled her to admit that he was her husband. He appears to have been a captain of banditti; but his power was sufficiently great to maintain the siege of Moscow for seventeen months, and to keep Russia in a state of anarchy during four years. He was killed in 1610 by a Tartar chief; but Zuiski had already been defeated by the Poles, and compelled to resign the crown. Three years of disturbance ensued, until, early in 1613, the Russian nobles placed on the throne a youth belonging to the House of Romanoff, who, through his mother, was descended from the line of Rurik. Two other counterfeit Dmitris arose soon after; but they found scarcely any supporters, and caused little disturbance to the general peace.

The seven years that had intervened between the murder of Dmitri and the accession of Michael

Feodorovitch, the first of the Romanoffs, were years of complete disruption, as regarded both the political and social state of Russia. The national forces were weakened by internal anarchy, and the country was invaded by the Poles and the Swedes, each of whom desired to establish a dynasty on the

the strength and confidence of earlier days. Russia, indeed, had more to fear from the growing might of Sweden than from the decaying barbarism of Poland; and the country of the Finns, which had frequently changed hands before, was made over to the Scandinavian Power during the reign of



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW.

disputed throne. The Swedes occupied Kexholm and Novgorod, and in 1610 the Polish King Ladislaus advanced to Moscow, and for a time ruled in the place of Zuiski, who was sent a prisoner to Warsaw. The national spirit, however, could not be permanently suppressed, and Ladislaus was expelled in 1613. It was then that Michael Feodorovitch received the crown, and the choice appears to have been a happy one. Order was speedily restored, the people recovered their prosperity, and commercial treaties were concluded with England in 1623, and with France in 1629. The Poles made fresh attempts at conquest, but were successfully resisted by a community which had regained

Michael Feodorovitch, who died in 1645, leaving peaceable possession of the Muscovite throne to his son Alexis.

Russia was now in more frequent communication with the west of Europe than she had been in former centuries; yet a certain Oriental character still clung to her—the result, probably, of long association with the Tartar hordes. The Russian court was irradiated by a dazzling wealth of gold and jewellery, such as the Rajahs of Hindoostan can hardly have surpassed. Hakluyt's collection of voyages contains numerous accounts given by early English travellers of the splendid surroundings by which the Czars of the sixteenth century

struck amazement into the minds of foreigners. The utmost pomp of gold, silver, and jewellery, of pearls and crystal, of velvets and satins, distinguished not only the monarch himself, but his courtiers, and even, in a less degree, his personal attendants. Yet all this magnificence was only the gorgeous frontispiece covering a background of national poverty, degradation, and ignorance. In Moscow, Novgorod, and a few other cities, a middle class

An English writer of the period says that the peasants lived in miserable subjection to their lords. From other accounts it appears that the nobles possessed the power of life and death over their vassals, who were in truth little better than slaves. The laws were so contrived as to lead to a systematic accumulation of property in the hands of the great landowners. The house of a nobleman was a secure asylum for criminals, since no one



THE GREAT SQUARE, PRAGUE.

existed, which had grown opulent by commerce, and was not devoid of civilisation; but in the more distant regions a boorish and ferocious aristocracy tyrannised over a herd of abject serfs. Literature, science, and the arts, were almost unknown in the Russia of Michael Feodorovitch; and even in matters of warfare, the strength of the Empire lay rather in resistance than in conquest. The lurid genius of Peter the Great had yet to arise over the weltering chaos of an undeveloped land.

A state of equal wretchedness was observable in the neighbouring kingdom of Poland, where the political and social well-being of the people had not advanced since the Middle Ages, if, indeed, it may not rather be said that it had actually receded.

had the right to arrest them there, or take them out. The judges themselves could not apprehend a nobleman's serf, or seize his effects. The favoured class was exempt from tolls and duties on the cattle and corn exported from the country; all civil posts and ecclesiastical dignities were usurped by the territorial lords; and commerce was held in such extreme disrepute that the fact of engaging in trade caused a nobleman to forfeit the privileges of his birth. A country thus weakened by the unjust predominance of one class, and the repression of all others, was doomed to extinction at the hands of the strong and the unscrupulous; and the wonder is that Poland preserved its liberties so long.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Terrible Nature of the Thirty Years' War—Protestant Intolerance provoked by Romanist Persecution—Beginning of the Struggle—Bad Faith of the Catholic Powers in Dealing with the Protestants—Principal Commanders on Both Sides—The Elector Palatine, Frederick V., raised to the Throne of Bohemia—Second Attack on Vienna—Feeble and Unpopular Rule of Frederick—Preparations for an Active Campaign—Antecedents and Character of Count Tilly—Fighting in Bohemia—Defeat of Frederick's Army before Prague—Severe Treatment of the Protestants by the Emperor—Insurrection in the Austrian Mountains—Renewal of the War by Count Mansfeld and the Elector Palatine—Successes of Tilly—The Elector Palatine deprived of his Hereditary Dominions—The Turkish Empire under Osman II.—Disastrous Invasion of Poland—Reign of Amurath IV.—Invasion of Hungary by Bethlen Gabor, Voivode of Transylvania—Christian IV. of Denmark enters Northern Germany—Rise of Wallenstein—His Strange and Mysterious Character—Successes of the New Catholic Commander against Mansfeld and the King of Denmark—Wallenstein in Schleswig and Holstein—He fails to Take Stralsund—The Peace of Lübeck—Objects of the Edict of Restitution—Suppression of Protestantism in Germany—Early Life and Wars of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden—His Invasion of Germany in Aid of the Protestants—Disgrace of Wallenstein—Rapid Successes of the Swedish Monarch—Conclusion of an Alliance between Gustavus and the Elector of Saxony—Excellent Character of the Swedish Army—Defeat of Tilly at the Battle of Leipzig—Popular Enthusiasm on Behalf of Gustavus—Action on the Lech, and Death of Tilly—Recall of Wallenstein to the Command of the Catholic Forces—Gustavus Foiled at the Lines of Nuremberg—Desultory Movements—Battle of Lützen, and Death of Gustavus—Assassination of Wallenstein.

MODERN Europe has had no more terrible experience than the Thirty Years' War. It is said that half the population of Germany perished in the course of that mortal conflict, and that the population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000. Famine and pestilence smote myriads whom the sword had spared. Fields ran to waste, for want of men to till them. The forests gained upon the cultivated lands; and in the general suspension of law and government, followed by the prevalence of unpunished crime, it seemed as if society were returning to its primitive and savage elements. What makes this lamentable tale still more depressing is the fact that the war might have been avoided with ordinary care and justice; that it was the child of fanaticism on both sides, but in particular was caused by the insolent attempt of one religion to trample out another. Undoubtedly the German Protestants were often intolerant in their conduct, not merely to the Romanists, but even to one another; but they had an evil example in their opponents, whose bigotry, whenever it gained the upper hand, was apt to take the form of judicial tyranny, of assassination, and of massacre. Surrounded by hostile communities, recollecting such facts as the great crime of St. Bartholomew and the multitudinous slaughter of the Netherlanders by Alva, and dreading a repetition of those enormities, it is not surprising that the Protestants of the seventeenth century should have regarded their theological antagonists with some acrimony. The champions of the Papacy had begun with persecution, and the cruel precedent was not relaxed.

The Thirty Years' War was provoked in the first

instance by the refusal of the Emperor Matthias to allow the Bohemian Protestants to add to the number of their churches. It was evident that neither in Bohemia nor elsewhere could the followers of the Reformation depend on the permanence of any concessions that might be made; for privileges which were granted one day were withdrawn, or violated, or evaded, the next. The Emperor Rodolph II. issued to his Bohemian subjects, in 1606, letters-patent which recognised their political and religious liberties; but he soon disregarded his own word, and offended many by his bad faith. Matthias pursued the same vicious policy, and Ferdinand was even worse. The throwing of the three councillors out of window was of course an unjustifiable and imprudent act; but, with the Jesuits inciting to massacre, it was not unnatural. It led to the commencement of the war in 1618, and was therefore the parent of a long succession of miseries. The chief Protestant commander at the beginning of the struggle was Count Thurn, a person of some military capacity, and of complete devotion to the evangelical cause; but he was soon joined by Count Mansfeld, who was sent into Bohemia, together with one thousand horse, by the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., the head of the Protestant Union. Mansfeld, a convert from the Papal to the Protestant faith, afterwards acquired great distinction as a general. The Catholic quarrel was for the present supported by two armies of mercenaries, one of which was commanded by Count Bucquoi, a Walloon, while the other obeyed the orders of Henry Duval, Count of Dampierre. We have seen that, in the early days of the war, these leaders gained some successes over one

another ; but in the middle of 1619 the advantage lay rather with the Catholics.

Feeling no confidence in the justice of Ferdinand II., who had shown only too clearly that he would do his utmost to root out Protestantism from Bohemia, the people of that country deposed their Styrian oppressor, and conferred the crown on the Elector Palatine, a studious and melancholy youth, given to astrological inquiries, and confirmed in his ambitious aspirations by his wife, Elizabeth of England. He was crowned at Prague on the 4th of November, 1619, and for a little while it seemed not impossible that he would establish his power. The Protestants of Bohemia were to the Catholics in the proportion of two to every three of the population ; and Bethlem Gabor, who had obtained, with the aid of the Sultan, the position of Voivode of Transylvania, had raised an insurrection in Upper Hungary, which tasked the resources of the Emperor sufficiently to compel the recall of Bucquoi from the other seat of war. Yet an older and more cautious prince would have hesitated to accept the perilous diadem offered to Frederick V. By occupying the throne of Bohemia, Frederick inflamed the wrath of Ferdinand against that kingdom ; and although the former was supported by all the Protestant rulers except the Elector of Saxony, by eight thousand troops from the United Provinces, and by upwards of two thousand volunteers from England, the Imperial armies were much greater. The King of Spain and most of the Catholic princes were on the side of Ferdinand, and their legions were numerous and powerful.

Alarmed at the new aspect of affairs, Ferdinand II. applied to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria for the assistance of the Catholic League, which was granted on conditions favourable to the Duke. The course of the war was indeed such as to inspire the Emperor with anxiety. Before the close of the year, Count Thurn was again before the walls of Vienna, this time with an army of 80,000 men, to which Gabor had supplied a large contingent. But the danger seemed more formidable than it really was. The besiegers were devoid of funds ; two thousand of their number died of famine ; and Gabor became impatient to withdraw, on learning that his principal general in Transylvania had been defeated by the Imperialists. Frederick proved inadequate to the task he had undertaken. He was only two-and-twenty, and, while the fate of his realm was trembling in the balance, he amused himself with skating-parties at Prague, so that he acquired the appellation of the "Winter King," that being in truth the only

winter he ever spent in Bohemia. His manners were displeasing to the people, and his pride was so great that he preferred to dine by himself, rather than eat in the company of any but princes. His consort was equally haughty, and equally repugnant to all Bohemian ideas. The immodesty of her dress shocked the decorous feelings of a plain-living and homely race, and her very Protestantism could hardly have satisfied the countrymen of Huss and Ziska. James I. never distinctly supported the candidature of Frederick for the Bohemian throne, and afterwards refused to recognise him as king.

Previous to a renewal of the war, the Emperor Ferdinand thought it prudent to conciliate his Protestant subjects by granting entire religious freedom to the States of Lower Austria, on condition that they would abandon the so-called rebels of Bohemia. This concession was made with the consent of the Pontiff, and the Austrian Protestants, though unwilling to renounce the cause of their fellow-believers, were forced to accept a boon which they were scarcely at liberty to refuse. The most influential man among the Catholics was Maximilian of Bavaria, who not only raised considerable forces himself, but brought his powerful influence to bear on other princes, and on the reigning Pope, Paul V. The second in command under this enterprising ruler was John Tscherklas, Count Tilly, a native of Liège, where he was born in 1560. Tilly had been educated for the Church, and always prided himself on the scholarship which he had derived from the Jesuits. His calling in life, however, was afterwards changed, and he entered the army, where he was destined to achieve a brilliant reputation. His first service was in the Netherlands ; afterwards he fought in Hungary, and, still later, commanded the Bavarian forces, which he brought to a high state of discipline. The religion of Count Tilly was that of an enthusiast and a bigot ; and, although his devotion was intense, and his moral conduct severe even to rigidity, his cruel and remorseless conduct towards the Protestants has left a dark and ineffaceable blot upon his name. His body was small, and his physiognomy hideous ; yet he had some regard for personal appearance, and was generally dressed in a Spanish suit of green satin, with a little cocked hat, from which a drooping plume of red ostrich-feathers hung downwards to his waist. In battle he rode a white Croatian pony of mean appearance, and in his holsters was a single pistol, which he boasted he had never had occasion to fire.

Active operations were resumed in 1620, when

the Spanish commander, Spinola, with a body of troops from the Netherlands, wasted the Lower Palatinate. The Protestant forces retreated before him, and a large extent of country was desolated by the relentless invader. The English volunteers, who entered Germany in May, 1620, were so ill-received that their hardships caused a serious epidemic, of which large numbers perished. Very few succeeded in reaching Bohemia, and, although the Imperial forces were in as bad a condition as the enemy, since the destruction of the crops had led to a general destitution, their power was greater than that of Frederick, who nevertheless was persuaded to offer battle to the Imperialists on the White Mountain, an eminence in the vicinity of Prague. The result was a rapid and decisive defeat. The Catholic commanders were the Duke of Bavaria and Count Tilly; those on the Protestant side were Christian of Anhalt and Count Hohenlohe, Count Mansfeld being at Pilsen, where he had retired, on finding himself superseded by much inferior men. The battle was fought on November 8th; and early next morning, after having concluded an armistice of eight hours, Frederick and his wife, together with the principal officers, escaped from the Bohemian capital, and withdrew to Breslau, from which they afterwards removed to Holland. Dismayed by this blow, all Bohemia submitted unconditionally to the Emperor Ferdinand. The leaders of the insurrection were pronounced traitors; their goods were confiscated, and their names affixed to the gallows. Many thousand families of the higher and lower ranks were banished from the country; blood was shed in several instances; and Ferdinand tore to pieces with his own hands the letters-patent by which Rodolph II. had conferred liberty of worship on the Protestants. Count Mansfeld was placed under the ban of the Empire, and a reward of ten thousand florins set upon his head. The Protestant Union decreed its own dissolution in May, 1621; for the cause of the Bohemians was manifestly lost, and, at the moment, nothing was to be gained by an association which would simply have called down further sufferings on those who professed the reformed religion. Horrible atrocities were committed in Silesia by a body of Lichtenstein dragoons, who, accompanied by Jesuit or other priests, rode from village to village, killing or subjecting to torture all who refused to be converted. Early in the war, the provinces of Austria had been pillaged and intimidated by a body of Lithuanian Cossacks, sent from Poland; but they were ultimately repulsed by the Bohemians and Hungarians. These warriors are not to be con-

founded with the more famous Cossacks of the Ukraine, who in later times have made so great a figure in connection with the Russian armies. They were Polish freebooters, and their Turkish name is said to mean "robber."

Catholic supremacy was still disputed by the peasantry of the Austrian mountains, who formed themselves into regiments constituting a force which was entitled the Evangelical Army. Their first commander was a man of humble origin, named Stephen Fadinger; their second, a mysterious individual described simply as the Unknown Student. The insurrection was at length put down by Count Pappenheim; yet the cause of Protestantism was not wholly lost, though most of the Protestant rulers made terms with the enemy after the calamity at Prague. Count Mansfeld, a small, deformed man with the spirit of a giant, kept his forces together, first in Bohemia, and then in the Upper Palatinate, and at length escaped into the Lower Palatinate, where he found himself at the head of 20,000 combatants, drawn from all parts of Germany. The Elector Palatine formed an alliance with this commander, whom, in the days of his brief sovereignty, he had subordinated to men of more courtly manners; and the two marched together to encounter the forces of Tilly. But, although a few advantages were obtained over that general in the course of 1622, Frederick suddenly lost heart, disbanded his army, and withdrew from Germany. Some of the other Protestant leaders had sustained crushing defeats, and Tilly was again in the ascendant. With great difficulty, Mansfeld made his way into Holland, whence he embarked for England, in the hope of obtaining succours for the cause to which he had devoted his genius and his heroism. For this hope he had some little justification; as, towards the end of 1620, James had sent an English force into the Palatinate. But the British sovereign was much more earnest in seeking an alliance, both matrimonial and political, with the Spanish crown; and in 1622 he persuaded his son-in-law to abandon all further opposition. The successes of Tilly continued with very slight interruptions, and Frederick saw that his fortunes were beyond all hope of retrieval. The cities of Mannheim and Heidelberg, which had taken up arms against the Imperialists, were captured in September. Frankenthal held out until the spring of 1623; in the early part of which year, the Elector Palatine had been deprived of his hereditary dominions, which were conferred by the Emperor, together with the Electoral dignity, on Maximilian of Bavaria. About the same period, Bethlem Gabor, who had made peace with the

Emperor in the previous year, resumed operations, but without much prospect of changing the general current of affairs. In these designs he reckoned on the assistance of the Turks, who were again turning their attention towards the eastern parts of Europe.

The Turkish Sultan, Achmet I., died in November, 1617, and was succeeded by his brother Mustapha, who, after a miserable reign of three months, was taken back to the prison from which he had been led to a precarious and delusive throne. The Janizaries then conferred supreme power on Osman II., the eldest son of Achmet, at that time not more than fourteen years of age. His martial qualities, however, had already declared themselves, and, when called to the throne on the 26th of February, 1618, he began to consider how he could revive the conquering spirit among his countrymen. Border feuds between Turkey and Poland had been frequent for some years, and in 1620 war was declared against the northern sovereignty. A Polish army of 50,000 men was established in a fortified camp near Jassy, in Moldavia, when they were attacked, on the 20th of September, 1620, by 100,000 Osmanlis and Tartars, led by Iskander Pasha, the Governor of Silistria. The Poles were defeated with immense slaughter, and most of the survivors were drowned in attempting to cross the river Dniester. Osman now conceived that the conquest of Poland would be a very easy matter. He even divided the spoils beforehand, and, arraying himself in a suit of mail which had belonged to Solyman the Magnificent, he set forth in the spring of 1621. The reigning King of Poland, Sigismund III., had, however, made such excellent arrangements for repelling the invasion, that when the Turks arrived on the Dniester, after a long and fatiguing march of nearly half a year, they were encountered by a force strong enough to foil their most determined efforts. The severity of a Polish winter completed their discomfiture, and on the 28th of December Osman re-entered Constantinople with only a small remnant of his army.

He pretended that he had been successful; but the facts could not be long concealed, and the Janizaries showed symptoms of revolt. Osman formed a plan for destroying those insolent and disorderly troops, whose value, even as soldiers, was considerably less than it had been in former reigns; but the plot was discovered, and the Janizaries at once rose in arms. The Grand Vizier and another of the principal ministers were murdered with great barbarity; the Sultan was dragged forth with shouts of execration, and soon afterwards put

to death; while his unhappy uncle, Mustapha, whom long imprisonment and ill-usage had reduced to the condition of an idiot, was again conducted from his dungeon to the palace, and saluted by the title of Padishah, or Sultan. These events took place in the latter part of May, 1622, and, on the 30th of August, 1623, Mustapha was once more deposed by the Janizaries, who conferred the sceptre on Amurath IV., the boyish son of Achmet I. During the second reign, if it can be so called, of Mustapha, peace had been concluded with Poland, partly through the instrumentality of Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador at the Porte; and Bethlem Gabor may have supposed that, as the Sultan was no longer engaged with the Poles, he would be able to afford him some assistance in his war with the German Emperor. Accordingly, he invaded Hungary, and took some towns, but was compelled to dismiss his army on the approach of winter. Among his forces were several Tartars, who, in their retreat, carried away with them 20,000 Hungarians, whom they sold into slavery. It must have seemed as if the old days of Hungary's sufferings from the inroads of barbarian hordes had returned to afflict a later generation.

These actions on the part of Bethlem Gabor did nothing to help the Protestants of Germany, who were entirely disorganised, and devoid of external support. The Scandinavian Powers of the North had not yet come into the field; but, in the early part of 1621, Christian IV. of Denmark had entered into an alliance with England and Holland for restraining the insolence of the Catholic Powers. At that time, however, nothing was done by the associated nations, nor were any steps taken by Christian IV. until May, 1625, when, having been elected head of the Circle of Lower Saxony, he addressed a letter to the Emperor, announcing the fact of his new dignity, bluntly declaring his determination to put an end to various abuses which had recently sprung up, and reminding Ferdinand of the promises he had made to himself and to the King of England with regard to the Elector Palatine, but which he had neglected to fulfil. The Emperor, in reply, summoned the King of Denmark to renounce the government of the Circle, on the ground that it could not be exercised by a foreign sovereign—a character, however, not really belonging to Christian IV., who was a member of the Germanic body by right of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which he possessed. War broke out soon afterwards. The German Protestants were led by Duke Christian of Brunswick, who had shown great courage and energy during the previous hostilities, and who was now, as before,

assisted by Count Mansfeld. The Danish King set out a little later, but was soon incapacitated by an accident. The allies were opposed by Tilly, and the campaign, which took place in the northern parts of Germany, was entirely in favour of the Catholics. Nevertheless, the danger had been sufficiently real to

rians in 1621, and had won the high esteem of the Emperor, who created him, in rapid succession, a Count Palatine, a Prince of the Empire, and Duke of Friedland, in Bohemia. The lordship of various domains, of which the rebellious Protestant nobles had been deprived, was also conferred on him; so



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

induce Tilly to appeal to the Emperor for assistance against the Danish invasion, and Ferdinand permitted the famous Wallenstein (more strictly, Waldstein) to raise an army of 50,000 men, which he frankly declared was to be supported by plunder. This remarkable man—one of the most conspicuous figures in the whole course of the Thirty Years' War—had already given proof of his great abilities as a soldier. Himself a Bohemian (though remotely of German descent), he had defended his native country against the inroad of the Hunga-

that, when Northern Germany was threatened by Christian of Denmark, he was a man of no little power and influence. His appearance alone was calculated to impress, and even to dismay, the casual beholder. A tall, gaunt frame was surmounted by a face that seemed almost demonic. Tangled masses of black hair, together with a beard of equal darkness, contrasted powerfully with his sallow visage, his hooked nose, his towering forehead, his fiery eyes, his heavy and threatening brows. No one could behold him without being at



WALLENSTEIN AND TILLY HOLDING A COUNCIL OF WAR (1630).

once aware that he was a singular, and perhaps a dangerous, person. His cold and haughty manners offended even his equals, while those below him were terrified by his unrelenting severity. It may, perhaps, have been a species of trickery, or it may have been the accidental result of his habits and pursuits, that he surrounded himself with a kind of mysterious awe, which was certainly useful in promoting his designs. Like many other men of that age, he was a reader of the stars, and, when engaged in his astrological pursuits, was accustomed to shut himself up in a retired castle, about which he stationed numerous sentinels, whose duty it was to enjoin silence on all who approached the place. Coming of a Protestant family, he displayed in after life all the rancour of a convert; even as a boy, his disposition had been wild and turbulent. His conversion to Roman Catholicism was due to an accident, from the effects of which he was unexpectedly preserved; but his orthodoxy was generally considered doubtful. Having, as a young man, travelled in all the principal countries of Europe, he acquired a penetrating insight into human nature; but it was in Italy that he learned the rudiments of astrology, and he was generally accompanied by an old star-gazer, named Seni. When, by a fortunate marriage and other circumstances, he had acquired wealth, his style of living was almost regal; and in offering to raise 50,000 men in defence of the Imperial cause, he depended in the first instance on his own resources.

The required force was quickly brought together. However well-disciplined, and however effective as a military engine, it cannot be said that this army was anything better than a horde of brigands, of whom Wallenstein himself was the robber-chief. It consisted of adventurers from all parts of Europe, and the irregularities of the men were tacitly permitted, so long as they did not interfere with military duties. If the meanest soldier in the ranks distinguished himself by unusual valour or capacity, he was rapidly advanced to posts of honour; and pecuniary rewards were not difficult in countries given over to the pillage of unlicensed warriors. Wallenstein professed a peculiar adoration for what a Pagan would have called the goddess Fortune; and "Fortune" was the watchword of his army. It was thought by his soldiers that this strange being—half-genius, half-charlatan—held midnight converse with demons and the souls of the dead; and his dark and haggard looks confirmed them in the belief. When, in the autumn of 1625, his army was sufficiently matured, Wallenstein marched through Hesse, Hanover, and Brunswick, into the dioceses of Halberstadt and

Magdeburg. Nuremberg was forced to contribute 100,000 *gulden* to the general expenses of the war. But Tilly and Wallenstein were jealous of one another, and therefore acted without any mutual concert: a very fortunate circumstance for the Protestants, whose forces were much inferior to those of the enemy.

In the spring of 1626, Christian IV. of Denmark had again taken the field, and Count Mansfeld formed a scheme of marching into Bohemia, where he hoped to excite a fresh rising among the people. Ill-success, however, attended all these movements, and Mansfeld, retreating before the levies of Wallenstein, retired into Dalmatia, where he soon afterwards expired at the age of forty-five. The King of Denmark was defeated by Tilly before the town of Lutter, near Wolfenbüttel, after an action in which Christian distinguished himself by great vigour and courage. The operations of Wallenstein were resumed in 1627, and the Danish monarch, threatened at once by him and by Tilly, was obliged to fall back into his own dominions, where he was closely pursued by the Imperialists. Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland were speedily overrun, and Christian withdrew for safety into the Danish islands. All the conquered territories were impoverished by the exactions of Wallenstein and Tilly, and the former received from the Emperor, on the 21st of April, 1628, the title of "General of the Ocean and of the Baltic Sea"—an appointment which he thought would enable him to create a fleet, and to revive the power of the Hanseatic cities. In the prosecution of this plan, he obtained possession of the Baltic ports, but was unable to make much progress in the formation of a navy. Being very desirous of obtaining Stralsund, a strongly-fortified town in Pomerania, Wallenstein laid siege to that place, and swore that he would take it, even were it fastened with a chain to heaven itself. The force of armed citizens, however, had been strengthened by two thousand Swedes, and by a body of Scottish mercenaries in the pay of Denmark; and the defence was so heroically conducted that Wallenstein was compelled to retreat, after losing 12,000 men.

Tilly's army was shortly afterwards so much weakened by the withdrawal of several regiments for service in another direction, that the remnant was driven with great loss out of Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein. These successes placed Christian in a favourable position for proposing terms of peace, and on the 22nd of May, 1629, a treaty was signed at Lübeck, by which Christian engaged to meddle no further in the affairs of Germany, except in his quality of Duke of Holstein. This agreement,

however convenient to the Danish sovereign, was highly discreditable to his honour, since he abandoned to the wrath of the Emperor all those German princes who had been led to count upon his alliance. A few weeks before the conclusion of the treaty, Ferdinand had published what he called an Edict of Restitution, which he now proceeded to carry out. The object of this ordinance was to effect the restoration of all ecclesiastical property acquired by the Protestants since the Peace of Passau in 1552—viz., two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and several monasteries and abbeys. A large part of the booty thus accruing was seized by the Emperor himself, who appointed his son, the Archduke Leopold (already in the enjoyment of many bishoprics), to the sees of Bremen and Magdeburg. At the same time, the Protestant form of worship was suppressed in every part of Germany, except at Magdeburg, where the citizens offered so vigorous a resistance that it was found imperative to respect their rights.

At this melancholy period it seemed as if the cause of Protestantism in Germany were entirely lost. With a few exceptions, the German rulers of the reformed religion abandoned the cause to which their consciences ought to have irrevocably bound them, and thought only of making terms with the Emperor. But the German Protestants were to be saved by a Scandinavian monarch, who had previously been too much engaged by contests of a different nature to enter the field in which Wallenstein and Tilly were gathering their bloody laurels. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was the grandson of Gustavus Vasa, by his youngest son, Charles IX., at whose death, in 1611, he ascended the throne when only seventeen years of age. He had been brought up in the Lutheran faith, was acquainted with eight languages, had studied ancient history and the writings of the classics, and excelled in warlike exercises. It was to no easy inheritance that he succeeded, for his father had been elected King, to the exclusion of Sigismund III. of Poland, a member of the Swedish royal family, and the more direct heir, whose profession of the Roman Catholic religion disqualified him for the crown of a Protestant nation. Sigismund had struggled for supremacy in Sweden; but the people were too thoroughly imbued with Lutheran ideas to endure the dictation of one whose views were so different from their own. Gustavus Adolphus, on assuming power, found his country still threatened by foreign interference, while internal disorders added to the difficulties of his rule. His first step was to secure the co-operation of the nobles, whose privileges he confirmed, but from whom he required

strict military service against the opponents of the monarchy. Both the aristocracy and the peasantry were made to hold their lands, either directly or indirectly, at the pleasure of the crown; and a great military system was thus established, which the King possessed the genius to wield as an effective weapon against the forces of the Catholic Powers.

When his army was ready for action, Gustavus Adolphus declared war on Denmark, which, by occupying the Baltic districts of Sweden, severed that country from direct communication with the Continent of Europe. After a year's hostilities, peace was arranged in 1613, and, while Gustavus renounced his claims on Lapland, he recovered possession of territories much more necessary to his strength and dignity as an independent sovereign. A war with Russia was the next enterprise of this energetic ruler, and, by the treaty of Stolbova, concluded in 1617, Gustavus established his dominion over Ingermanland, Karelia, and part of Lifland, while Russia recovered Novgorod and other districts previously conquered by the Swedes. This peace left Sweden in possession of that wild spot upon the shores of the Gulf of Finland where, less than a century after, Peter the Great was to found the modern capital of Russia. Gustavus had now caused his power to be respected in more than one direction; but Sigismund of Poland still asserted his right to the throne, and for several years a state of war existed between the two kingdoms, which in 1629 came to a termination, on grounds satisfactory to the Swedish King and people.

At that time, the religious war in Germany had been proceeding for eleven years, and Gustavus Adolphus was no unconcerned spectator of its varying fortunes. His expeditions against Denmark, Russia, and Poland, had, however, prevented his interfering in a quarrel with which he was less immediately interested; but, being at length delivered from other complications, he was able to turn his thoughts towards the condition of Protestantism in the States of Germany. He resolved to interfere on behalf of his fellow-religionists, who were now, as we have seen, reduced to the most desperate straits. It was necessary, first of all, to place his own dominions on a footing of security; but, having accomplished this purpose, he put the government of the kingdom into the hands of his Chancellor, Oxenstiern, and, at the end of May, 1630, set sail with an army of about 15,000 men. On the 24th of June, a landing was effected on the isle of Usedom, off the coast of Pomerania, and about the same time another division of the Swedish army was conveyed to

Stralsund. In this adventure, Gustavus had the support of Cardinal Richelieu, who though necessarily disinclined to advance the fortunes of Protestantism, was determined at any cost to weaken the House of Austria, and destroy the predominance of the Empire. On the other hand, Gustavus had to encounter the forces of the Catholic League, commanded by generals such as Tilly and Wallenstein; but the event proved that his abilities as a soldier were equal to the task. It was at this juncture that the Emperor Ferdinand committed an act of great imprudence in the dismissal of Wallenstein from his command. The proud Bohemian had given offence, not merely to the Protestants, but even to the Roman Catholics, by his unmeasured arrogance, his violent treatment of the conquered territories, and his dislike of the Jesuits, who spared no efforts to effect his ruin. His failure at Stralsund, moreover, had broken the charm of his previous successes, and it was considered a comparatively easy matter to strike one whom fortune had apparently deserted. He was accordingly deposed in 1630, and retired to Prague, where he lived with all the magnificence of a prince, supporting a household of nine hundred persons, entertaining a hundred guests every day at his own table, and feeding three hundred thoroughbred horses out of marble mangers.

Gustavus Adolphus had many reasons for undertaking his new campaign. As a Protestant sovereign, he very naturally desired to save Protestantism from extinction. In his struggles with Poland, he had found Austrian troops arrayed against him, and he had received a direct affront from Wallenstein, when that dictatorial soldier refused to admit his plenipotentiary to the Congress at Lübeck, as long as a Swedish garrison remained at Stralsund, to which city Gustavus Adolphus had despatched six hundred of his fighting men, at the request of the inhabitants. Having secured his hold on the Duchy of Pomerania, Gustavus entered Mecklenburg, and began an active campaign, which, to the great surprise of the Germans, was not suspended even on the approach of winter. Greiffenhagen was taken by assault on Christmas Eve, and early in 1631 three other cities passed into the hands of the Northern monarch. As yet, the Imperialists thought little of this Scandinavian inroad. They called Gustavus "the Snow King," and confidently expected that his power would dissolve as he approached the south. Those with whom he came in contact were impressed with a very different view. They beheld in Gustavus Adolphus a man of gigantic stature, with fair hair, large blue eyes, and a majestic

aspect—a true impersonation of Northern power and constancy; and in his soldiers they found a disciplined army, capable of enduring immense fatigue, and always fighting with the valour and fidelity of the old Scandinavian race. As yet there was no large or highly-organised force to oppose the advance of the Swedish monarch. Tilly had succeeded Wallenstein in the siege of Magdeburg, and this task he did not immediately relinquish to confront the hosts of Gustavus. The capture of the city, followed by a great slaughter of its inhabitants, and the almost total destruction of the place by fire, left the Catholic commander at liberty to repel the foreign invader; but even then he seemed in no hurry to measure his strength with the triumphant Swede.

While Tilly proceeded into the middle parts of Germany, Gustavus again turned northwards into Mecklenburg and Pomerania, where he took Greifswald from the Imperialists. The lieutenants of the King were as successful as their master, and several German towns fell into the hands of the Swedes. Having thus secured the north, Gustavus resumed his march into the heart of Germany, and, having entered the territories of the Elector of Saxony, encamped his forces, on the 1st of August, 1631, at a spot near Wittenberg. Here a treaty was concluded between the Swedish King and the Ambassador of the Elector, by which the Saxon dominions were laid open to the former, and the whole military power of the dominion was placed under his command. At the same time, the Elector promised to provide the army with ammunition and provisions, and to conclude no peace with the Empire without the consent of his ally. Tilly was now advancing against his enemy, and on the 7th of September these two great generals encountered on the plains of Leipzig. Both combatants had considerable forces at their disposal; but Tilly's army was rather the more numerous, and the brilliant reputation of its general might have been taken as a guarantee of success. But Gustavus Adolphus possessed abilities equal to those of his antagonist. He also had won many victories, and he was sustained by the consciousness of a noble cause, pursued in the spirit of chivalry, and with an entire absence of those atrocious massacres in which Tilly seemed to delight. His men were simple, moral, religious, and (at that time) distinguished by the gentleness of their manners; whereas the soldiers of Tilly were a dissolute and ferocious horde, who amused their leisure with scenes of revelry, and were strangers to pity in the hour of triumph.

The contest at Leipzig was long and sanguinary

For a time it seemed probable that the Imperialists would prevail; the Saxons were in fact utterly routed; but at length the Swedes overwhelmed all opposition, and drove the shattered remnants of Tilly's army from the field which they had already covered with their dead. The Imperialists fled in disorder, and the peasants in the neighbouring villages sallied forth to join the Swedes in their pursuit. Tilly was now seventy-two years of age, and had never before sustained a defeat. For the first time in his life, he was both beaten and wounded; and the powers of his mind were momentarily overcome by a species of stupefaction. This, however, did not last long: the veteran soon rallied his men, and displayed all his old mastery in conducting a difficult retreat. The country people at once joined the standards of Gustavus, and the gaps formed in his ranks were soon filled up, though with material that required discipline and organisation before its value could be fully utilised.

Having made arrangements for the security of Northern Germany, Gustavus marched to Erfurt, in Prussian Saxony, and, crossing through the Thuringian forest, arrived successfully at Würzburg, Frankfort, and Mainz. His passage of the Rhine at Oppenheim was disputed by Charles of Lorraine; but nothing could stop the advance of the victorious Swedes. Protestantism was again in the ascendant, and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, returned to his hereditary possessions. Tilly had by this time recovered from his late defeat, and was making arrangements to cover Bavaria. He took up a strong position on the river Lech, but was soon attacked there by Gustavus, who had passed the Danube at Donauworth without opposition. He approached the Lech on the opposite bank to that occupied by Tilly; but, under cover of a three days' cannonade, the smoke of which obscured the operation, he threw a light bridge over the stream, and suddenly confronted Tilly before that commander had the least idea that any such movement was contemplated. The ensuing action was fought on the 5th of April, 1632, when Tilly was mortally wounded, and the Bavarians fell back towards Ingoldstadt. The famous champion of the Catholics died on the following day, and Maximilian of Bavaria took the sole command.

In the meanwhile, the Emperor had been considering whether it would not be his wisest course to recall Wallenstein to the position he had formerly occupied. Ferdinand had looked in vain for assistance from the Catholic Powers, and no alternative seemed open, but to enlist once more the talents of the celebrated Bohemian. For some months, Wallenstein evaded his proposals, but about the close

of 1631 consented to raise another army. It was not long ere forty thousand men had flocked to his standards; and when, at the end of the three months to which he had limited his services, the Emperor implored him to remain, he assented only on conditions which practically invested him with despotic power, and in some respects placed him in a position superior to the Emperor himself. To all these stipulations, Ferdinand consented with alacrity; in truth, there was no other man to whom the defence of the country could so well have been committed. From an early period, Wallenstein had correctly estimated the genius of Gustavus Adolphus, and had seen that he would in time prove a source of trouble to Germany. His prophecies were now fully realised, and it was doubtless with no little satisfaction that he entered the field against an adversary with whom he regarded himself as fully competent to deal. His first operation was to drive the Saxons under Arnim from Bohemia. To a great extent, this was accomplished before the end of May; but at the same time Gustavus was following up his successes in another direction. Augsburg was occupied by the Swedish forces in the spring, and Gustavus then entered Bavaria, where the enthusiasm of Protestant Germany was exchanged for a feeling of hatred and distrust. The peasantry, who were fervid adherents of the older religion, violently opposed the Northern sovereign; indeed, a feeling of national repugnance to the foreign invader had by this time sprung up in various localities. Gustavus was suspected of having formed designs on the Imperial crown; and when he exacted from the citizens of Augsburg an oath of fidelity, not only to himself as head of the Protestant League, but to the crown of Sweden, a strong feeling of distrust was excited throughout Germany—a feeling which undoubtedly hampered subsequent operations.

Towards the end of June, 1632, the forces of the Duke of Bavaria were united with those of Wallenstein, and Gustavus, who had endeavoured, but ineffectually, to prevent the junction, found it prudent to withdraw from the south, and take up a position at Nuremberg, where he established a vast fortified camp, in which he concentrated an army of 50,000 men. Wallenstein followed closely on his path, and erected a strong line of fortifications on a neighbouring height. Being troubled to find subsistence for his men, Gustavus made a rash attack on his opponent's position, but was driven back with great loss. This was on the 24th of August, and, failing in an attempt to arrange a peace with his stubborn adversary, the Swedish King broke up his camp on the 7th of September,

and marched once more towards Bavaria. After some rather uncertain movements, he found himself, about the close of October, at Erfurt, with an army that had been reduced, partly by deaths in action, and partly by want of food, to something less than 19,000 men. By this time, Wallenstein had arrived in Saxony; and the last encounter of the two great antagonists took place on the plains of Lützen on the 6th of November, 1632. The dispositions of both generals were made with the highest military skill during the

bullets of the enemy that his cloak was frequently pierced, without himself sustaining any injury. But nothing could withstand the passion and ardour of the Swedes. The approach of night put an end to the combat, and by the next morning Wallenstein had withdrawn his troops from the scene of conflict. At the time of his death, Gustavus Adolphus was barely thirty-eight. His character, both as a hero and a general, has been universally recognised as belonging to a high order; his character as a sovereign and a man was



NUREMBERG FROM THE WALLS.

previous night; but the next day was veiled with so thick a fog that it was nearly noon before the armies could engage. On the side of the Swedes, the battle was preceded by the singing of Luther's hymn, "A steadfast fortress is our God;" the Imperialists responded with cries of "Jesu Maria!" During a desperate and fluctuating encounter, the Swedish right wing was completely victorious; but the left was thrown into disorder, and Gustavus rode forward to rally his disheartened men. While engaged in this duty, he was struck in the left arm, and, in retiring to the rear, received another wound in the back. He soon afterwards fell from his horse, and was dead before he could be rescued. After this irreparable disaster, the battle raged with even greater fury. On the side of the Imperialists, Wallenstein rode through the field from point to point, so exposed to the

even higher. A simple, affectionate, and virtuous nature was united to unflinching courage, and to a placid resolution which nothing could shake. The Roman Catholics rejoiced over his fall; but the Protestants soon had occasion to regret the loss of one who had often led them to victory, and who knew how to maintain the discipline of his army, even under the intoxication of success.

The death of Wallenstein followed that of his illustrious adversary in little more than a year. He was greatly exasperated by his defeat at Lützen, and punished with death many of the generals and inferior officers. Recruiting his army soon afterwards, he won several victories in Saxony and Silesia, but excited universal antagonism by his haughty bearing, and his manifest design of acquiring sovereign power for himself. When making terms with Ferdinand, previous to

the resumption of his command, he extorted a promise that he should be allowed to possess all the provinces that he might conquer, and should receive from the Emperor one of his hereditary States, where he was to rule as a vassal prince. These

officers were commissioned to take him, dead or alive, and on the 25th of February an armed attack was made on several of his companions while dining together at Eger, in Bohemia. Wallenstein, who was ill, and confined to his room,



THE DEATH OF WALLENSTEIN.

(From the Picture by C. von Piloty in the Collection of Thomas Taylor, Esq., Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire.)

engagements were always present to the mind of Wallenstein ; but Ferdinand dreaded the power of one who seemed not unlikely to supersede him as the head of Germany. By numerous enemies, his intentions were represented to the Emperor in the worst light, and, though it may be doubtful whether he really entertained any traitorous designs, some of his acts were open to suspicion. At length, on the 24th of January, 1634, Ferdinand signed an order by which Wallenstein was deprived of his command, and declared a rebel. Two Italian

was aroused by the cries of the murdered men, and shortly afterwards his own chamber was entered by a Captain Devereux, at the head of thirty Irishmen. Wallenstein, opening his arms without saying a word, or making the least resistance, received the blow of a partisan in the breast, and died immediately. The goddess Fortune, whom, in a certain sense, he followed, had done wonders for him throughout the splendid evil of his career ; and, at the last moment, she granted him a sudden and unlingering death.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Further Progress of the War—Services of Oxenstiern, the Swedish Chancellor—The Union of Heilbronn—Predominance of Sweden in Protestant Germany—Fluctuations of the War—Defeat of the Swedes at Nördlingen—Unshaken Resolution of Oxenstiern—Policy of Richelieu in France—Invasion of the Valteline by French and Swiss Troops—Dissatisfaction of Catholics and Protestants with the Conduct of Richelieu—General Features of his Administration—He determines to Support the Protestants of Germany—Annexation of Lorraine and Part of Alsace to the French Monarchy—The Treaty of Prague (1635)—Spread of the War over a Large Part of Europe—Invasion of France by the Spaniards—State of Germany—Prevalence of Famine and Pestilence—Ferocity of the Swedes—Successes of the German Protestants and their French Allies—Rise of Mazarin—Death of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar—Daring Exploits of the Swedish Commander, Baner—Victories of the French Armies in Northern Italy, Artois, and Roussillon—Detection of a Conspiracy against Richelieu—Death of the Cardinal, and of Louis XIII.—War between Sweden and Denmark—Proceedings of Torstenson, Königsmark, and Wrangel, in Germany—The Congress of Münster and Osnabrück—Peace of Westphalia and Close of the Thirty Years' War—Chief Provisions and Effects of the Treaty of Peace—Events in Holland during the Latter Years of the War of Independence—Brilliant Success of the United Provinces—Condition of Spain during the First Half of the Sixteenth Century—Expulsion of the Moors—Character of Philip III., and Succession of Philip IV.

AFTER the death of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, and of Wallenstein in 1634, the Thirty Years' War became less interesting, though it still lasted for a period about equal to that over which it had already extended. The most remarkable men who had appeared on either side—Tilly and Mansfeld, Wallenstein and Gustavus—were removed from the scene, and the alternation of success and defeat became somewhat monotonous. Yet the forces of both combatants continued much the same, and the cause of Sweden was directed by a man of great genius, the Chancellor Oxenstiern. On the death of Gustavus, the Swedish crown descended to his infant daughter, Christina, then barely six years old, and the government was carried on by five chief officers of state, of whom Oxenstiern was the head. The Chancellor had for many years shown great sagacity and prudence in the conduct of affairs. Some time after the invasion of Germany by Gustavus, he had joined his royal master at the seat of war, and had managed the diplomatic part of the struggle, which was no less important than the military. His colleagues in the Regency empowered him to pursue the contest after the fall of the heroic King, and he at once bent all his energies to the task, although he had to encounter much opposition on the part of the German Protestant rulers, some of whom were anxious to make peace on the best terms they could obtain. Fortunately for Oxenstiern, Gustavus Adolphus was not the only general of ability in the Swedish army. He had several gifted lieutenants, and for a time the Chancellor was well supported by the sword.

In April, 1633—between the death of Gustavus Adolphus and the assassination of Wallenstein—Oxenstiern effected what is termed the Union of Heilbronn, by which most of the Protestant States

of Germany, together with England and Holland, bound themselves to support the cause in which all were interested. A treaty was likewise concluded with the Palatinate, the administration of which passed into the hands of Louis Philip, brother of the Elector Frederick V., on the death of that unfortunate prince very shortly after the battle which proved fatal to his Swedish patron. This treaty put the country, for the time being, entirely in the hands of the Swedes, who were quartered in several towns; and the people were forced to pay a heavy contribution to the expenses of the war. It was inevitable that the German States should be placed in subjection to the Swedish Power, for the armies of Sweden were undoubtedly the mainstay of Protestantism at this period. But the wound inflicted on German pride was deep, and unfortunately it was aggravated by a change in the manner of the Scandinavians, which set in after the death of Gustavus. Their discipline became seriously relaxed, and they began to plunder the occupied districts with as little hesitation as the banditti of Wallenstein. The command of the army was divided between Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar and the Swedish General Horn, who obtained some advantages over the enemy, but were unable to effect anything decisive against the Imperialists, owing partly to their own dissensions, and partly to a mutiny among the mercenary troops who had joined them.

That the murder of Wallenstein and his officers was approved by the Emperor Ferdinand, is shown by the fact that he rewarded the assassins, and publicly commended their actions. The chief command of the Imperial forces was then given to the Emperor's son, King Ferdinand, whose inexperience was assisted by General Gallas. The war went on

with varying fortunes, but, on the whole, with results more favourable to the Catholics than to the Protestants. The battle of Nördlingen, fought on the 6th of September, 1634, was a crushing defeat for the Swedes, who lost 12,000 men in killed and wounded, 6,000 prisoners, 300 standards, and 80 guns. Horn and three other generals were among the captured, and Duke Bernard narrowly escaped. The Emperor was now once more predominant in Germany, and, but for the calm and unflinching resolution of Oxenstiern, the cause of Protestantism would hardly have survived the successes of its enemies. In spite of all discouragements, the Swedish Chancellor refused to despair, though the balance of force was continually diminishing on his own side, and it was not easy to find allies who would be willing to support a falling cause. At length, however, one was obtained, whose assistance might have seemed most unlikely, were it not that, with a certain class of minds, political considerations overbear all others.

The reader has seen that one of the principal objects of Cardinal Richelieu, after his accession to power, was the reduction of the House of Austria to a less commanding position in the European system. With this view, but of course with this only, he opened friendly communications with the Protestant States of Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, and permitted Count Mansfeld to raise auxiliary troops in France, where he also obtained a subsidy in aid of the war. About the same time, measures were taken against Spain, the dynastic association of which with the Germanic Empire provoked the antagonism of Richelieu. A French army was sent into the Valteline, which Spain and Austria had, in 1622, snatched from the League of the Grisons, and which afforded a convenient means of approach to Northern Italy. The step was a very bold one; for, in the hope of averting war, Spain and her Imperial ally had put the disputed territory in the hands of the Pope (Urban VIII.), who occupied it with 2,000 Pontifical troops. These were attacked, in November, 1624, by the forces of France, acting in combination with the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. The numbers on the side of the allies being vastly superior to those which the Pope had sent to do garrison duty, the latter were speedily driven out, and France retained the Valteline, in spite of Austrian opposition, until, in March, 1626, a treaty was concluded at Monçon, in Aragon, by which the province was again placed, though with certain restrictions, under the Grisons. In this treaty, the interests of the Protestants were abandoned; but the Cardinal had achieved a triumph over Spain and Austria.

On the other hand, his support of the German heretics, his policy in marrying the French Princess, Henrietta Maria, to Charles I. of England (to which we shall have occasion to refer on another page), and his attack on the Papal army in the Valteline, produced a very bad effect on the minds of many Catholics, and led to troubles which it tasked even the Cardinal's wit to encounter. It was now evident to all the European Powers that in Richelieu they had to deal with a master of diplomacy, but also with a man on whose promises no reliance could be placed. Louis XIII. was pleased, because the power of France was augmented; but earnest Catholics and sincere Protestants were alike dissatisfied.

A plot against the life of the Cardinal, in 1626, the principal members of which were the Queen (Anne of Austria) and some of the higher nobility, was frustrated by the vigilance and coolness of its intended victim, and of the King. It resulted in the increased power of Richelieu, and in further measures against the dangerous privileges of the great lords. A royal edict was published, ordering that all castles and strong places throughout the kingdom, not needed for purposes of defence (as on the frontiers), should be forthwith razed. The entire suppression of the French Protestants after the reduction of La Rochelle, in 1628, and the defeat of the Duke of Rohan's forces in Languedoc during the first half of the following year—the war with Spain and Austria for predominance in Piedmont, which the Cardinal conducted in person with remarkable success, and which ended, in 1631, in the establishment of the Duke of Nevers as the ruling prince of Mantua—the triumph of the great Minister over the intrigues of Maria de' Medici and her supporters, resulting in the banishment of the Queen-Mother in 1631, and her flight to the Spanish court at Brussels—the entire discomfiture of the rebellions conducted by Gaston of Orleans, by the Duke of Montmorency, Governor of Languedoc, in 1632—the development of the regal power, the growth of the national prosperity, and the acquisition by France of a commanding position in Europe—these events exalted Richelieu to the highest point of glory and predominance. It was not until after his superiority over all rivals had been fully established that he determined on giving more direct support to the German Protestants in the Thirty Years' War. In 1631 he concluded an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus; and this agreement was renewed with Oxenstiern, after the death of the Swedish King in November, 1632. But no active measures were taken until some time later.

The utter rout of the Swedes and Germans at the battle of Nördlingen, in 1634, finally determined Cardinal Richelieu to enter heartily into a struggle which he had long watched with interest. He therefore concluded treaties with Holland, Sweden, the German Protestants, Switzerland, and the Duke of Savoy, according to which France promised to raise four armies, amounting altogether to 120,000 men. To suppose that Richelieu took this course out of any regard for Protestantism or for freedom, would be an absurdity. His only object was to enhance the power and reputation of the French monarchy. A few months before the conclusion of the treaties consequent on the disaster before Nördlingen, Louis XIII., provoked by a fresh rebellion of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, his vassal, occupied that province, and proceeded to act on the declared intention of his Minister to re-establish the ancient limits of France, and to recover the whole of what was formerly called Austrasia. Immediately afterwards, the invading army crossed the Vosges Mountains, and reduced Alsace; and from that year, 1634, to the memorable war of 1670-1, this interesting land was an object of frequent contention between France and Germany. These acquisitions, and the credit they brought with them, strengthened the hands of Richelieu, and he refused to make any material alterations in the treaty with Sweden, though Oxenstiern, dissatisfied with some of its provisions, visited Paris in person, after having vainly dispatched Hugo Grotius on a similar errand. Returning to Germany, the Swedish Chancellor was placed in a position of great danger by his mutinous troops, but, being rescued by one of his generals, sailed for Sweden in the summer of 1636, and thenceforth directed the war from his own country.

The opening of the new campaign, which began in December, 1634, was, on the whole, unfavourable to France, and the course of events soon involved that country in hostilities with Spain as well as the Empire. The state of affairs in Germany was modified, about this period, by the defection of the Elector of Saxony, who entered into negotiations with the Emperor, and on the 30th of May, 1635, concluded the Peace of Prague. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lunenburg joined in the pacification, and the terms granted to the Protestants were better than might have been expected. Among the chief political provisions was a recognition of the hereditary right of the House of Austria to the Bohemian crown. By an express article, the Saxon Elector, John George, undertook to assist in expelling the Swedes from Germany—a piece of flagrant ingratitude, after all that Sweden

had done for him and his house. Ultimately, most of the Princes and States of the Empire acceded to the Treaty of Prague; but Sweden refused to be a party to the agreement, and the war was prosecuted with renewed vigour. It had now become to a great extent an European war, for the French invaded Northern Italy in 1635-6, though with little success, and, in the first of those years, conducted some abortive operations, together with the Dutch, in the Belgic portion of the Low Countries. The Emperor Ferdinand, on the other hand, was straining every nerve to get the better of his enemies. He promised the dukedom of Franconia to Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, if he would join the Catholic forces; but the offer was refused, and in 1636 Bernard went to Paris, where he was well received by Louis XIII. Laden with promises which proved illusory, he returned to his camp, and in future carried out his attacks on towns with a degree of moderation, as regarded the women and children, which he had not before observed—a change due to the intercession of the French Queen, Anne of Austria.

Richelieu had perhaps underestimated the power of his enemies; at any rate, he found himself, in 1636, confronted by dangers which for a time menaced the safety of France. A Spanish army from the Netherlands marched into that kingdom, spread over Picardy, and, after devastating a large tract of country, threatened Paris itself. The French capital was protected by an army, of which the Count de Soissons was the commander, and, as the fidelity of that nobleman lay under great suspicion, the public alarm rose to its highest, and the roads from the metropolis were crowded with fugitives. For a moment, even Richelieu lost his self-possession; but he was speedily reassured by his confidant, Father Joseph, who prided himself on military knowledge and penetration. Measures were rapidly taken for strengthening the army, and the King and his Minister, early in the autumn, took the field at the head of 40,000 men. Fortunately, the Imperialists had delayed their march on Paris, and, after seizing the town of Corbie, had suspended operations. In this position they were attacked by the King's army, and Corbie capitulated on the 14th of November. Other parts of France were temporarily occupied by the Spaniards, who, nevertheless, were unable to effect any permanent results. In Germany, the Swedish general, Baner, obtained some successes over the Austrians and Saxons, especially at the great battle of Wittstock, in October; but he was afterwards reduced to extremities by a powerful combination of the enemy's forces. The war, in short,

languished in every direction; yet the amount of suffering it entailed was as great as ever. The year 1637 (in the early part of which the Emperor Ferdinand II. expired at Vienna) was rendered memorable by a desperate famine, the result of long and merciless hostilities, waged on the principle of mutual extermination. In many cases, the sufferers fed on the dead bodies of their fellow-creatures, or even hunted down the living like wild beasts. In the island of Rügen, several persons were found dead with their mouths full of grass; and in Pomerania hundreds committed suicide, rather than endure the slow agony of starving. Pestilence, as usual, followed on the track of want; morals and humanity were alike forgotten in the savage license of a time which recognised no other law than force; and it would be difficult to say whether the Catholics or the Protestants excelled in wickedness and fury. The Swedes, however, who, in the early days of their invasion, acted with admirable self-restraint, appear, in these later times, to have sounded the lowest depths of atrocity. Their acts, indeed, will not bear relation, and were often characterised by a fiendish delight in barbarity for its own sake, without any view to ultimate results.

Baner, who had been blockaded at Torgau, on the Elbe, in January, 1637, succeeded in extricating himself in the following June, and, gaining Pomerania, once more proved formidable to the Imperialists, who, however, were entirely successful in the south. The campaign of 1638 was more favourable to France than those of the three previous years. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the ally of that country, took several places on the Upper Rhine, and defeated the Imperialists in a great battle at Rheinfeld. In the following August he besieged Brisach, a strongly-fortified town of Alsace; when the French contingent was commanded by de Guébriant and Viscount Turenne, the latter of whom afterwards acquired a brilliant reputation as one of the most successful generals of his age. The garrison, after repulsing several assaults, was obliged to capitulate on the 18th of December, 1638. Father Joseph, the friend and counsellor of Richelieu, whose advice had often proved of the highest value, died soon after; but his last moments were consoled by the intelligence that Brisach was in the hands of France. His place was supplied by another priest, Giulio Mazzarini, subsequently the famous Cardinal Mazarin, who succeeded to the power of Richelieu. Mazarin first became known to Louis XIII. as the diplomatic agent who, on behalf of Savoy, negotiated the treaty of peace with France in 1631.

He was at that time serving in the Papal army, but exhibited, in an underhand manner, so much favouritism to the French cause that Richelieu determined to promote his fortunes. Being afterwards sent to Paris as Papal Nuncio, charged with the duty of interceding for the Duke of Lorraine, he still further recommended himself to the great Minister; and we shall find that his power, during the reign of Louis XIV., was almost equal to that of Richelieu under the previous sovereign.

The fall of Brisach was the last achievement of Duke Bernard, who, on the 18th of July, 1639, while making his way into the heart of Germany, died on board a vessel on the Rhine. There had been a disagreement between him and Richelieu as to the command of Brisach, which the Cardinal desired to obtain for France, while Bernard wished to make it the capital of a contemplated sovereignty. On account of this misunderstanding, people were found to say—though apparently without any just foundation—that the German prince had been poisoned. Others believed his death had been compassed by the new Emperor, Ferdinand III.; but his illness dated from a period antecedent to the taking of Brisach, and was probably a slow fever. Since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestants had had no such leader as the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. His military talents were conspicuous, and he possessed the rare power of inspiring his men with a feeling of perfect confidence. It is surprising that he should have been able to achieve so much with an army so ill-organised and ill-provided; but his wild and half-clad levies were excited by the spirit of religious enthusiasm, and bore upon their banners the inscriptions, "Through sword and fire," and "To do and to suffer bravely is the part of Bernard's followers." His devotion to the Protestant cause was undoubtedly sincere; but the agreement which he concluded with Louis XIII. showed that he was not superior to ideas of personal aggrandisement. One consequence of his death was that the army he had commanded was placed under the orders of the French King, and that several towns in the north-western parts of Germany were transferred to France.

Aided by French money, and reinforced by fresh levies from Sweden, Baner obtained several victories over the Saxons, and was not checked until, having penetrated into Bohemia, and reached the vicinity of Prague, in the course of May, 1639, he found the position of the Imperialists too strong to be assaulted, and consequently withdrew. The campaign of 1640 was for the most part fought in Thuringia; but in January, 1641,

Baner made his way through the Upper Palatinate, and unexpectedly appeared before Ratisbon, where a Diet was being held under the presidency of the Emperor. The object of the Swedish commander was to carry off Ferdinand III., if he could accomplish it. The plan, indeed, very nearly

succeeded in the command of the Swedish forces by Torstenson, a general of eminent abilities, who in 1642 defeated the Imperialists on several occasions, and sent detachments of his army to within a short distance of Vienna. On the 2nd of November, the Archduke Leopold, and his military



CARDINAL MAZARIN. (From the Portrait in the Versailles Gallery.)

succeeded, and would probably not have failed, but for a sudden thaw which prevented Baner from crossing the Danube. The situation was thus entirely changed, and the Swede was compelled to retreat with the utmost expedition. Reaching Halberstadt, he died there on the 10th of May, prematurely exhausted, it would appear, by a wild carouse in which he had indulged in the preceding October, and which so prostrated his health that he was almost dead before he attained the vicinity of Ratisbon. He was suc-

advised, Piccolomini, were defeated before Leipzig. The fall of that city followed on the 6th of December; earlier in the year, Guébriant had been equally successful on the Lower Rhine.

While these events were proceeding in Germany, Cardinal Richelieu still maintained in France the extraordinary ascendancy which his genius had won. It was only, however, by continual watchfulness that he guarded himself against the intrigues of secret enemies. In 1637, he discovered a clandestine correspondence carried on by Anne of



SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

Austria with the court of Spain, and other enemies of the French monarchy. Anne confessed her guilt, and the Cardinal effected a reconciliation between her and her husband, from whom she had been estranged for several years. The military fortunes of France now rapidly improved. Alsace was annexed to the monarchy after the death of Duke Bernard; the Imperialists were defeated in Piedmont by Count Harcourt in 1640; Turin was taken on the 22nd of September; the Spaniards were driven out of Artois, which was incorporated with the French dominions; so that in every quarter the administrative abilities of the Cardinal were productive of dazzling and substantial laurels. Nevertheless, he had yet to struggle against plots and insurrections, and the conspiracy headed by Henri d'Effiat, Marquis of Cinq Mars, proved extremely dangerous, owing to the influence which its leader had obtained over the King, and the growing dissatisfaction of Louis with the haughty predominance of his Minister. While the plot was still being matured, but not before its existence had been ascertained by the Cardinal, Louis XIII. and Richelieu set out, in March, 1642, to take command of the army in Roussillon, in the Pyrenees—a province of Spain, the people of which had risen against their tyrants, and solicited the support of France. Broken in health, Richelieu was obliged to stay behind in Narbonne, while the King proceeded to Perpignan, which the French were then besieging. In a little while, Richelieu received a copy of a treaty which Cinq Mars had been negotiating with the Spanish court, with a view to obtaining the assistance of that Power in overthrowing the Cardinal. The principal culprits were beheaded at Lyons on the 12th of September, 1642; three days previously to which, Perpignan had surrendered to La Meilleraie, for the King, soon weary of soldiering, had left the camp some months before. The conquest of Roussillon was now complete, and the province was added to the dominions of the French crown, to which, indeed, in the days of the Franks, it had belonged.

The grand work of Richelieu's life was now complete. France was once more strong and respected; the House of Austria had been humiliated and restrained; and it was as if the genius which had effected these results was no longer needed in the sphere where it had moved so long and brilliantly. Richelieu was not old; he had, indeed, but recently completed his fifty-seventh year; but he was worn out by a long period of incessant toil, overwhelming responsibility, and anxious watching. His health had failed for some time past; but while there were triumphs to be

won, he still retained the helm with an unfailing grasp. The surrender of Perpignan left him little else to desire; and on the 4th of December, 1642—rather less than three months later—the great minister of Louis XIII. breathed his last. Mazarin, by this time a Cardinal, succeeded him as Prime Minister; the other members of the Government retained their offices. The fact of being a foreigner might have been fairly urged as an objection to Mazarin; but Richelieu, on his death-bed, earnestly recommended him to the King, and Louis XIII. saw that he could not do better than accept the trained abilities of the Italian diplomatist. Apparently with a view to popularity, Mazarin released from imprisonment several political captives who had been detained by Richelieu, and in other respects adopted a more conciliatory manner than that of his predecessor. Some four years earlier—viz., on the 5th of September, 1638—the only child of Louis XIII. had been born at St. Germain, and Mazarin now prevailed upon the sovereign to name a Council of Regency to govern for his infant son in case of his own decease. This arrangement had been rendered advisable by the declining health of Louis, who, in fact, survived his late Minister only a few months. He died on the 14th of May, 1643, at less than forty-two, but after a reign of thirty-three years to a day.

The Thirty Years' War dragged on its weary course throughout the whole of 1643, without presenting any features of great importance, excepting in the Low Countries, where the youthful Duke d'Enghien (afterwards more celebrated as the Prince of Condé) achieved a brilliant series of victories. Even Torstenson, despite his remarkable abilities, could do little more than maintain himself in the positions he had won, and, towards the end of the year, his armies were diverted into Denmark, in consequence of hostilities having broken out between that kingdom and Sweden. The Danish King, Christian IV., had recently adopted a subservient policy towards the German Emperor, and considered that he might act the part of a mediator when the time arrived for negotiating a general peace. In other respects as well, he exhibited an unfriendly disposition towards Sweden, and a quarrel respecting the Sound dues precipitated hostilities between the two Scandinavian nations. The invasion of Denmark by Torstenson was characterised by the consummate address, secrecy, and quickness, to which his former operations had accustomed the northern parts of Europe. All the peninsular dominions of Denmark were subdued in the early months of 1644; the Danish

province of Schonen, in Sweden, was taken by other commanders; but the islands were not so easily approached, and were for the most part able to maintain their independence. The Emperor made an attempt to relieve his ally; but the Imperial commander, Gallas, was obliged to retreat ignominiously from Holstein, into which he had advanced, and lost nearly the whole of his army in the operation. At sea, the Danes were scarcely more successful than on land; but in 1635 the Swedes found it necessary to abandon Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein, though the island of Bornholm was captured by their fleet. In Germany, a brilliant victory was gained by Torstenson at Jankovitz, in Bohemia, and the operations of the Swedish general, Königsmark, in the north of Germany, were equally fortunate. Queen Christina assumed the actual conduct of affairs in Sweden on the 8th of December, 1644; and on the 14th of August, 1645, peace was re-established between Sweden and Denmark. Some important territorial concessions were made to the former, and Swedish vessels were exempted from all tolls in the narrow waters.

After the defeat of the Imperialists at Jankovitz, Torstenson formed an alliance with Ragotski, the Voïvode of Transylvania, whom he joined in an attempt to seize the Emperor at Vienna; but the enterprise was as unsuccessful as that of Baner at Ratisbon. Torstenson was now so ill that he retired from his post, after deputing the chief command, first to General Königsmark, and subsequently to Charles Gustavus Wrangel. Negotiations for a general peace had been proposed some time before, and a double congress was opened at Münster and Osnabrück in April, 1645. Great delay ensued on questions of form and precedence; in the meanwhile, the war in Germany continued more than three years longer. The French generals, D'Enghien and Turenne, had some great successes in Germany in 1644-5, and the conquests of the latter in 1646 produced an important effect in bringing this long and disastrous struggle to a close. The last grand event of the war was the capture of an isolated section of Prague by General Königsmark, who entered what is called the Little Town, situated on the left bank of the Moldau, on the 31st of July, 1648. The Powers were now nearly exhausted, and the conferences at Münster and Osnabrück became more important as the necessity of peace became more urgent. The Congress had been divided between two cities, because one could not have accommodated the immense number of ministers who were expected to attend, and because it was considered desirable to separate, save in a few special instances, the Papal

and the Protestant representatives. Towards the end of September, 1648, however, the conferences at Osnabrück were transferred to Münster, where the two Treaties of Westphalia were signed on October 24th. The terms of the peace were, of course, extremely complicated, since most of the chief European Powers had been concerned in the war; but the principal features may be succinctly stated.

The Emperor agreed to pay the Swedes five millions of rix-dollars as an indemnification for the expenses of the war, and to deliver up to them the secularised bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, the islands of Wollin and Rügen, the city and port of Wismar, in Mecklenburg, and the greater part of Pomerania—cessions which carried with them the rights belonging to a State of the Empire. The French were to continue in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, together with the whole of Alsace, except Strasburg and the Imperial cities; as a compensation for relinquishing which, they were to occupy Brisach and the fortress of Philipsburg, which were regarded as the keys of Upper Germany. Pinerolo, in Piedmont, a fief of the Empire, was also made over to the French King. Mecklenburg, Hesse Cassel, Brunswick, Lunenburg, and the Electorate of Brandenburg, received various accessions to their power; while the Electorate of Saxony retained what it had acquired at the Peace of Prague in 1635. The Duke of Bavaria was allowed to keep the Upper Palatinate, together with the electoral dignity and rights; the Lower Palatinate was restored to the eldest son of Frederick V., in whose favour an eighth Electorate was created. To obtain means for the various indemnifications, recourse was had to the secularisation of several ecclesiastical domains in places where the people had adopted the Protestant religion. This arrangement gave great offence at Rome, and Pope Innocent X. protested against the peace on that account, though, of course, without effect. With regard to religion, Romanists and Protestants were placed on an equal footing, and divers reforms were made in the constitution of the Imperial Chamber, and of other tribunals, the effect of which was to give the Protestants a larger share of power. The Religious Peace of 1555 was now formally renewed, and the Calvinists were included in its provisions, as well as the Lutherans. The latter, with astonishing illiberality, opposed this extension of the original terms; but the Emperor granted it, with a readiness which doubtless proceeded more from dislike of the Lutherans than from sympathy with the Calvinists. One very important article of the treaty was that by which the

various Princes and States of Germany were permitted to contract defensive alliances among themselves, or even with foreigners, provided these agreements were not levelled against the Empire: a privilege which limited the Imperial power, while it added to that of the individual States. By the Peace of Westphalia, the freedom of the United Provinces of Holland, and of the Swiss Cantons, was recognised; and thus the right of small communities to establish their independence of great military dominions was powerfully reinforced, though at the expense of prolonged and frightful bloodshed.

"The consequences of this terrible war," observes a German historian, "seem, as regards changes of territory, much less important than could at some periods have been expected, had not the removal of Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein from the scene of action frustrated their projects and their hopes. But the effects of the war were not confined to Germany; they operated upon the whole European system. By it, the German body politic obtained its determinate forms, which were soon after more firmly established by the permanent Diet of Ratisbon (1663). The Imperial power was now constitutionally restricted within the narrowest limits; the princes were in the fullest sense rulers of their respective States; the welfare of Germany was attached to the territorial government, and but little to the Imperial. It was a federation under a limited sovereign. In the political system of Europe, the Peace of Westphalia settled neither all the important, nor even all the contested, relations. But the maintenance of the German constitution, the object of the bloody conflict of half Europe, acquired in practical politics a weight which it could not soon lose. That constitution was indissolubly connected with the maintenance of the balance of power, which consequently became much more distinctly acknowledged and confirmed. It was not, therefore, by settling all the great political relations, but rather by settling the leading political maxims, that the Peace of Westphalia became the foundation of the subsequent policy of Europe." *

The recognition of the independence of Switzerland and the United Provinces was nothing more than the acknowledgment of accomplished facts. Switzerland had been free since the fourteenth century. The liberties of Holland had been conquered very recently, but, before the Peace of Westphalia, they were established on a basis not

likely to be destroyed. It will here be necessary to take a brief retrospective glance at what had been accomplished since the cession of the Netherlands to Albert of Austria and the Infanta Isabella in 1598, from which other events have distracted our attention. After that year, the Dutch advanced rapidly in their efforts for independence, and in the Stadtholder, Maurice of Nassau, they possessed a commander of the highest ability, who defeated the Spaniards on several important occasions. His opponent was Ambrose Spinola, a Genoese nobleman devoted to the Spanish cause, who mortgaged his estates in Italy that he might raise a body of eight thousand men for service in the Netherlands. Ostend was taken by this commander in September, 1604; but Maurice captured Sluys a little earlier. The loss of life on both sides had been so serious during these protracted operations that a desire for peace not unnaturally grew up, and in 1607 received a partial gratification by the conclusion of a truce of eight months, which, in 1609, was extended for a term of twelve years. Great as was the military power of Spain, the little Republic of Holland was much stronger on the sea, and, while the original negotiations were proceeding, a powerful fleet was despatched from the Texel to the coasts of Spain and Portugal, with instructions to inflict upon the Spaniards all the damage possible. Heemskirk, the Dutch commander, attacked the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Gibraltar, and destroyed the greater number of the enemy's vessels. Both the Dutch and Spanish admirals were killed in the encounter; but the assailants suffered in no material degree. This decisive victory had a great effect in hastening the conclusion of the first truce; but some rather serious divisions broke out among the Dutch themselves, who were divided into an Orange and an anti-Orange party. The principal leaders of the latter were Olden-Barneveldt and Hugo Grotius; but the strength of numbers lay with Maurice, who was inclined rather to prosecute the war than to admit unsatisfactory terms. By the agreement of 1609, Spain disclaimed any intention of hindering the Dutch in their commerce with any part of the two Indies not occupied by the Catholic King, or of disturbing them in the Moluccas. The rights and privileges of the Nassau family—that is, of the Princes of Orange—were fully recognised, and, as a matter of fact, the independence of the United Provinces dates from this period.

The miserable fate of the patriot Barneveldt, during some religious dissensions, has been noticed in another connection. From that unhappy year, 1619, we may pass to 1625, when (the war

* Heeren's *Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies*, Vol. I.

having by this time been renewed) the city of Breda, in North Brabant, was taken, after a two months' siege, by Ambrose Spinola. Prince Maurice had expired a few weeks before, and his last moments were embittered by the foreknowledge that Breda must succumb. His brother, Frederick Henry of Nassau, was elected Captain-General of the United Provinces in place of the deceased hero, and, obtaining some assistance from Count Mansfeld, checked the progress of the Spaniards in the Low Countries. Frederick Henry was also chosen to that of his brother, and for some time the affairs of Holland languished under his directions. Spinola was recalled in 1629, and succeeded in the military command by Van der Berg, a general of approved capacity. Encouraged by the departure of the Italian, for whom he had been no match, Prince Frederick Henry laid siege to Herzogenbusch, which surrendered in 1630. Maestricht, in Guelderland, was captured in 1632, and the Dutch, who had now 120,000 men in the field, proved their superiority over the disorganised hosts of the oppressor. An offensive and defensive alliance between France and Holland was concluded in February, 1635; in accordance with which, each of the contracting parties was to invade the Spanish Netherlands with an army of 30,000 men, and both were to be indemnified by territorial acquisitions at the expense of the invaded provinces. Nothing shows more clearly than this treaty that the Dutch Republic had already gained a position of importance in the European system. Indeed, the occupation which its armies gave to those of Spain in the earlier part of the Thirty Years' War, diverted from the Catholic forces of Germany a very large contingent of well-armed and experienced warriors, and thus helped the operations of Gustavus Adolphus. The league with France, however, was not attended by fortunate results. Attacked by the French and Dutch, the Belgians showed entire loyalty towards their Spanish masters, and so completely repulsed the allies that it was found necessary to abandon further operations of an offensive character, and make provision for the safety of Holland itself. Better fortune rewarded the campaigns of 1644 and 1645; some important successes were also gained in 1646; but the insanity of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, which became confirmed about this time, hampered the operations of the Dutch. On the 30th of January, 1648, a treaty of peace was signed at Münster by the representatives of Spain and Holland, and the United Provinces were recognised as free and sovereign States, to which the

Spanish monarch renounced all pretensions, both for himself and his successors. This agreement, to which the Peace of Westphalia gave a general or European sanction, was based on the reciprocal surrender of all those places which either belligerent had won, and left Holland in possession of Breda, which had been re-taken from the Spaniards in 1637. Many other towns of importance were also made over to the Republic, which thus acquired some portions of Brabant and Flanders, as well as several colonies in Asia, Africa, and America, seized by the Dutch fleet during the war. Spain covered herself with ignominy by abandoning the commercial interests of the loyal Belgians, and sanctioning, in favour of the Dutch, the closing of the Scheldt and other important channels, the loss of which ruined the trade of Antwerp, and of the Catholic provinces generally. More than eighty years had elapsed since the outbreak of the war of independence; myriads of lives had been lost; and two nations were embittered against one another to a degree not easily expressed in words. But the people of the United Provinces had achieved a magnificent success, and the cause of freedom in Europe was the stronger for their triumphant heroism.

The rise of Holland was accompanied, step by step, by the decline of Spain. With less power and resolution than his father, Philip III. was equally bigoted, and in 1610 set the final seal to a policy of intolerance, as regarded the Moriscoes, which deprived his already impoverished kingdom of many thousand subjects whom a more just and considerate treatment might have won. We have seen that, on several previous occasions, the descendants of the conquered Moors had been treated with the utmost rigour, and that despair had impelled them to frequent revolts, which were suppressed with difficulty. Large numbers succeeded in escaping to their brethren on the northern shores of Africa; the remainder were brought even more thoroughly under the iron heel of power. Their descendants were equally disaffected to a dominion which denied them the commonest rights of humanity; and, in the early part of his reign, Henry IV. of France opened secret communications with the Spanish Moriscoes, who boasted that they could further his designs with an army of 80,000 men. The discovery of these facts inflamed the Spanish Government still more against the miserable creatures whom their injustice had inspired with a deadly hatred. Some principal dignitaries of the Church recommended that the heretics should be expelled from Spain, sent to the galleys, or put to death without any

exceptions. An insurrection among the mountains of Valentia, in the latter part of 1609, led to summary measures of repression, and 130,000 of the rebels were thrown upon the coast of Africa, where the greater number died of exhaustion and want. The ejection of the others, occupying the

religion, they were placed on board numerous vessels, and transported to foreign parts; but several had already died of their hardships, and not a few were thrown overboard by the sailors while they yet lived. The precise number of these people thus driven out of Spain, and ultimately out of Europe,



THE ESCURIAL, MADRID.

chief provinces of Spain, followed shortly after; but some few were still permitted to remain. The last edict of expulsion bore date the 10th of January, 1610, and had reference to the Moriscoes of Aragon, Catalonia, and Castile, who, in obedience to the royal orders, were driven towards the Pyrenees, without being allowed to carry with them either money, or bills of exchange, or anything but merchandise purchased of the Spaniards. Many thousands entered France; but their treatment in that country was not much better than what they had endured in Spain. Refusing to adopt the Christian

cannot be stated with any certainty. Some accounts speak of 160,000, others of a million; but in any case the population of the Spanish peninsula suffered a loss which helped to drag down still further the declining prosperity of the kingdom.

Although influenced in his conduct towards the Moors by a feeling of religious bigotry equal to his father's, and by political fears which were to some extent justified by facts, Philip III. was in many respects a man of amiable disposition. The weakness of his character inclined him to leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of his favourite

Minister, the Duke of Lerma, who governed Spain for twenty years with some dignity and firmness, but with a degree of ostentation which seriously injured the national finances. In 1618 he was supplanted by his own son, the Duke of Uzeda, who succeeded to most of his father's appointments, and won the favour of Philip during the remaining years of that monarch's life, by pro-

died of a fever on the 31st of March, 1621, when scarcely forty-three years of age, and was succeeded by his son Philip IV., then a youth of sixteen. The new sovereign began his reign by dismissing his father's minister, the Duke of Uzeda, and by conferring power on Don Gaspar de Guzman, Count of Olivarez, who had already acquired considerable influence over the heir to the throne.



THE TOWER OF LONDON. (From a View published about 1700.)

viding him with a constant succession of fêtes, tournaments, and bull-fights. Some time before his deposition, the Duke of Lerma had procured a Cardinal's hat, in the hope that it would afford him protection against the plots of his enemies, which he had only too much reason to fear, or at least enable him to find refuge at Rome; but Philip III. resented the act, and Uzeda had little difficulty in persuading the King to sanction the change on which he had set his heart. The principal events of Spanish history during this reign were connected with the war of independence in the Low Countries, of which the reader has already been informed. Philip III.

The promise of the new reign was fairly pacific, and Philip IV.—or, to speak more correctly, his minister—even showed a disposition to conciliate the French with regard to the Valteline. A treaty for the restitution of that district was signed at Madrid on the 25th of April, 1621; but it would seem that the Spanish Government never intended to carry out its promises, and the reader is aware that a war with France for the possession of the Valteline occupied the earlier years of Philip's reign. The subsequent events of that reign were interesting and important; but it will be necessary to consider in another Chapter their development and results.

CHAPTER XXV.

ENGLAND, SPAIN, NAPLES, AND TURKEY.

Arbitrary Rule of James I. of England—Contests with Parliament—Disagreement with the Judges—The King and the German Protestants—Intrigues with Spain—Independent Posture of the House of Commons—Projected Marriage of Prince Charles to the Spanish Infanta—War with Spain and the Empire—Death of James I.—English Colonisation of Virginia and New Plymouth—Marriage of Charles I. to Henrietta Maria of France—Unpopularity of the Union—Rupture between France and England—Failure of the Duke of Buckingham before La Rochelle—Siege and Capture of that City by the French Royal Troops—The Huguenots Crushed—Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham—Disturbed Condition of Spain—Successful Insurrection of the Catalans, and Temporary Annexation of their Province to France—Revolution at Lisbon—Re-establishment of the Portuguese Kingdom—War between Portugal and Spain—Discontent in Sicily and Naples—Rise and Fall of Masaniello—Attempt of the Duke of Guise on Naples—Restoration of Spanish Rule—Conquests and Death of Amurath IV. of Turkey—Succession of Ibrahim—War with Venice—Ibrahim Deposed and Strangled—Decline of the Ottoman Empire—Its Condition in the Latter Part of the Seventeenth Century.

DESPITE his lofty conceptions of the royal prerogative, James I. of England continued to summon Parliaments occasionally, and to pay some little regard to their views. But the encroachments on popular liberty were steadily pursued all the while, and there can be no question that the King sought to familiarise the public mind with the practices of arbitrary power. Early in his reign, he imposed Customs duties at his own will and pleasure, and procured a judgment of the Exchequer Chamber to the effect that he might legally do so to any extent he deemed advisable. In accordance with this decision, he issued a proclamation in 1608, imposing duties on all articles of export and import; and when Parliament assembled in 1610, he forbade the Commons to enter on the subject. To their lasting honour, the representatives of the nation disregarded this prohibition, and sent up a remonstrance to the Crown, in which they prayed that a law might be passed to declare that all impositions on the goods or merchandise of the people, without the consent of Parliament, were null and void. James grew angry, and the Legislature was not summoned again for another four years. The elections in 1614 resulted in the return of a House of Commons manifestly disinclined to a subservient policy. We now become acquainted for the first time with three names which in the next reign were very conspicuous — those of John Pym, Thomas Wentworth, and John Eliot. The members of the popular chamber refused to grant supplies until grievances had been redressed; and Parliament was suddenly dissolved on a point of form. Four principal members were sent to the Tower: for seven years, the King reigned as an absolute monarch. Religious persecution continued with increased bitterness, and the Court of High Commission used all its exceptional powers for the repression of heresy, although the Judges had, on appeal, given decisions limiting the excessive

authority of that tribunal. As with the hand of Fate, James was preparing the way for his son's downfall and miserable end.

The necessity of obtaining money, of which his prodigal expenditure placed him in continual want, compelled the first of the Stuarts, not merely to burden the commerce of his subjects with arbitrary exactions, but to establish a regular sale of peerages, by which, while he degraded the nobility, he enriched himself. Even worse than this was the insolence with which he lectured the Judges for refusing to admit his claim to be consulted whenever any decision was given in cases affecting the royal prerogative. Sir Edward Coke—a man sufficiently inclined to subservient manners and arbitrary ways, but with a deep sense of what was due to the law—was in 1616 dismissed from his position of Chief Justice, for persisting in his original view after all the others had craved pardon on their knees. While such was the bearing of the sovereign towards the Legislature and the interpreters of the law, his personal conduct, and that of his courtiers, offended the nation by its gross licentiousness. When, at length, a Parliament was again summoned, in January, 1621, it expressed the opinions of a people scandalised and exasperated in many ways. The great Lord Bacon was soon afterwards convicted, on his own written confession, of twenty-three acts of corruption, committed in his capacity of Lord Chancellor, and retired into private life under the shadow of a deserved obloquy. The disinclination of the King to aid the cause of the German Protestants, after the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War, was a serious occasion of uneasiness; for the English people rightly perceived that the safety of their own religion was concerned in that of the Continental Reformers. To a certain extent, as we have seen, James aided his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine; but the assistance so rendered was far less than the nation desired, and, being

grudgingly offered, was speedily withdrawn. The King had for some years been disposed to a good understanding with Spain, and would therefore do nothing effectual against the House of Austria or the Catholic League. In the latter part of 1621, he told Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador at London, that no operations of importance would be attempted in the Palatinate. The English fleet was recalled from the coast of Spain, and all the ministers opposed to a Spanish alliance were dismissed. The Parliament (which had reassembled in November, after an adjournment) took a precisely opposite view of matters, and demanded a declaration of war against Philip IV. James angrily bade them not to meddle with affairs of State. The House of Commons replied by a resolution setting forth that the domestic and foreign concerns of the nation were proper subjects of council and debate in Parliament, and that, in the handling of such matters, "every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same." In a burst of fury, James sent for the Journals of the House, and tore out the pages which contained the record.

The subject which had been long engaging the thoughts of the King, and exciting the fears of the nation, was the contemplated marriage of Prince Charles (who, after the death of his elder brother, Henry, in 1612, had become heir to the throne) with the Infanta of Spain, sister of Philip IV. Parliament demanded that the Prince of Wales should espouse a Protestant; but James resented their presumption in forming any wish whatever on the subject. He believed that, by pleasing Spain, he might effect a general pacification in Germany, and procure for the Elector Frederick a restitution of his hereditary domain, the Palatinate. Negotiations were accordingly opened with the court of Madrid; but they met with no cordial response, and in February, 1623, Prince Charles left England, in company with the King's latest favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in order that he might press his suit in person. The Spanish King, not caring about the match, made demands which he may well have supposed would not be granted. He required the abrogation of the English laws against the Catholics, a Catholic household for the Infanta, and even a Catholic education for the children of the marriage, until they were at least ten years of age. It is almost incredible, and yet it is the fact, that these conditions were accepted. All that was required on the other hand was a vigorous interposition by Spain in Germany, with a view to closing the war, and reinstating the Elector in his for-

feited rights. This was refused, and the Prince returned to England, irritated by the failure of his mission, yet in no mood to gather wisdom from the past. The English people were delighted at the abandonment of the contemplated marriage, and London flamed with bonfires as for a martial triumph.

The demand for the recovery of the Palatinate still continued, and, another Parliament having assembled in February, 1624, supplies were granted for the attainment of that object by hostile measures. The King could no longer resist. War was declared against Spain and the Empire, and Count Mansfeld, who had been staying in England since 1622, was despatched to Germany with an army of relief. The expedition proved an entire failure, and James approached the end of his reign and life with the mortification of many failures, and the stigma of general suspicion. The persecution of the Roman Catholics had for some years been suspended, in deference to the wishes of the Spanish King; it now recommenced with great vehemence, and the Lord Treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who had always supported the alliance with Spain, was impeached on a charge of corruption, and dismissed from office. The new policy was undoubtedly favoured by the nation; but the immediate instigators were Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, who acted in a spirit of revenge for their late dismissal from Madrid. In the midst of these events, James I. expired on the 27th of March, 1625; and in the next reign it was stated that his death was owing to some plasters and drinks administered by the Duke of Buckingham without the knowledge of his physician. Even Charles himself was subsequently accused of hastening his father's death; but neither charge rests on good foundations, and it is probable that both arose from party hatred, rather than from any distinct knowledge of the facts.

In following the reign of James I., we have hitherto been concerned entirely with his government at home and his policy abroad; but there was another series of events connected with his rule, which was perhaps more important than either his quarrels with the Parliament of England, or his intrigues and hesitating actions on the Continent of Europe. It was under the sceptre of James that the first permanent English settlements in America were planned and carried out. Various attempts, as the reader is aware, had been made during the reign of Elizabeth; but all had ended in failure, and it was not until 1606 that James I. granted a charter authorising two associations of speculators

to settle in Virginia. On the 19th of December in that year, three vessels sailed from England with a hundred and five emigrants, and the small colony of James Town, on a river falling into Chesapeake Bay, was established in the following spring. The settlement languished for a considerable time, but was at length established by the vigour and perseverance of a certain Captain John Smith, who had previously led a wild, adventurous life in several parts of the world, and who now explored the neighbourhood of Chesapeake Bay, and, after escaping death through the intercession of the Indian princess Pocahontas, whose romantic story was long a favourite with English people, succeeded in reducing a large tract of country to the rule of civilisation, and (which was even more important) in accustoming the colonists to those habits of steady labour and intelligent industry, the lack of which had been the ruin of all previous endeavours. The plantation, as the term then was, became in time so prosperous—owing chiefly to the cultivation and export of tobacco—that James I. began to feel some jealousy of a little outlying commonwealth, which seemed capable of governing itself without the direct interposition of a monarch. The colonists had undoubtedly something to fear from the King's distrust; but a far greater evil befell them in 1620, when a Dutch ship from the coast of Guinea arrived with a cargo of negroes, some of whom were sold to the English settlers. This was the beginning of that detestable system of slavery which afterwards proved the curse of America; but, as the Africans could work in the hot climate of Virginia better than Europeans, or even than the native Indians, the temporary advantage of their services outweighed all considerations of morality or prudence.

The colonisation of Virginia was followed in about fourteen years by that of New Plymouth, the first of the settlements which afterwards went by the general name of New England. The more northern colony was founded by a body of Puritans who had for eleven years been settled in Holland, whither (as already related) they had gone to escape the fury of the King and his Bishops. These men had prospered in the land of their adoption; but they were Englishmen none the less, and did not like that their children should grow up in a foreign land, and gradually lose their nationality in that of another people. They accordingly obtained permission of King James to settle in his American possessions, and the little company of adventurers quitted Delft-Haven on the 22nd of July, 1620, in a vessel called the *Speedwell*, which proceeded in the first instance to England, and ultimately set sail

for the New World, but was twice compelled to put back. Ultimately, the emigrants accomplished their voyage in the *Mayflower*—a name which has become historic in connection with the English colonisation of North America. The Pilgrim Fathers, as the Puritan emigrants have since been called, arrived at Cape Cod on the 11th of November, 1620. The weather soon became extremely inclement, and a company of explorers suffered much while choosing the precise locality for their settlement. A month later, they fixed upon a spot where several cornfields were intersected by running brooks. The *Mayflower*, which had in the meanwhile remained at anchor off Cape Cod, with most of the party on board, was brought round to an adjacent harbour, and the memorable landing was effected on the 15th of December at a place which the settlers called New Plymouth, in memory of the English town they had last quitted. Such was the famous landing from the *Mayflower* on Plymouth Rock. The colony had to struggle with many difficulties from severe weather, want of resources, failure of crops, antagonism of Indians, and other circumstances; but in a few years it spread and increased, until it was ultimately absorbed in the larger settlement of Massachusetts.

One of the earliest events in the reign of Charles I. was the marriage of that sovereign, on the 11th of May, 1625, to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and sister of the reigning King, Louis XIII. Proposals for this union had been made almost immediately after the return of Charles and Buckingham from Madrid; but the terms on which it was arranged were even more objectionable than those embodied in the Spanish negotiations. The treaty contained a stipulation that the children should be educated by their mother until the age of thirteen; which of course meant that they should be trained as Roman Catholics until a time of life when they were not likely to change their faith. Richelieu induced the Pope to grant a dispensation for the marriage, by the promise of a secret understanding in favour of the Romanists in England. The English people were not made acquainted with these details; but they knew that Henrietta Maria was a Catholic, and they feared, not without reason, that a plot was being formed for destroying the Protestant religion in their own country. Great, therefore, was the feeling of alarm and discontent; but those were days in which the commonalty had no certain means of influencing the actions of their rulers, and the contracts were completed in November, 1624. The nuptials themselves were celebrated by proxy at the French capital, and Buckingham shortly

afterwards arrived in Paris, for the purpose of escorting the Queen to England. This profligate nobleman had given offence in Spain by intriguing with the wife of the Prime Minister, the Count of Olivarez; he now made advances to Anne of Austria, but experienced a sharp rebuff, and speedily returned to England, accompanied by Henrietta Maria.

The reception of that royal lady afforded unmistakable proof that her presence was regarded with suspicion and dislike. She appeared surrounded by Roman Catholic priests and French attendants, whom, by the contract of marriage, she was permitted to have about her; and this gave offence to many. A state of mutual exasperation grew up between France and England, and a rupture followed in 1627, when Richelieu secretly joined Spain in an enterprise, of which one of the features was to be a descent upon the shores of England. On the other hand, the Government of King Charles interdicted all commerce with the subjects of Louis. A large fleet was prepared, and Buckingham left Portsmouth towards the end of June, with a naval and military force destined for the succour of La Rochelle, the great seat of the Protestants in the south of France. On the 20th of July, the English ships cast anchor off the Isle of Rhé, at the mouth of a channel leading up to the beleaguered city. The alleged justification of this enterprise was the hostile conduct of the French Ministry towards the Protestants; but Richelieu, in his answer to the Duke's manifesto, stated with perfect truth that, in the recent marriage treaty, the English Court had made not the slightest stipulation on behalf of the Huguenots, although France had required measures for the relief of the English Catholics. Indeed, the English fleet had in 1625 rendered some degree of assistance in the operations of the French navy against the revolted Rochellers. Buckingham, in short, seems to have had the worst of the discussion; nor were his operations as a general any more fortunate. He succeeded in landing his men, and in reconnoitring the adjacent country; but, after the arrival of a large French army under Marshal Schomberg during the night of November 1st, the English commander found that his position was no longer tenable. His retreat on the 5th of November was disgraceful in its precipitancy. Horses, arms, and colours were left behind; but the men were safely embarked, and the fleet sailed for England about the middle of the month. The siege of La Rochelle was then pressed with vigour. The citizens defended themselves with admirable courage and resolution; but nothing could resist the power and determination of Richelieu. That the city

might not be revictualled from England, he constructed an immense dyke of stone, more than half a mile in length, across the mouth of the harbour; at the same time, the place was blockaded on the land side by lines of circumvallation, and an army of 25,000 men. The Cardinal himself conducted the siege, and exhibited as much ability in these warlike operations as he had previously shown in the fields of diplomacy and government. Twice did the English fleet assail the dyke, but each time without success. It was now certain that La Rochelle must fall; yet resistance was still maintained until half the population had died of famine, and the garrison was reduced to about a hundred and fifty men. The devoted city at length surrendered on the 28th of October, 1628; compelled by dire necessity to accept whatever terms the victors chose to grant. The blow was an irreparable misfortune to the Huguenot cause, and from that time forth Protestantism never again lifted its head in France.

The second of the English expeditions formed with a design of forcing the dyke, and thus relieving the besieged, was delayed by the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, on the 23rd of August, 1628. On that day, the Duke was conversing with Sir Thomas Fryar, one of his colonels, when he was suddenly struck in the breast, but over the shoulder, with a knife which he himself pulled out, when, uttering a brief exclamation, he fell dead. Immediately afterwards, a hat was picked up, in the crown of which was a paper containing part of a declaration by the House of Commons, to the effect that the Duke was an enemy to the kingdom, while underneath appeared a few short ejaculations of a religious character. The owner of the hat was discovered walking composedly before the door of the Duke's lodgings, and was recognised as John Felton, a man who had withdrawn from the army in consequence of not obtaining the promotion to which he considered himself entitled. He was of course executed for the crime, and it appears that before his death he admitted the enormity of his guilt. Villiers was only thirty-six years of age when thus overtaken by a tragic fate; yet he had for some years occupied an important though discreditable position in the annals of his country. The obsequious friend of James I. survived for but a brief space the death of his royal patron.

While the Thirty Years' War was convulsing the middle parts of Europe, the Spanish Monarchy was undergoing various disturbances and revolutions, which this will be the fittest place to describe. Under the sceptre of Philip IV., Biscay and Cata-

lonia showed symptoms of revolt, owing to the reluctance of the Government of Madrid to recognise the position of semi-independence which those territories claimed for themselves. They were, indeed, exempt from the heavy taxation of Castile; but the policy of the Count of Olivarez was to abrogate all local distinctions which interfered with the concentrated power of the State. When the French invaded Roussillon, which was a dependency of Catalonia, the people of that province acted for

that, as the only resource remaining, they concluded a treaty of union with France on the 23rd of January, 1641. The agreement contained some stipulations ensuring a species of republican freedom for the Catalans, who, at the same time, by a strange perversity, required the maintenance of the Inquisition, subject to that of Rome. In consequence of these events, Catalonia remained a portion of the French kingdom until the year 1652, when Barcelona was reduced, after holding out for



MONUMENT AT NEW PLYMOUTH, TO MARK THE SITE
OF THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

some time in co-operation with the Spaniards, but ultimately showed a willingness to side with the enemy. Olivarez thereupon adopted some high-handed measures, and in 1640 the Catalans rose in insurrection, massacred several Castilians, killed the Viceroy, and assumed a position of complete independence and open hostility. Many other parts of Spain were at the same time excited by feelings of discontent which threatened dangerous consequences, and Olivarez was alarmed at the prospect. The Catalans opened negotiations with the French court; a manifesto was issued to all Christian States; Louis XIII. engaged to furnish military assistance to the insurgents; and hopes were entertained by the people that they would be enabled to establish a Catalan Republic under the protection of that sovereign. In the following year, however, the Spanish forces overran the province, and inflicted such terrible sufferings on the population,

fifteen months, and the remainder of the province was speedily reconquered by Spain. All the old local privileges disappeared after this catastrophe, and, although the Catalans again rebelled, and once more received important help from France, they were unable to deliver themselves from the central tyranny at Madrid.

In the early days of the Catalan insurrection, Portugal recovered her independence. The annexation of the smaller to the larger kingdom in 1580 had been accomplished by violence, and, during a period of sixty years, was maintained by force alone against the wishes of the Lusitanian people. The prosperity of Portugal had vanished with her separate existence. She had been involved in all the quarrels of the House of Austria, in which

she had neither interest nor concern; had suffered in her commerce, and was burdened with heavy taxes for the promotion of designs which brought neither credit nor advantage to herself. Movements with a view to independence had been made from time to time, but without success; and it was only the revolt of the Catalans which at length furnished the opportunity of a triumphant

which the malcontents were quickly victorious. The soldiers were overpowered; several of the ministers were killed; the Vice-Queen, Donna Margaret of Savoy, a grand-daughter of Philip II., was compelled to order the commandant of the citadel to surrender; and thus, in a few hours, the Spanish rule in Portugal vanished like a dream. The Duke of Braganza, who had exhibited great timidity



MASANIELLO HARANGUING THE POPULACE OF NAPLES. (After the Painting by Spadaro.)

rising. So large a proportion of the Spanish armies was sent into Catalonia that very inadequate forces remained for service in any other direction; and Portugal was thus encouraged to renew her former efforts under more favourable conditions. In the latter part of 1640, the chief noblemen of Portugal were ordered to march against the Catalans; but they were little inclined for such a service, and, placing themselves under the directions of Pinto Ribeiro, major-duomo of the Duke of Braganza, struck a blow for their own freedom instead. Ribeiro had been long preparing the way for a revolt, and on the morning of December 1st he gave the signal for insurrection by firing a pistol in the royal palace at Lisbon. A struggle ensued, in

throughout these designs, and had held aloof at Villaviciosa, entered Lisbon on the 6th of December. He succeeded to the throne under the title of John IV., and was proclaimed in the other cities without any opposition. The Portuguese colonies were so weakly guarded by Spanish troops that, with the single exception of Ceuta, in Morocco, they were quickly recovered by the restored kingdom. John IV. made alliances with France and Holland, which undertook to furnish him with ships of war for the support of his cause. England and Sweden also recognised the new King; and, from that time to the present, Portugal has remained separate from the greater monarchy which for two generations had oppressed her.

Philip IV. soon discovered that in Portugal, thus regenerated, he had not merely a rival, but an enemy. The frontiers of Galicia and Estremadura were ravaged by the subjects of John IV., and that, too, at a moment when the French were pressing the Spaniards so hard in the northern parts of the peninsula that the people of Aragon threatened to unite with the invaders, unless speedily succoured. It was time, therefore, to make special efforts for the defence of an important province, into which the armies of Louis XIV. had penetrated from Catalonia. At the head of 12,000 men, and accompanied by Piccolomini, whom the Emperor Ferdinand III. had sent to his assistance, Philip IV. marched towards the Lower Ebro in the second half of 1643, and by November the French had been entirely driven out of Aragon. In other respects, however, the French preserved their ascendancy in the north of Spain, and a harassing war continued on the frontiers of Portugal, which, though unattended by any great results, still further weakened the power of a monarchy which only a few generations before had menaced all Europe. On the whole, the Portuguese had the best of the contest; but in other respects they were not so lucky. By one of those singular contradictions which are the bewilderment of modern times, the Portuguese were at war with the Dutch in their colonies while they were in alliance with Holland nearer home. A struggle for predominance in the East Indies was in fact proceeding, and the Portuguese gave way before the greater energy of the Dutch. These misfortunes doubtless encouraged the Spanish Government in its insolent policy towards the restored kingdom. In the Congress at Münster which resulted in the Peace of Westphalia, Philip IV. of Spain, and his relative the Emperor Ferdinand, refused to allow King John's Ambassador to be present, and Portugal took part in the negotiations only through the agency of France and Sweden. Conduct such as this did no real injury to the State against which it was directed; but it helped to confirm those feelings of exasperation which previous events had created, and later times have not wholly removed.

Not only in the Western Peninsula were the affairs of Philip IV. attended by disaster, but in the south of Italy also the predominance of his house was threatened with serious misfortunes. The Two Sicilies had been sorely taxed, both in men and money, to support the various wars in which Spain had been long engaged, while a famine increased the general misery and the popular discontent. An insurrection broke out at Palermo in 1647, and, although this was speedily suppressed,

the causes which had produced it remained in all their energy and force. The Duke de los Arcos, Viceroy of Naples, was a man of course and despotic manners. When the people complained that they had no money with which to pay their taxes, he replied by bidding them sell their wives and daughters. Not satisfied with what was already extracted from the starving poor, he laid a tax on fruit, which to the working classes of that region was almost the only means of life. The people resisted with open violence; but on two occasions the movement was suppressed by the Viceregal power. A man, however, was about to arise, who for a brief while gave a different direction to affairs. Among the fishermen in the Bay was an active, quick-witted young man named Tommaso Aniello, usually called by his associates, and now known to history as, Masaniello. On the 7th of July, 1647, a dispute occurred in the market-place with respect to the way in which the fruit-tax should be imposed, when Masaniello suddenly raised the cry of "No taxes! No more taxes!" The exclamation acted like a spark of fire on inflammable materials. The dealers in the market echoed the words again and again, and Masaniello, in a speech of burning eloquence, denounced the cruelties by which they were ground to the earth. The country folk and fishermen were transported with a new idea. "Let Masaniello be our chief!" they cried; and, arming themselves with weapons, they swept on to the Viceroy's palace, forced aside the guards, and rushed into the presence of Arcos himself. Influenced by fear, he promised the abolition of all taxes, and, hurrying away, escaped into the Castel Nuovo.

The revolution proceeded with extraordinary quickness. Masaniello was saluted as Captain-General of the Neapolitan people, and a species of commonwealth was established under his direction. The people were formed into regiments, the Viceregal troops were defeated, and Arcos was compelled to treat with Masaniello for whatever terms he would grant. Clad in splendid attire, and mounted on a charger, the sometime fisherman visited Arcos in his castle, and gave such evident proofs of his power over the tumultuous mob without, that the Viceroy put a gold chain round his neck, and hailed him as Duke St. George. But the triumph of the popular leader was short-lived. The excitement of his sudden elevation, and the intense heat of a Neapolitan summer, produced an alienation of mind which rapidly increased. Masaniello endeavoured to give his attention to affairs of State; but his total inexperience in such matters occasioned the most distressing anxiety.

He was unable to sleep. Suspicion of traitors embittered and darkened every hour. The necessity of raising money compelled the dictator to re-impose those taxes on food which had occasioned the revolution. His popularity waned as suddenly as it had arisen, and his acts, absurd at one time, were cruel at another. On the morning of the 16th of July, Masaniello wildly harangued the people in one of the churches, and afterwards lay down in a cell of the adjoining convent. In a little while, a body of men, who seem to have been employed by Arcos, called him forth, and shot him dead with a discharge from their arquebuses, when the body, after being deprived of its head, was dragged through the streets with brutal insolence. The career of this ignorant and impulsive fisherman, the vicissitudes of which must be reckoned by hours rather than by any longer measurement, is comprised within nine days; during which he ascended to the height of power, declined from one degree to another, and encountered a violent death, followed by the ignominy of posthumous outrage.

Whether the main body of the people had really lost their faith in Masaniello may be doubtful; at any rate, they buried him with great pomp, and then looked about for a successor. This time, however, they did not choose one of their own order, but elected the Prince of Massa for their chief. It was hoped by the Viceroy that the appointment might lead to an accommodation; but difficulties of a much more serious nature were at hand. A party existed at Naples to whom a connection with France appeared the most desirable arrangement; and, with this view, advances were made to the Court of Paris. For many centuries, France had been strongly desirous of possessing Naples, and the reader is aware that numerous wars between the French and Spanish monarchies arose in consequence. The project which now occurred to several of the Neapolitans was to erect a Republic in Southern Italy, and to confer the principal position in the new State on Henry, Duke of Guise, then residing at Rome. Mazarin did not actually sanction this design, but he forbore from opposing it, and Guise entered with spirit into the scheme. The province was now agitated by contending factions. Under pretence of conciliation, Arcos announced to the people that the King had restored the ancient franchises of Naples, and granted a general amnesty; but the very next day he opened fire on the city, and a revolutionary movement broke out, in which the populace were successful. Massa was put to death, and an armourer, named Gennaro Annese, was chosen as the democratic leader. On the 15th of November, 1647, Guise landed at Naples, and,

being invested with supreme power, maintained himself for some months, although unrecognised by the French Government. Notwithstanding his address and skill, he lost his popularity after a time; and when a new Viceroy arrived in Naples, at the beginning of April, 1648, the citizens acknowledged his authority, and Guise, being taken prisoner at Capua, was confined four years in Spain.

The decline of Turkish energy, which had begun in the latter part of the sixteenth century, continued with but little intermission during the first half of the seventeenth. In Amurath IV., however, the Ottomans possessed a chieftain of great vigour and ability, and the Empire, for a while, showed symptoms of recovery. The successor of Mustapha I., who ascended the throne in 1623, was troubled by repeated insurrections of the Janizaries. The last of these revolts was suppressed in 1632, and Amurath thenceforward acted in a spirit of cruelty to which he had previously been a stranger. Before this date, the Turkish dominion had suffered from various misfortunes. A rebellion in Asia, in 1623, resulted in the loss of several provinces. Baghdad fell into the hands of the Persians, and in 1624 the Tartars of the Crimea obtained some important advantages over their Turkish rulers. The Don Cossacks, probably encouraged by the Czars of Russia, to whom they were nominally subject, attacked the possessions of the Sultan with extraordinary boldness. Descending the Don in a hundred and fifty long barks, each manned by seventy warriors, they crossed the Black Sea, appeared in sight of Constantinople, and desolated the shores of the Bosphorus. These and similar calamities continued for some years; but in 1635 Amurath led a powerful army into Asia, recovered Erzeroum, Erivan, and Tabriz, and inflicted frightful tortures on the rebels. In 1638, he recaptured Baghdad, and ordered several thousand prisoners to be slaughtered in his sight. Peace was concluded with Persia in 1639, when Erivan was restored to the Shah, and Baghdad was retained by the Sultan, who entered Constantinople in triumph, but died the following year from the effects of prolonged debauchery.

The undoubted abilities of Amurath IV. might have ensured the permanent recovery of Turkish power, had he not been enslaved to the vice of drunkenness, a vice peculiarly abhorrent to all sincere Mohammedans. It is even related that he loved to entice others into the same indulgence, and that the sale of wine was licensed throughout his realm. Amurath himself often drank so excessively that he would pass into a state of frenzy, and, sallying forth into the streets, half-naked, would kill all

whom he met, without discrimination. In the delirium which preceded his death, he gave orders that his brother Ibrahim should be slain; but these directions were not carried out, and the Janizaries hailed the successor of Amurath. Ibrahim had been brought up in the seraglio, and was little better than a nerveless imbecile when thus exalted to the supreme position. He could hardly be persuaded that his brother was dead, and, fearing that his own strangulation was about to ensue, declined the perilous honours of empire until they were actually forced upon him. Fortunately, he had no great difficulties to encounter, and was therefore enabled to pass his days in voluptuous retirement, surrounded by the ministers of a luxurious and unmanly indolence. One great war, however, occurred during his reign. Peace had long subsisted between the Turkish Empire and the Venetian Republic; but in 1638 the fleets of the maritime commonwealth bombarded the Albanian town of Valona, or Avlona, in the harbour of which some pirates had taken refuge. Venice afterwards paid the sum of 250,000 sequins as compensation for this outrage on the dignity of the Porte; but the Turks were not satisfied, and in April, 1645, a Turkish fleet, conveying an army of 50,000 men, left Constantinople for the island of Candia, the ancient Crete, which had been one of the Venetian possessions since 1204. The colonial dependencies of the Republic were now very few in number, and great efforts were made to retain an island which, owing to its favourable position in the Mediterranean, and its importance as a seat of trade, was extremely valuable to the former Queen of the Adriatic. The towns of Canea and Retimo were speedily taken; yet, on the whole, the war was feebly prosecuted, and three years had elapsed before the Turks laid siege to the insular capital. Something of the old Venetian spirit seems to have revived under the pressure of this Ottoman attack; for not only were the Turks in Candia kept at bay, but the fortress of Clissa, in Dalmatia, which had the reputation of being almost impregnable, was captured by a sudden assault. These misfortunes excited the discontent of the military, and of the governing body at Constantinople. An insurrection broke out; Ibrahim was deposed, and his son, Mohammed IV., though only seven years of age, was, in August, 1648, made Sultan in his room. According to the usual precedent, Ibrahim was sent to prison, and in a little while encountered the fate which he had dreaded at the decease of his brother.

The growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire is proved by nothing more completely than by the fact that, during the long period of the Thirty

Years' War, when half Europe was exhausted by religious dissensions, the Porte made no attempt to enlarge its boundaries, or even to recover what had been lost in previous years. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, had refused to pay their annual tribute to the Sultan, and this loss of revenue appears to have been accepted as inevitable. The resources of Poland, soon afterwards, proved equal to the best armaments of the Porte, and in the reign of Mohammed IV. the Venetians twice defeated the Turkish navy, and destroyed a large number of vessels. The insubordination of the Janizaries was an ever-growing evil, and the civil government was so entirely disorganised that, during the eight years from 1648 to 1656, the administration was in the hands of fifteen Grand Viziers. Thus shaken by internal throes, the Turkish Empire ceased for awhile to be a danger to Christendom; but later in the century a recovery took place, which was productive of striking events. An old English writer in the time of Amurath IV. observes that all peace and war, all counsels and information, all wrongs and favours, were made salable, owing to the avarice and corruption of the court, and that the Duke of Florence, with six ships of war, was able to intimidate the successors of Othman. Europe breathed again, after a long interval of mortal fear.

In the reign of Charles II., England was represented at the Turkish capital by the Earl of Winchelsea, who had for his secretary a gentleman named Paul Rycaut. To this intelligent observer we are indebted for a very complete and painstaking review of the Ottoman Empire in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. He found the dominant race still haughty and threatening, though presenting numerous signs of a rapidly-advancing decay. The land forces of the State were reduced; the maritime power was discredited by ill-success; many of the provinces were depopulated and desolate; the royal revenue had greatly fallen off; and the stores and provisions of war, accumulated in former times, were no longer maintained at their height. The army had lost its discipline and its martial spirit; laws and religion were enfeebled; and the Sultans failed to remunerate the services of the troops, when any were performed, as they had always done in previous days. The tyranny and rapine of the Beglerbegs and Pashas had produced an immense amount of suffering, and regiments, in marching from one province to another, were permitted to extort money and clothes from the people, and even to sell their children into slavery. Soldiers left the army upon any pretext they could invent, and, by presenting a small sum

of money to their commanding officers, could secure a pension for the rest of their lives. The Janizaries, having obtained permission to marry, often applied themselves to trade, and were ready to mutiny at the bare prospect of hostilities.

With respect to the relations existing between the Ottoman Empire and the contiguous Christian Powers, Rycaut made some remarks which curiously anticipated the subsequent course of events. "The Turk," he observes, "is well inclined to the Polander, and desires his prosperity beyond others of his neighbour princes; because he looks on him as the only curb upon all occasions of the Moscovite, and whom they make use of to give some stop and arrest unto the progress of his arms. The Moscovite hath yet a greater fame and renown with the

Turk, being reported able to make a hundred and fifty thousand horse; so that he treats with the Turk on equal terms, and fills his letters with high threats and hyperbolical expressions of his power, and with as swelling titles as the Turk. The Greeks have also an inclination to the Moscovite beyond any other Christian prince, as being of their rites and religion, terming him their Emperor and Protector; from whom, according to ancient prophecies and modern predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church."* We have here a foreshadowing of that deadly antagonism between the Russian and the Turkish Empires which has occasioned some of the most eventful wars of modern times, and of which it is highly improbable that we have seen the end.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES I. AND THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH.

Commencement of the Reign of Charles I.—Struggle with the Parliament on the Redress of Grievances—Popular Discontent—The Petition of Rights—Fatal Blindness of Charles—Rise of Wentworth and of Laud—Parliamentary Opposition to the Latter—Collision of the King with the House of Commons—Arbitrary Rule of the Government—Hampden's Resistance to Ship Money—Successful Administration of Ireland by Wentworth—Attempt to Re-establish Episcopacy in Scotland—The Covenant of 1638—Growing Opposition to the Royal Tyranny—Armed Resistance in Scotland—Assembling of a Parliament in 1640—Invasion of England by the Scots—Beginning of the Long Parliament—Measures of Reform—Trial and Execution of Strafford—The King in Scotland—Massacre of Protestants in Ireland—The Grand Remonstrance—Final Rupture of the King and the Parliament—Beginning of the Civil War—Early Successes of the Royalists—Deaths of Hampden and of Lord Falkland—Entry of Irish Troops into England—Alliance of the English Reformers with the Scottish Presbyterians—Second Crossing of the Border by the Scots—Military Strength of the Puritans—Early Life of Oliver Cromwell—Battle of Marston Moor—High Character and Discipline of Cromwell's Troops—Progress of the Civil War—Fairfax in Command of the Parliamentarian Forces—Battle of Naseby—Decline of the Royal Cause—Charles takes Refuge with the Scots, who Betray him—Dissensions between the Army and the Parliament—Escape of the King to the Isle of Wight—Defeat of the Scots by Cromwell—Negotiations with the King—Failure of the Last Efforts at Conciliation—Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Charles I.—Establishment of the Commonwealth—Cromwell in Ireland—His Subsequent Proceedings in Scotland—Victories of Dunbar and Worcester—Affairs of the Commonwealth—Oliver Cromwell Protector—General Character of his Rule—Foreign Wars—Growing Unpopularity and Death of the Dictator—Restoration of the Monarchy.

ACCUSTOMED from his childhood to hear the maxims of despotic power advanced as the very perfection of inspired wisdom, Charles I. of England commenced his reign under the worst conditions imaginable—with political theories that were growing out of date, with a discontented people, with an embarrassed treasury, and with the burden of a war which produced neither glory nor substantial gain. At the very outset, he offended the general sentiment by retaining as his chief minister the unworthy and incompetent parasite of his father; and this position was held by Buckingham until his death. The very first year of Charles's reign (1625) was embittered by disputes with Parliament, arising from the determination of the

popular representatives to obtain a redress of grievances before granting the new monarch any large supplies. During the next three years, two other Parliaments were summoned, but without conciliatory results, and the great constitutional struggle fairly began. As early as 1626, the King told the House of Commons that Parliaments were altogether in his power as to their calling, sitting, and dissolution, and that they would continue, or cease to be, according as he found them good or evil. His only test of good or evil was their compliance or non-compliance with his desires; but

* The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire, by Paul Rycaut. Fourth Edition, 1675.

a spirit was arising which challenged those assumptions both by word and act. Sir John Eliot, in speeches of remarkable eloquence, denounced the misgovernment and the haughty carriage of Bucking-

ham; and when he and Sir Dudley Digges, who managed the impeachment, were sent to the Tower, the House compelled their release, after ten days' seclusion, by resolving to transact no public business until the members were restored to liberty. Charles felt that he was confronted with a power which he could not wholly defy; yet

he continued to levy taxes by his sole will and pleasure, to overawe the Judges who ventured to assert their independence, and to rule in the manner of a Turkish Sultan, or a Muscovite Czar.



JOHN PYM.

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The resistance to the demand for taxes without the consent of Parliament was far more general and more stubborn than the Court party had reason to expect. County after county refused to grant any subsidies that were not legally imposed. Nothing could quell the spirit of the people, though many were thrown into prison, or other

wise despotically punished, for resisting the royal will. Meanwhile, the wars with France and Spain pursued their discreditable course, until the first was brought to a conclusion in 1629, and the second in 1630. Previous to the earlier of those dates, the Parliament of 1628 had sent up to the

was suspended only by the assassination of the favourite in 1628. The King was overcome with grief at the loss of his minister, and conferred the chief power on Sir Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, who had been a creature of the Duke, and who acted in the same mood of reckless



ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

King the celebrated Petition of Rights, which reasserted all the old English guarantees against the capricious acts of despotism. Two of the principal supporters of this document were John Pym and Sir Thomas Wentworth; the first of whom retained his independence to the close of his life, while the latter soon went over to the side of power. After a period of evasion and sullen reluctance, Charles consented to receive the Petition of Rights, and the House of Commons then granted him a subsidy. But the quarrel broke out afresh over the misdoings of Buckingham, and

tyranny. Had not Charles been stricken with a fatal blindness, he might have turned the death of Buckingham into an opportunity for entering on a new path, and acquiring the loyal affection of his people. But his mind had been corrupted from the first, and was incapable of perceiving either the justice or the strength of the popular demands.

Parliament met again in January, 1629, when the Commons showed so determined a spirit against the King's claim to levy tonnage and poundage by his own authority, that it was dissolved in the following March. It was now that Wentworth abandoned

his former principles, and took office under the Crown; it was now also that we find Laud first appearing on the scene as Bishop of London. Laud was the recognised head of the High Church party: a man of irreproachable character in his private life, and doubtless sincere in his convictions; but narrow-minded, domineering, and a slave to petty formalism. The majority of English Protestants regarded his views and practices as but slightly distinguishable from Popery. Many, indeed, believed that he really aimed at bringing England back to her former association with the Romish See; but this was an error, though one for which he had chiefly himself to blame. Like others of the same inclination in later times, he desired to assimilate the Church of England to the Church of Rome, without restoring the subjection of previous centuries. To these ideas of Church government, he added a love of political tyranny which made him an apt tool for a monarch such as Charles I. Ere long, he became more unpopular than Buckingham himself. All the Puritanism, all the moderate Churchism, of the nation was arrayed against him. Protestantism and liberty seemed equally in danger, and, in the session of 1629, Eliot called attention to the subject in his usual style of glowing and exalted rhetoric. The Commons were so much impressed that a resolution was passed, declaring they held for truth that which had been commonly received as the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles. At the same time, they deferred all grant of customs till the wrong done by illegally levying the same had been redressed. But they were not allowed to proceed far in this course. The House was considering a protest against recent acts of the Government, when the Speaker said he had received the King's command to adjourn; and it soon appeared that what was really intended was a dissolution. Nevertheless, the independent members were determined to carry a series of resolutions declaring that any one who should make innovations in religion, or should advise the levying of subsidies not granted by Parliament, was an enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth, and that any one complying with such illegal acts and demands was a betrayer of English liberty. The doors of the House were locked; the Speaker was held down in his chair; and while the usher sent by Charles to summon the popular representatives to the House of Lords was thundering for admission, the great principles of freedom were affirmed with enthusiastic cries. It was the beginning of the Revolution.

When Charles dissolved Parliament in 1629, it was with the intention of fulfilling his threat of three years earlier, and ruling without any such

encumbrance. For the next eleven years, no resort was had to the people; yet the national spirit still made itself felt. The King's methods grew more confident with impunity, and his chief advisers encouraged him to strain the prerogative to the utmost. Those advisers were the Queen, a zealous Roman Catholic; Laud, who in time was elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and used his power for the promotion of an arrogant sacerdotalism; and Wentworth, a renegade from popular principles, who became the willing tool of despotism. The last-named had been made Viscount Wentworth about the close of 1628; twelve years later, he was created Earl of Strafford, the title by which he is generally known, though he enjoyed it but a short time. It was a dark and unhappy period for England. Eliot died in the Tower, in November, 1632, a martyr to those principles of constitutional freedom which he had so eloquently and fearlessly asserted. Many other members of what was called "the country party"—meaning the party which represented the country as opposed to the Royalists—languished in prison. Money was raised by arbitrary and illegal processes; the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission carried terror into the hearts of those who would not conform in all things to the requirements of authority; and the Puritans were handled with a severity which contrasted with the lenient treatment of Popish recusants. Ship-money—that is to say, money levied not only on the seaports, but on individuals in other parts of the country, with a view to maintaining the navy—was imposed in 1634, and gave rise to a vehement and determined opposition, of which John Hampden was the leader. Hampden refused to pay the tax, and the case was elaborately argued in 1637 before the full bench of Judges, when, after a twelve days' discussion, ten out of the twelve Judges declared that the tax was legal. The Court was delighted with this decision; but the arguments against the impost had been very strong, and they roused the nation to a more determined resistance. It is a remarkable circumstance that there is no evidence of ship-money having been demanded in Buckinghamshire (Hampden's county) after the sturdy opposition of the patriot, followed by that of many other gentlemen in the same part of England. Hampden had already acquired considerable reputation as a vindicator of popular rights, by his refusal, in 1627, to contribute to the general loan which the King had demanded—a refusal which led to his imprisonment. He was now recognised as a leader of the constitutional party, and it is universally admitted that the nobility and moral elevation of his private

life, and the absolute purity of his motives, gave him the highest claim to be one of the national advisers in so grave a crisis.

On the other side of the quarrel, the chief figure was that of Wentworth. There can be no doubt as to the extraordinary abilities of this statesman; but they were united to a passionate temper, to a dark and relentless disposition, and to a love of tyranny which seems to have been insatiable in its demands. Even his fellow-courtiers, who were engaged in the same work as himself, hated his rough and arrogant ways, and the opposition which he encountered at Whitehall made him all the more willing, in 1631, to accept the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland. In that country he was without a rival, and could pursue his own methods independently of any check. Nothing could exceed the sternness of his despotism, and he appears to have considered that if he could first establish the absolute predominance of the Crown in Ireland, he could afterwards establish it the more readily in England. Yet, objectionable as many of his proceedings were, it is impossible to deny that in two or three years he introduced order and prosperity into a land cursed with all the evils of anarchy. He founded the linen manufacture of Ulster, and gave an impetus to Irish commerce. The Catholics were conciliated by the suspension of those oppressive laws which had been introduced for the benefit of Protestant settlers; and at the same time plans were formed for an English settlement in Connaught. The Lord Deputy even summoned an Irish Parliament, and raised an Irish army. For the first time since its conquest, Ireland was a peaceful dependency of the English Crown; but its well-being had been purchased at the price of an organised tyranny which might at any time be turned against the popular liberties of the ruling country—as in fact it was.

Passing from Ireland to Scotland, we find the autocratic policy much less successful. After the death of Lord Portland, and the removal of Wentworth to Dublin, Laud became the principal minister of Charles I. To the highly ecclesiastical temper of that prelate, the Presbyterianism of Scotland was repulsive. He had no authority, however, over the northern kingdom, and could act only by persuading the King to adopt his views. In this he had no difficult task, for Charles, like his father, hated all forms of Church government which differed from Episcopacy. The authority of the Scottish Bishops had been restored by James; but Presbyterianism had acquired such a hold upon the population that the representatives of the older Church enjoyed no real power, and were regarded

with general indifference, if not contempt. Charles determined, under the advice of Laud, to interfere more thoroughly in the conduct of religious matters north of the Tweed; and the Presbyterian system was to a great extent abolished. A new Liturgy, based on the English Book of Common Prayer, was drawn up by Laud himself, and introduced with all the authority of a Royal injunction. For a moment, it seemed as if the native spirit were broken; but only for a moment. When the Dean of Edinburgh began to read from the new Prayer Book, the congregation openly murmured, and the Dean was struck to the ground by a stool that had been hurled at him. The use of the new Prayer Book was discontinued, and an order from London, that its employment should be at once resumed, provoked an outbreak of popular impatience, which showed how dangerous it would be to irritate the national sentiment much farther. In 1638, the people solemnly renewed the famous Covenant with God which had been originally sworn to in the time of Queen Mary. Some, it is said, signed it with their blood; all were prepared to support it with their lives.

Meanwhile, a feeling of anger and defiance had been growing up in England too. As early as 1633, Prynne had published his celebrated attack on the stage, on popular amusements, on the decking of houses at Christmas, and on various fashions which were practised at Court, and to which the Church in no way objected. The fanatical author, after standing in the pillory, and losing his ears, was fined and sent to prison for life; yet this severity only goaded Prynne himself, together with the Puritans generally, to still fiercer assaults on the manners and opinions of the ruling class, and the institution of prelacy. Large numbers of the London citizens applauded their boldness, and commiserated their sufferings; but the Censorship did its utmost to suppress Puritan books and pamphlets, and the Star Chamber summoned before its dread tribunal all who ventured to sympathise with the cause of freedom. It was in Scotland, however, that the King and his priestly minister encountered the first armed opposition to their encroachments. For several years, a large number of Scottish officers and soldiers had been actively engaged on the Continent in the numerous battlefields of the Thirty Years' War—some even on the Catholic side, but the greater number on that of the Protestants. The latter were now recalled to Scotland by the leaders of the Presbyterian party, and a voluntary war-tax was raised in every shire for their support. These veterans were placed under the command of General Leslie, who had served

with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus. An army of 10,000 troops, hardy, disciplined, and accustomed to warfare, was soon ready for the field. Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Stirling, and Aberdeen, were seized by the insurgents in 1639; and when Charles crossed the border, at the head of such forces as he could collect, he found the resources of the enemy far too serious to be trifled with. He consented to the meeting of a free Assembly and Parliament, and returned to London full of rage and chagrin.

The King was almost in despair as to the future. He was in debt, and knew not how to raise an army on whose loyalty he could depend. A little before, he had solicited a loan from Spain, on the understanding that he would declare war against Holland, and had endeavoured to obtain 10,000 troops from Flanders; but neither attempt was successful, and in 1640, after a lapse of eleven years, he once more summoned a Parliament to help him in his difficulties. The Legislature which assembled on the 10th of April was called the Short Parliament, being dissolved as early as the 5th of May, because of the uncompromising temper evinced by the majority of its members. The Earl of Strafford, as Wentworth must now be called, had recently quitted Ireland to resume his former position near the King's person; and his advice was all for resistance. Troops were collected, and the Earl marched at their head towards the North; but the Scottish forces had anticipated the movement by crossing the border, and occupying Newcastle. Charles himself was at York, when proposals reached him from the Scots, suggesting that another Parliament should be called, to arrange terms of peace. The royal forces were little inclined to action, and largely imbued with the spirit of rebellion; yet Strafford would not hear of yielding, and endeavoured to repeat in England the policy which had proved successful in Ireland. The King, however, was alarmed for his personal safety, owing to a threat of the Scottish commanders that they would march on York; and towards the close of the year he summoned another Parliament, which met in November. This was the famous Long Parliament, the actions of which are amongst the most memorable in English history.

It was apparent from the beginning that the Assembly was determined to undo much that had been accomplished by the King during previous years. Prynne and his supporters were released from prison; the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and other despotic tribunals, were abolished or reformed; ship-money was declared illegal, and the judgment

against Hampden was annulled. A statute was levelled against the assumed right of the Crown to impose taxes without the consent of Parliament, and a Bill was passed, making it imperative that both Houses should assemble every three years. Charles felt himself perfectly helpless, and, while protesting against such revolutionary measures, as they appeared to him, was forced to yield. Strafford was impeached by Pym at the bar of the House of Lords in November, 1640. The trial took place in Westminster Hall, and was distinguished by a tumult of vehement passions, which found expression amongst the numerous spectators. Strafford bore himself with the courage and lofty spirit, which, however great his faults, were undoubtedly elements in his character. He defended the actions of his public life with signal ability, and at the conclusion of the case made a speech which affected many to tears. The charge of treason could not be technically proved, and the managers of the impeachment fell back on a Bill of Attainder, which was passed in the midst of extraordinary popular excitement. Before the trial, Charles had told him, "upon the word of a King," that he should not suffer in life, honour, or fortune; yet, after a period of hesitation, he gave his assent to the Bill, and Strafford was executed before the Tower on the 12th of May, 1641. Some of the other ministers had already saved themselves by flight; Laud had been committed to prison, where he remained until his execution on the 10th of January, 1645; and Charles was left almost alone, to meet the storm which he had first provoked, and afterwards vainly endeavoured to ward off.

Thwarted by the firmness of the English Parliament, the King now threw himself into the arms of his Scottish subjects, and, going to Edinburgh, acquired a sudden and illusive popularity by granting the demands of the people, and attending the Presbyterian worship. In England, men began to fear that he would march southwards with a Scottish army, not to support, but to put down, liberty. This apprehension, however, was soon forgotten in the general horror excited by events in Ireland, where, in the autumn of 1641, the Catholics rose against the Protestants, slaughtered forty thousand persons with every aggravation of cruelty, and professed, at one and the same time, to restore the supremacy of Rome and the authority of the King. The statement that the rebels acted under a direct commission from Charles was certainly false; but the baffled sovereign appears to have thought that the troubles in Ireland would turn to his advantage, by giving him an excuse for raising an army to coerce the Parliament. It was under these cir-

circumstances that, on the motion of Pym, the House of Commons agreed to what is called the Grand Remonstrance—a document which recapitulated all the errors of the reign, and implied a suspicion of the King's future designs. The step was not sanctioned without a prolonged and violent debate, for the House now contained a somewhat numerous party, headed by Lord Falkland, which, while opposed to the tyranny of the throne, was disinclined to support measures that seemed to aim at a complete revolution in the political state of England.

Such measures, however, were speedily passed. The Commons sanctioned a Bill for excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords, and, although this Act was not agreed to by the Upper House, it excited among the London populace so violent and threatening a mood that for a time the prelates withdrew from attendance. The attempt of the King to seize five members of the House of Commons—Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Strode, and Haslerig—on a charge of high-treason in corresponding with the Scots, occurred in January, 1642, and it now became manifest that a civil war was inevitable. The House broke up with angry cries. The accused members, who had taken refuge in the City, were protected by a body of militia under the command of an officer appointed by Parliament; and the aspect of affairs grew so menacing that the King retired to Hampton Court. The reformers demanded that Parliament should have control of the army; but this was refused by the King, who must have been aware that the only alternative lay between complete submission and armed resistance. Queen Henrietta Maria fled to Holland, where she purchased a supply of ammunition. The King, accompanied by the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), proceeded to the North, and temporarily fixed his residence at York, where he found many supporters, including sixty members of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, the majority of the Yorkshire freeholders sided rather with the Parliament than with the King, and the latter fell into great straits, both for arms and money. In August, 1642, Charles advanced to Nottingham, and there erected his standard—an act which may be considered as the commencement of the great Civil War. The issue of the contest must, to careful observers, have appeared extremely doubtful. On the one hand, the sovereign was supported by the greater number of the old nobility and gentry, by pretty nearly all the members of the Church of England, by the Roman Catholics, and even by many persons who, though far from entertaining high notions of the prerogative, were

attached to the ancient constitution of England, and dreaded the opening of revolutionary floodgates. On the other hand, the Puritans, to a man, were on the side of Parliament; and the Puritans were a very numerous and important body in all the large towns. The great majority of Londoners were against the King; the wealth of the City was at the command of the malcontents; and the South of England generally was well disposed to the Parliamentary cause. The opposing forces, consequently, were rather evenly balanced; but the Roundheads, as they now came to be termed, could count the greater number of earnest and intellectual men; and where there is enthusiasm, combined with mental power, the chances of the future always lie rather with the attack than the defence. The mind of the country was profoundly agitated, and Milton was accustoming the English people to many daring speculations in politics and morals, by the publication of those prose treatises in producing which he lost his sight—overplied, as he himself tells us in one of his Sonnets, in the noble task of defending liberty.

The affairs of the Parliament were now managed by a Committee of Public Safety, and the command of its army, consisting of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, was entrusted to the Earl of Essex. The first action of the struggle took place at Edgehill, near Banbury, on the 23rd of October, 1642, while Charles was on his march to London. No great military talent was shown on either side; but Prince Rupert (a son of the unfortunate Elector Palatine by the Princess Elizabeth of England, and therefore nephew of the King) proved his possession of that chivalrous valour for which he afterwards became famous. Upon the whole, the Cavaliers had the best of the encounter, though not in any decisive degree. The King was able to pursue his march towards London, and Rupert even took Brentford, after a combat with the Roundheads. In the early part of 1643, the Royalist cause still continued to prosper, and the Puritans had great need of all their hopefulness. A rising of the Cornish men in favour of King Charles led to some brilliant successes; and when the illustrious Hampden was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, Oxfordshire, in which the Roundheads were defeated, many even of the Londoners began to clamour for an arrangement. Nevertheless, the tide was about to turn. Charles was forced to raise the siege of Gloucester, in August, 1643, and, although the subsequent fight near Newbury, in which Lord Falkland died, proved indecisive, the Parliamentary forces were gradually acquiring a firmness which enabled them, by the steady

handling of their pikes, to repel the fiery charges of Rupert's cavalry.

In truth, neither combatant was strong enough to overthrow the other, and accordingly each sought extraneous help. The Irish rebellion had been put down by the army under Lord Ormond, and its services were now transferred to the Royal cause in England. With these soldiers were allied large numbers of Irish Catholics, who were ordered to effect a landing in Argyleshire, in support of a

well-ordered forces. Independently of the Scots, three strong armies were prepared to cope with the Royalists. That of the West was commanded by Sir William Waller, that of the Centre by Lord Essex, that of the East by Lord Manchester. The last of these was directed to co-operate in Yorkshire with Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Scots, and it was not long ere the force achieved a brilliant and enduring reputation. One of Lord Manchester's lieutenants was a person of whom until then but



OLIVER CROMWELL. (From the Portrait by Robert Walker.)

rising of the Highlanders under Montrose. This resort to the aid of Papists gave dissatisfaction in England even to the Royalists, and it confirmed Pym in his determination to conclude an alliance with the dominant party at Edinburgh, even at the cost of consenting to an assimilation of the English Church system with the Presbyterianism of the North. The Commons swore to bring the three kingdoms to the nearest possible uniformity in religion, to extirpate Popery, prelacy, superstition, schism, and profaneness, and to preserve the liberties of the kingdom. Such was the Covenant of 1643, and it was the last work of Pym, who died shortly after. One of its consequences was that the Lowland Scots crossed the border towards the end of the year; and the Parliamentarians now found themselves in possession of powerful and

little had been heard, but who was destined, within a short time, to achieve the greatest reputation of any man in those disastrous days, and to become, in yet a few more years, the most conspicuous figure in the whole course of English history. Oliver Cromwell was the son of a country gentleman near Huntingdon, distantly related to the Thomas Cromwell of the reign of Henry VIII. At an early period of his life, he had adopted Puritanical principles, and, being elected to Parliament, took the popular as opposed to the Royalist side. As a speaker he was anything but effective, and his name is not very prominent in the history of the Parliamentary struggle. Still, he was known to be intelligent, active, and sincere; and on the breaking out of the Civil War he went down to Cambridge, where he raised a troop of cavalry which



THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR (From a Drawing by E. Crofts, A.R.A.)

did considerable service on the side of the rebellion. His coolness, unfailing resource, spirit, and love of discipline, which he maintained with an unsparing hand, soon pointed him out for promotion: in the army commanded by Lord Manchester, he was Lieutenant-General of the Horse. At this time he was nearly five-and-forty years of age; and it is seldom that a man, not beginning to be famous until the middle period of life, attains to such supreme power as that which was achieved by Cromwell within the compass of fourteen years.

The great conflict of Marston Moor, fought on the 1st of July, 1644, was preceded by the entire discomfiture of the Irish troops, who were cut to pieces in the south by Waller, and in Cheshire by Fairfax. In other directions, the King was remarkably successful; yet fortune was beginning to declare itself on the side of the Parliament, and Marston Moor was a terrible blow to the Royalists. In this signal victory, the principal credit was due to Cromwell, whose array of horse turned the tide of battle when it seemed going against the Roundheads. He had in fact created a body of troops who well deserved the title of "Ironsides" which they afterwards obtained. Persons of all ranks, and of some diversity of views, took service under his command, and he gave to them a character, not merely as soldiers but as men, which the enemy himself was forced to acknowledge. He insisted on the prevalence of a religious spirit amongst his soldiers, but was not unduly particular as to nice points of doctrine. He tolerated no drunkenness, indolence, or profane swearing, and established such an admirable discipline among his hosts, that, wherever they went, life, property, and honour were secure. After the battle of Marston Moor, Cromwell was generally recognised as the leading man of the time; but as yet he was not the chief commander. He was for conducting the war with unflinching vigour, entirely heedless of any political revolution to which it might conduct. Many of the other commanders were timid, and hesitated to adopt extreme measures against the King. Cromwell had the discernment to perceive that only extreme measures would succeed; and, although subsequent events proved the correctness of this opinion, it kept him back for a time.

Meanwhile, the war went on with varying success. In Scotland, the Highland clans under the Marquis of Montrose overcame the Covenanters, sacked Aberdeen, and caused Edinburgh to tremble for its safety. In England, the Parliamentary victory of Marston Moor, in July, was followed by that of Newbury in October. During the spring of 1645, the forces of the rebellion underwent a new

organisation. By the "Self-denying Ordinance," sanctioned by Parliament in that year, on the motion of Cromwell and Vane, it was declared that no one occupying a seat in Parliament was capable of holding military or civil offices. Essex, Manchester, and Waller, thereupon retired from their commands, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was placed at the head of the patriotic forces. The King obtained some further triumphs in the first half of 1645; but at the famous battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, on the 14th of June, the royal army was entirely routed. Here again it was mainly Cromwell's horse which brought about the victory. Five thousand men surrendered; the King, accompanied by only two thousand, fled panic-stricken into the Western counties; and the artillery, the baggage, and even the official papers of the Royalists, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The papers were of a most compromising nature. They proved that Charles was again intriguing with the Irish Catholics; and it soon afterwards appeared that he had entered into a treaty with those conspirators, in which he purchased their assistance by the concession of all their demands. Before the close of 1645, the royal cause had sunk to the lowest depths; even in the West of England, and the Highlands of Scotland, the patriotic party were in the ascendant; resistance was almost at an end; and men began to consider what they should set in place of the old order that had been destroyed.

Full of bitterness and despair, the King retired to Oxford, and, on the approach of Fairfax, took the resolution of placing himself in the hands of the Scottish army then besieging Newark. By the commanders of that army he was received with respect, but was put under guard as a prisoner. Negotiations were then opened with the English Parliament; but the conditions imposed by the latter were such as Charles refused to accept, and ultimately the Scots were induced, by the payment of a sum of money, to deliver him into the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners. He was conveyed to Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, from which, in June, 1647, he was taken by a military detachment, and carried to the headquarters at Reading. The Army and the Parliament were by this time at issue as to the fittest method of reconstructing the government of England. The Presbyterians were powerful in the House, while the Independents had the predominance in the Army. Cromwell was an Independent, and inclined to a more liberal and tolerant policy in religion than those of the other faction. The demands of the Army, as represented

by Fairfax, Cromwell, and Henry Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, were less vindictive than the requirements of the Parliament, and yet much more thorough in respect of political and religious reform. The situation was indeed extraordinary. The Parliament regarded the Army as almost in a state of rebellion against itself; the Army distrusted the Parliament; both thought they could make terms with the King; and both were hated by the fallen monarch. Charles was, in fact, secretly preparing for a renewal of the Civil War, and for an invasion of the Scots in his favour. Suddenly, in November, he made his escape from Hampton Court, where the negotiations had been carried on, and proceeded to the Isle of Wight, where, however, he was again arrested, and confined in Carisbrook Castle. The Royalists took heart once more, and insurrections against the rule of the Parliament broke out in several places. Twenty thousand Scots crossed the border, and, although Fairfax and Cromwell won some important victories in the west and east of England, matters began to look serious. The greatest danger proceeded from the inroad of the Scots; but it did not last long. Cromwell, who had been acting in Pembrokehire against the Welsh insurgents, pushed rapidly northwards, and, uniting with the force under Lambert, overthrew the invaders near Preston on the 18th of August, 1648. Again defeating the enemy at Wigan and Warrington, he hurried across the border, and, reaching Edinburgh, put an end to the Royalist insurrection which had for a time been successful in the Scottish capital.

The stay of Cromwell in Scotland was very brief. He was recalled to England by the growing power of the Presbyterian party, which was again intriguing with the King for an arrangement favourable to its own exclusive claims, and which was even inclined to advance charges of treason against Cromwell himself, though he had saved the Parliamentary cause from ruin. Charles, on the other hand, was opening negotiations for the arrival of an Irish force, and the future once more became dark and threatening. The Army desired a radical settlement of existing difficulties, and openly demanded that the King should be brought to trial for the injuries he had done the country. Soon afterwards, Charles was again seized by a troop of cavalry, and conveyed to Hurst Castle, while at the same time the troops of Fairfax marched on London, and surrounded the Houses of Parliament. The rupture between the Parliament and the Army was complete, and there could be little doubt as to which side would prevail.

The one was for making compromises with the King, which would never have been kept a day longer than there was power to enforce them; the other was for accepting the revolution that had been begun, and giving a fresh direction to the fortunes of England. Colonel Pride arrested forty members of the House of Commons; next morning, forty more were excluded; and the rest gave in their submission. Ultimately, all but the Independents were shut out, and it was then resolved that the King should be put upon his trial. There was of course no tribunal, known to the law or constitution of the country, which could try the monarch; but a Court, consisting of a hundred and fifty Commissioners, was appointed under the presidency of John Bradshaw, a lawyer of eminence, and of decidedly republican views. Charles, as was not unnatural or unreasonable, denied the competency of the Court (which met for the first time on the 20th of January, 1649), and refused to plead; but on the fifth day of the trial he was condemned to death, as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and an enemy of his country. The execution took place outside the Banqueting House at Whitehall on the 30th of January; and from that moment a reaction set in against the party which had brought about the catastrophe. It was new to the people of England to behold their King publicly executed upon what professed to be a judicial process; and the horror which the sight called forth, and which found expression in one deep groan of sympathy and dismay, was a singular manifestation of the transmitted feeling which still regarded the royal office as in some degree of divine origin.

The government of England was now administered by a Council of State, of which Cromwell was a principal member, while Bradshaw was the President. Five days after the King's death, the House of Lords was voted useless, and the era of the Commonwealth began in name, as well as in fact. Its continued existence, however, was very problematical, for a spirit of mutiny soon arose in the Army, and Cromwell found it necessary to take severe measures for its repression. In Ireland, moreover, the majority were hostile to the new state of things, and special efforts were required to reduce the island to obedience. Accordingly, Cromwell was appointed Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, and embarked with a large army in August, 1649. His proceedings were characterised by a rigour which cannot be defended, and for which the only excuse is to be found in the massacre of the Protestants eight years before, and the not unreasonable fear that, should the

Romanists gain the upper hand, the Protestants would be exterminated. Drogheda and Wexford were stormed, and subjected to a frightful slaughter; the other towns at once submitted, from terror of the consequences. In little more than nine months, the country was reduced to such order as the sword can secure; and Cromwell, leaving Ireton in command of the troops, returned to England, where he was received with exultation. Fresh troubles soon afterwards arose in Scotland, where Charles Stuart, the eldest son of the late King, had made his appearance, after a short and inglorious residence abroad. To suppress this new peril, Cromwell—now made Commander-in-Chief of all the Parliamentary forces—was sent into the North in the summer of 1650, and defeated the Scottish general, Leslie, on the 3rd of September, at Dunbar. The remainder of Scotland was reduced by the middle of 1651, and Charles then adopted the desperate resolution of entering England at the head of his armed adherents.

Cromwell was taken by surprise, but, with extraordinary celerity, he pursued the Royalists, overtook them near Worcester, and gained the most signal of his victories on the 3rd of September, 1651. Proceeding thence to London, he was met by the Parliament, the Council of State, and the Magistrates of the City, in association with whom he made a triumphal entry, such as his numerous services had undoubtedly merited. He now began to suggest that the affairs of the nation required a settlement which should include something of the monarchical form and spirit. A change of some kind was, indeed, manifestly desirable. The Long Parliament was still sitting, though it had been elected as far back as 1640; the machinery of government was lax and feeble, unless when taken in hand by Cromwell himself; and, although there may have been no serious degree of popular discontent, there was enough to afford a basis for Royalist attempts at reaction. For the present, however, no change was made in the governing body; but Scotland and Ireland were united with England as conquered countries. Such of the American settlements as declared for the Royal cause were obliged to submit, and in a little while no portion of the British Empire dared to dispute the authority of the Commonwealth. The finances of the administrative body were economically managed; the revenues of the Crown, and the lands of the Bishops, lightened taxation; and no period of national suffering followed the English Revolution, as it has followed many others.

A war with Holland, consequent on some disrespectful treatment of the English representative,

broke out in 1652; in the course of which the famous Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp, was opposed by the equally able, and equally heroic, English commander, Robert Blake. Upon the whole, perhaps, the Dutch had the advantage; but the injury to their trade and fisheries was so great that, in 1653, they opened negotiations for peace, which, however, was not immediately concluded. In the same year, Cromwell struck his celebrated blow of State by turning the members of the House of Commons out of doors, and thus bringing the Long Parliament to a close, after an existence of nearly thirteen years. By this violent act, accompanied by every aggravation of personal insult, Cromwell attained to absolute and undivided power, which in the first instance he exercised as the Captain-General of the Commonwealth. His next step was to bring together a certain number of Puritans, whom he styled a Parliament, and who, on the 12th of December, resigned all their power into the hands of the dictator. By a council of military officers, he was soon afterwards created Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, and solemnly installed in that dignity on the 16th of February, 1654. The Council of State next drew up what was called an Instrument of Government, and a Parliament was summoned on a new and much broader basis of representation. Four hundred members from England, thirty from Scotland, and an equal number from Ireland, formed the House of Commons, and the groundwork of the new Constitution was debated and carried, clause by clause. The Parliament, however, showed too free a spirit to satisfy the Protector; the old device of delaying money votes until grievances had been settled was again resorted to; the army remained unpaid, and manifested growing symptoms of discontent; the Royalists were once more on the alert; and in January, 1655, Cromwell dissolved his Parliament with words of bitter reproach. In the meanwhile, peace had been concluded with Holland in the early part of 1654; treaties were negotiated with Denmark and Portugal; and a close friendship was commenced with Sweden. England was governed with firmness and liberality, and foreign powers respected a rule which was apparently accepted by a large proportion of Englishmen.

Nevertheless, the arbitrary proceedings of Cromwell, after the dissolution of January, 1655, laid the foundations for a serious reaction in favour of the old monarchy. Many even of the former opponents of Charles I. began to desire the accession of Charles II. A few risings took place in the West, and, although they were speedily put down and sternly punished, Cromwell considered it

necessary to divide the country into military governments, each with a Major-General at its head. The Scottish Highlands were kept in order by General Monk, who, with the help of a strong army and a line of forts, established peace and good government among the half-civilised and turbulent clans. The Irish were held in subjection, first by Ireton, and after his death by Ludlow; but in this case the process was attended by terrible severities. By the sword, by famine, by transportation, and by expatriation, Ireland lost a large number of her people; but the deserted lands were replenished by English emigrants, acting under the general directions of Henry Cromwell, the younger son of the Protector, a man of great ability. In England, numerous administrative and legal reforms proved the extraordinary genius of Oliver, the fairness of his rule where he was not threatened with actual danger, and the large and liberal scope of his ideas, many of which fairly anticipated the reforms of modern times.

The fame of England abroad, which had fatally declined since the death of Elizabeth, rose to its greatest height under the rule of Cromwell. A war with Spain in 1655-6 was distinguished by the splendid successes of Blake in the Mediterranean, and by the conquest of Jamaica by Admiral Penn and General Venables. By a threat of hostilities, Cromwell compelled the Duke of Savoy to suspend his massacre of the Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont. His troops joined in the war which the French were waging against Flanders, and in 1658 Dunkirk was delivered to the English, as a reward for their services. Yet, notwithstanding all these brilliant achievements, Cromwell became gradually unpopular at home. His acts grew more and more arbitrary, while the title of Lord Protector had not the sanction of old usage and hereditary glory. For a time he debated whether he would assume the appellation of King; but the risk was too great, and the idea was ultimately abandoned, although the Parliament which had assembled in 1656 made him the offer by an immense majority. The constitution of this Parliament showed the increasing tendency of Cromwell to adopt the methods of arbitrary rule. The Scottish and Irish members were simply nominees of the Protectorate. Irregular influence was brought to bear to secure the return of members of the Council. All Catholics were excluded, together

with all Royalists who had fought for the King; and yet, after these extreme precautions, a fourth of the members actually returned were excluded from the House, on grounds of disaffection or irreligion. The despotic Major-Generals, however, were abolished, and a new House of Lords was created, which the ancient nobility proudly refused to enter. But nothing could stem the rising tide of unpopularity. Cromwell was threatened with assassination, and went about with armour under his clothes. New conspiracies were formed; several malcontents were executed; and Parliament was again dissolved, because of the inability of the two Houses to agree. In the midst of all these troubles, the health of the Protector gave way, and old age came suddenly upon him. The death of his favourite daughter, Mrs. Claypole, cast an additional gloom over his mind; the slow fever which had seized him grew rapidly worse; and on the 3rd of September, 1658—the anniversary of his great victories at Dunbar and Worcester—he passed away, in the midst of a violent storm of wind which levelled many trees and buildings.

The reality of the power which Oliver Cromwell had established is proved by the fact that on his death it passed quietly to his son Richard, according to the expressed desire of the great Protector. Richard retained his position until the 22nd of April, 1659; but his character was too easy, affable, and indolent, to be fitted for the crisis he was called upon to meet. Everything was in a state of disturbance. It was seen that the Commonwealth could hardly be maintained; yet, for the present, the Monarchy was not ready to take its place. Another Parliament was summoned and dissolved; the Long Parliament was recalled and driven out; the chief officers of the army were caballing for power; and at length General Monk opened communications with Charles (who was then at Breda, in Holland), placed an army at his disposal, and gradually brought about the Restoration. Charles sent addresses to the Houses of Lords and Commons, and to his subjects generally. On the 1st of May, 1660, the Parliament voted his restoration; on the 8th, he was proclaimed in London; on the 23rd, he embarked at the Hague; and the English capital was entered on the 29th. The Commonwealth was at an end, and the Stuarts were granted a fresh opportunity of acquiring the confidence of the nation, which, after all, they were destined never to obtain.



LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONQUESTS OF LOUIS XIV.

Beginning of the Reign of Louis XIV.—Regency of Anne of Austria—Unpopular Measures of Cardinal Mazarin—Opposition of the Parliament of Paris—The Civil War of the Fronde—Condé and Turenne in Arms against one another—Subsequent Alliance of the Two Commanders—Progress of the War, and Recovery of the Court Party—Suppression of the Revolt—The Parliament of Paris Curtailed of its Powers—War with Spain—Condé Allied with the Spaniards—Victories of Turenne—Co-operation of the English with the French—The Peace of the Pyrenees (1659)—Death of Cardinal Mazarin—Character of Louis XIV.—His Despotic Theories of Government—General Features of his Reign—Financial Reforms of Colbert—Alliance with the Dutch in their War with England—Disagreement between France and Spain on the Succession to the Netherlands—Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, against France—Rapid Successes of Louis XIV., and Conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668)—Subserviency of Charles II. of England to the French Court—War with Holland—Disturbed Condition of the United Provinces—De Witt and William of Orange—Gallant Resistance of the Dutch to the French Invasion—Successful Campaign of Turenne in Alsace—Operations of Condé on the Frontier of Hainault—Death of Marshal Turenne—Further Successes of the French—Alliance of the Prince of Orange with England—Surrender of Ghent and Ypres to the French—The Peace of Nimeguen (1678)—Popularity of Louis XIV.—His Persistent Encroachments—Brief Renewal of War—Opposition of Louis to the Extreme Claims of the Papacy—Intolerance towards the Protestants—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685)—Emigration of French Protestants into England and other Countries.

WHEN Louis XIV. succeeded to the throne of France, on the premature death of his father in 1643, Europe was still convulsed by the sanguinary conflicts of the Thirty Years' War. As the new

King was not yet five years old, the affairs of the country were administered by Anne of Austria, the widow of Louis XIII., with Cardinal Mazarin for her Prime Minister. The final years of the vast Continental struggle, which were distinguished by some brilliant military exploits on the part of the French armies, have been traced in a previous Chapter, and we may therefore pass on to the events which succeeded the Peace of Westphalia in 1648,

the imposition of a duty on articles of merchandise brought for sale into the capital; and this tax created the utmost dissatisfaction among all classes of the people. The Parliament of Paris refused to register the edict by which it was established; and in May, 1648, the four sovereign courts into which that body was divided, formed themselves into a deliberative assembly in a single chamber, for a general examination of public affairs. The Govern-



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when the French Monarchy received a large territorial accession, and enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the House of Austria materially reduced in power. Mazarin was a man of lower genius than Richelieu, though his Italian subtlety enabled him to rule with considerable adroitness. The great French Cardinal had almost concealed his despotism under the prosperity he conferred on the land, and the settled order he substituted for the anarchy of earlier days. This favourable condition survived the death of Richelieu some years; but, in time, the prodigality of Mazarin's government involved the State in financial difficulties, and led to serious complications. The expenses of the wars which preceded the peace of 1648 necessitated

ment forbade these proceedings; but the assembly continued to meet in defiance of the Crown, and actually wrung some concessions from Anne of Austria, whose despotic inclinations were doubtless moderated by the knowledge of what was at that time occurring in England. Nevertheless, the Parliament declined to discontinue its sittings, and the Queen-Regent then ventured on the imprudent step of arresting some principal members of the opposition. A revolutionary outbreak was the consequence.

Such was the commencement of the domestic conflict which is known as the Civil War of the Fronde—a word derived from a nickname applied to the street-boys of Paris, who used to fight with

slings (*fronde*) and stones. One of the persons arrested was an old councillor named Broussel, whose release the Parisians demanded with violent menaces. Cardinal de Retz, being unable, in a personal interview with the Queen, to obtain any promises of redress, put himself at the head of the insurrection, which, notwithstanding occasional arrangements of a temporary nature, continued until 1652. Mazarin was the person chiefly aimed at; but the numerous foreigners whom he and Anne of Austria placed in positions of command, and who excluded the native nobility, shared in the general odium. At length, the insubordination of the Parisians became so great that, on the 6th of January, 1649, the Court retired secretly to St. Germain, and prepared for military resistance on a large scale. The forces of the Queen-Regent were commanded by the Prince of Condé—the great general who, in the latter days of the Thirty Years' War, had achieved so brilliant a reputation, first as the Duke d'Enghien, and afterwards by the higher title to which he succeeded on the death of his father. Condé, who owed his advancement to Richelieu, had at first been disposed to favour the Frondeurs, owing to his dislike of Mazarin; but the violence of the populace drove him over to the other side. The leader of the Parliamentary levies was the Prince of Conti, brother of Condé, but a much inferior man. The insurgents were severely handled in an engagement at Charenton on the 8th of February; but matters assumed a different complexion when Marshal Turenne deserted the Court party for the Fronde, and when the latter received promises of help from the Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. Still, nothing decisive was accomplished on either part, and a pacification was on the point of being effected, when the arrogance of Condé caused matters to enter on a new phase.

Exasperated by the insatiable demands and offensive bearing of the Prince, Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin came to an understanding with some of the original leaders of the Fronde, and, on the 8th of January, 1650, arrested Condé, Conti, and the Duke of Longueville, the brother-in-law of the former. The consequence of this imprudent step was that civil war spread over a large part of France. Turenne now appeared in arms on behalf of Condé, and the cause was further strengthened by the forces of the Archduke Leopold. Several fortified towns were taken, but the allies were ultimately defeated by the adherents of Mazarin, who obtained an important success at Rhétel on the 15th of December, 1650. Turenne lost half his army, and fled into Lorraine;

the insurrection languished; and Mazarin, who had been with the army, though not in actual command, returned in triumph to Paris. The temper of the citizens, however, was not broken. The Parliament, supported by de Retz and the Duke of Orleans, demanded the release of the imprisoned princes with such alarming menaces that the Prime Minister, leaving Paris in terror on the night of February 8th, 1651, proceeded to Havre, and told Condé and his companions that they were free. Mazarin then retired into the Electorate of Cologne, but continued, even from that distance, to direct the policy of the Queen-Regent's administration. Condé at once started for Paris, where he found himself unable to make head against the numerous factions, all equally selfish, by which the metropolis was distracted. He was bribed by being appointed to the government of Guienne, but used his power for raising an army, with which he renewed the civil war. The contest, which had begun as a popular movement for the redress of grievances, was now nothing more than a struggle of the princes and great lords for predominance. Turenne had returned to the interests of the Court, and the two greatest French generals of the age were arrayed in opposition to each other.

Having raised a body of mercenaries, Mazarin returned to France in December, 1651, and joined the Court at Poitiers. The war was now conducted on a larger scale than before; for Condé and Turenne, each at the head of a large army, were tremendous antagonists, and the balance of advantages frequently changed. In the summer of 1652, Condé, who had been rapidly making his way towards Paris, despite the opposition of his brilliant adversary, gained the capital by the beginning of July, and on the 2nd of that month fought a desperate action in the Faubourg St. Antoine, in which, after being nearly defeated by Turenne, he was ultimately successful. For a short time, Condé was master of Paris; but a reaction presently set in, and the citizens expressed a desire for the return of the royal family, who had retired to Pontoise. Louis XIV. had in the previous year been declared of age, though he was then only thirteen; and in October, 1652, he re-entered Paris, accompanied by his mother and the principal courtiers, and escorted by Turenne. Condé had quitted the city a few days before, when, hurrying towards the eastern frontiers, he joined the Spanish army under the Duke of Lorraine. In 1654, during his absence, he was tried by the Parliament on a charge of treason, and sentenced to death. Despite this complaisance to the wishes

of royalty, the Parliament was in 1655 strictly forbidden to concern itself with affairs of State, or matters of finance—a liberty which it had claimed and exercised from an early period, and with which it occasionally varied its more ordinary judicial duties. Thus, the chief result of the civil war was to limit still more the very slight amount of freedom remaining to the French people. The influence of Mazarin became greater than ever on his return to Paris in February, 1653, and the youthful Louis was educated in the highest principles of despotism. The aristocracy had united with more popular bodies to restrain the power of the Crown; but both had failed, nor was it likely, with such divergent interests, that either would succeed.

Although, by the agreement of Westphalia, France had made peace with the Empire, the war with Spain continued, and now demanded the earnest attention of Mazarin. During the recent troubles, the campaigns had been so feebly conducted as to occasion some grave misfortunes to the French; and these did not immediately cease. Picardy was invaded, in the summer of 1653, by a Spanish army under the command of Condé, who, inflamed by the desire of revenge, did not scruple to turn his sword against his own country. Turenne, however, out-generalled him, forced his legions to retreat into Flanders, and for a time frustrated all his projects. In the following year, Arras was besieged by Condé, but saved by Turenne, who broke through his opponent's lines, and compelled him to withdraw. The two great antagonists continued their operations with varying fortunes throughout 1655; but, in 1656, the co-operation of the English forces sent by Cromwell, in accordance with the treaty of alliance which the Protector had concluded with France, enabled Marshal Turenne to capture three important fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands. Mazarin, Catholic though he was, had no objection to the assistance of a heretic army; and Cromwell, despite the intensity of his Protestant feeling, thought the opportunity a good one for striking a blow at Spain, the ancient enemy of England, and the systematic supporter of Romanist intolerance. The ruler of the English Commonwealth, however, was unaware that Spain was no longer the great Power it had been. Protestantism had more to dread from the rising strength of France, which had already crushed the Huguenots, than from the declining resources of Spain. The political sagacity of the Protector seems to have failed him in this respect, and Mazarin had the best of a bargain which it would have been wiser not to conclude at all.

The capture of Dunkirk, in June, 1658, was materially aided by the Puritan soldiers of Cromwell, whose steady yet enthusiastic valour won the admiration of Turenne. The city was made over to the English, and the French commander, having captured Gravelines, continued his victorious career until he was within two days' march of Brussels. These repeated calamities induced Spain to propose terms of peace, which was concluded on the 7th of November, 1659. The terms were of course very advantageous to France, which thus acquired, in the Spanish Netherlands, the territory of Artois, together with several important cities and fortresses, and, in Spain itself, Roussillon and Cerdagne, which had indeed been already secured by the spirited policy of Richelieu, but which were now formally ceded to France in full possession. Lorraine was left in a somewhat ambiguous position, for, while nominally restored to its former Duke, it remained in fact a dependency of the French Crown. Such were the main provisions of what is called the Peace of the Pyrenees, the negotiation of which was conducted on the small Isle of Pheasants, in the channel of the Bidassoa, a stream which divides France from Spain. It was also agreed that Louis should marry the Infanta Maria Theresa, and the ceremony took place at St. Jean de Luz on the 9th of June, 1660. During the discussion of the treaty, Spain successfully contended for the pardon of Condé, whom, in the event of a refusal, she threatened to establish as an independent ruler in Flanders. The prince was accordingly restored to the favour of his sovereign, and once more rendered military services to France. As Condé belonged to a branch of the Bourbon family, Louis XIV. was probably not disposed to excessive severity; yet his treason was a fact very difficult to forget or forgive.

A previous humiliation of Spain had been followed very rapidly by the death of Cardinal Richelieu, who effected it. That of 1659 was succeeded by the death of Cardinal Mazarin, whose health broke down immediately after the conclusion of the peace. Finding that his end was near, he removed to the Château of Vincennes, and employed his last days in drawing up a code of instructions for the young King, and in recommending to him those ministers whom he considered best fitted to carry on the government. His death occurred on the 8th of March, 1661, at the age of fifty-nine. Mazarin was not the equal of Richelieu; but he was a man of remarkable capacity, who, notwithstanding several mistakes, restored internal peace to France, enlarged her boundaries, and promoted her fame among the military Powers of Europe.

Deprived of his experienced adviser, Louis XIV. determined to place himself no longer in the hands of one man, but to be his own First Minister, and the actual, as well as nominal, head of the State. All the members of the Government were to take their instructions directly from himself, and he afterwards summed up his ideas of the kingly office in the celebrated phrase, "L'Etat c'est moi" ("I am the State"). The task he had undertaken was one of tremendous weight and responsibility; but he was not unfitted for its assumption. Although his education had been much neglected, Louis possessed no inconsiderable abilities. He had discernment in the conduct of affairs, was resolute in carrying out any design on which he had fixed, and worked at the business of the State with the drudging pertinacity of a clerk. Eight hours a day were given to political duties; the rest of his time was devoted to the ornamental and ceremonious surroundings of the regal position. The rule which he established was an unmitigated despotism; but he may have been sincerely convinced that such a form of government was best suited to the character of the nation, and it cannot be denied that, bad as was his administration in many respects, and much as it conduced to the terrible disruption of a century later, it ensured for a time the prosperity and grandeur of France. So persuaded was Louis of the excellence of his own theories, that, in some written instructions to his eldest son, composed several years later, he set them down with all the emphasis of indisputable truth. "You must be convinced," he wrote, "that kings are absolute lords, and have the full and entire disposal of all property, whether in the possession of the clergy or of laymen, and may use it at all times as wise economists. Likewise, the lives of their subjects are their own property, and they ought to be careful and sparing of them. He who has given kings to men, has ordered them to be respected as His lieutenants, reserving to Himself alone the right of examining their conduct. It is His will that whoever is born a subject should obey, without discrimination or reservation. The essential defect of the monarchy of England is, that the prince cannot raise men or money without the Parliament, nor keep the Parliament assembled without lessening thereby his own authority." No worse political maxims could have been instilled into the mind of a young prince; but, for the moment, they seemed warranted by results, and France entered smilingly on a career which was to precipitate her into a fiery gulf of revolution.

The long reign of Louis XIV., reaching to the year 1715, and therefore comprising a period of

seventy-two years, was distinguished by an extraordinary development of French genius, in arms, arts, literature, and statecraft. This is always described as the Augustan Age of France, and, notwithstanding the misfortunes which attended the latter years of his reign, the era of Louis XIV. is still regarded with a just pride by many Frenchmen, even among those who detest the principles it embodied. It was then that the French language became the power which it has ever since remained; it was then that French literature acquired those qualities of wit, brilliance, polish, and urbane humanity, which for many generations formed the standard of intellectual expression throughout the whole of Western Europe. The French Monarchy, long overshadowed by Austria and Spain, now occupied the highest rank, while the armies of France were led by generals worthy of their enterprise and courage. But there were shadows to the brightness of this picture. The wealth of the country was squandered in unnecessary wars; the population was reduced by a reckless expenditure of blood; the poor suffered, while the wealthy revelled in ostentatious luxury; and the immorality of the Court offered a bad example to the humbler orders. The King was much influenced by his successive mistresses, the Duchess de la Vallière, Madame de Montespan, and Madame Scarron, afterwards the Marchioness de Maintenon; and although their advice may sometimes have been good, the precedent was an evil one for the political fortunes and social life of the country.

For some time before the death of Mazarin, the public finances had been shamefully misappropriated by the head of that department, Nicholas Fouquet; and one of the first acts of Louis, after taking the conduct of affairs into his own hands, was to cause the arrest of that faithless minister, who, after a long delay, was tried in 1664, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was succeeded in his office by the celebrated Jean Baptiste Colbert, who also directed the departments of commerce, agriculture, and public works. The financial genius of Colbert was equal to that of Sully, and he added immensely to the revenues of the State by his vigilant superintendence and strict administration. The wealth thus conferred on Louis XIV. enabled him to pursue his ambitious projects with ease and security. Spain was humiliated in the person of her ambassadors, and even the Pope was compelled to make an abject apology for an insult offered by some of his Corsican guards to the French representative at Rome. War having broken out between England and Holland in 1665, in consequence of disputes about the trade in gold-dust

and slaves on the coast of Guinea, Louis concluded an alliance with the Dutch, and declared war against Charles II. in January, 1666. Previously to that year, he had been on friendly terms with the English monarch, whose necessities had induced him, in 1662, to sell the town of Dunkirk to France for £500,000. But Louis, although he disliked the Dutch as a nation of republicans and merchants, did not care to offend a commonwealth which was powerful at sea, and capable of sustained efforts even on the land. Six thousand French troops were sent into the United Provinces; but their services were not needed, for the Dutch navy sailed into the Thames and the Medway, and struck such terror into the English Government that peace was concluded at Breda on the 31st of July, 1667.

During the progress of this war, Philip IV. of Spain had expired on the 17th of September, 1665, leaving his immense dominions to his son, Charles II. Louis XIV., always eager for any opportunity to enlarge his own possessions, laid claim to the Spanish Netherlands, on the ground that, according to a well-known law, the daughters of a first marriage inherited, in preference to the male issue of a second marriage. Philip IV. had been married twice, and Maria Theresa, the consort of Louis, was the offspring of the earlier union, while Charles II. was the child of the later. The Spaniards contended that the alleged mode of devolution was founded merely on custom, and could not be opposed to the fundamental laws of Spain, which maintained the indivisibility of the kingdom. To the Spanish argument that the usage in question applied to the transfer of private estates, and not to the dominions of the Crown, Louis replied that the Netherlands were in truth the family property of the Spanish princes—a contention which undoubtedly derived some force from the fact that they had been acquired by marriage, and not by conquest; and when it was urged that the French Queen was precluded from advancing any such claim by the act of renunciation which she had executed at her marriage, Louis rejoined that this renunciation depended on the dowry of Maria Theresa, the non-payment of which had rendered the stipulation null and void. Such were the subtleties by which, in those days, a war of ambition was justified; but they would probably have been considered sufficient by Spain herself, had the quarrel been reversed.

To some of the contemporary Powers, the proceeding appeared inequitable, or at least dangerous; and Sir William Temple, the English Ambassador at the Hague, effected a triple alliance between

England, Holland, and Sweden. The date of this alliance was January 23rd, 1668, and the understanding established a preliminary defensive league, with a further agreement for armed mediation between France and Spain, in view of the general interests of Europe. Before the conclusion of the treaty, the French army under Turenne had overrun the greater part of Flanders, and Louis had concluded a truce for three months. The French King, however, was aware of the negotiations, and, before receiving any official intimation of what had been accomplished, he despatched the Prince of Condé with an army of 20,000 men into Franche-Comté, and, in a campaign of fifteen days during the depth of winter, obtained possession of the whole province. He was now in a favourable position to consider terms of peace, and a treaty was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 2nd of May, 1668. All the French conquests in Flanders were retained by Louis; but Franche-Comté, after the destruction of its principal fortresses, was restored to Spain. The other Spanish dominions in that part of Europe were guaranteed by the three parties to the Triple Alliance, by the Emperor, and by the other German Powers.

The results of the war would doubtless have been more substantial than they were, but for the interposition of England, Holland, and Sweden. The anger of Louis was chiefly directed against the second of those States, and he determined to attack the seven United Provinces as soon as he could make the necessary arrangements. By liberal gifts of money, he detached Charles II. of England from the alliance; for the restored sovereign of Great Britain was endeavouring to renew the fatal attempt of his father, and, rather than be indebted to a Parliament which he hated and feared, was willing to become the pensioner of a foreign monarch. A treaty was arranged in the spring of 1670, by which Charles engaged to abandon his allies, to furnish a contingent of 6,000 men, and a fleet of fifty vessels, in aid of the French designs, to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and to enforce it throughout his dominions. In consideration of these promises, he was to receive an annual payment of £120,000 during the war, together with a share of the territory which the confederates hoped to conquer; and Louis covenanted to assist him with men and money, in case of a rebellion of his subjects. Encouraged by the evil example of England, the Swedes also renounced the Triple Alliance; several princes of the Empire adopted the same line of conduct; and the war with Holland commenced in April, 1672. The Rhine was passed by the

French armies on the 12th of June, when Condé was wounded. Four provinces were speedily conquered, for the Republic was in no position to offer an effective defence. The fleet, commanded by de Ruyter, a worthy successor of Van Tromp, was indeed extremely powerful; but the war was conducted on land, and the Dutch army was at first not strong enough, either in numbers or organisation,

on the French invasion of Holland, he was appointed to the command of the Dutch army. William was at that time only twenty-two years of age, and, as we have said, the forces at his disposal were small and inefficient. He was unable to oppose the French passage of the Rhine; he abandoned his position on the Yssel, and retreated into the interior of Holland. The French appeared



THE DUTCH IN THE MEDWAY: DE RUYTER'S ATTACK ON UPNOR CASTLE.

to contend with the hosts of France, led by the finest generals of the age.

The State, moreover, was distracted by internal dissensions. An influential party in the Republic, headed by John de Witt, was opposed to the predominance of the House of Orange, and desirous of abolishing the office of Stadtholder, with a view to the establishment of a more distinctly republican, but at the same time more aristocratic, form of government. De Witt leaned to the side of France; but the faction which he represented was unable to make permanent head against the power of the Orange family. Prince William, afterwards William III. of England, was in 1672 elected to the Stadtholdership—an office which had been in abeyance since the death of William's father in 1650:

within four leagues of Amsterdam, and the prospects of the Republic seemed so desperate that it was even proposed to put the population on board ships of war, and transport them to the East Indies. De Witt, who occupied the position of Grand Pensionary (that is, official Secretary for the province of Holland, the principal of the confederated States), and who for several years had conducted the foreign affairs of his country, sent a deputation to Louis, to treat for peace; but the conditions proposed by the conqueror were so extreme, that a furious rising of the populace ended in the assassination of John de Witt, and of his brother Cornelius, on the 20th of August, 1672.

Thus left in the position of dictator, William of Orange devoted all his genius and pertinacity to

the national defence. He soon proved himself a worthy follower of William the Silent, and the invaders found that they had to deal with a man of stern resolution and unfailing resource. For the protection of Amsterdam, William ordered that the dykes should be opened; and the French were arrested in their progress by an enemy with which they were unable to cope. The Stadtholder

Comté, which, in May, 1674, was again invaded by the King of France in person, and reduced to submission by the end of June. At the same time, Turenne opposed the Imperialists in Alsace, which he rapidly cleared of the enemy. Passing thence into the Palatinate, he ravaged that country in unsparing fashion; but the Imperialists rallied soon after, entered Alsace, and gained possession of



CHATHAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

formed an alliance with the elector of Brandenburg; the Emperor Leopold, the Imperial States, and the King of Spain, gave in their adhesion to the cause; and in 1674 the English Parliament obliged Charles II. to make peace with the Republic, by refusing to grant supplies on any other condition. Aided by an army of 40,000 Germans, led by Marshal Monteculi, the Prince of Orange proceeded from one success to another, baffled all the devices of Turenne, acquired the command of the Rhine, and drove back the forces of Louis beyond the frontiers. The towns of Grave and Maestricht were retained by the French; but otherwise Holland was free from the assailants who, some two years before, seemed on the point of destroying its independence for ever. The theatre of war shifted to Franche-

Strasburg. With invincible energy, Turenne speedily confronted them in their new positions, obtained two victories over superior numbers, compelled his adversary to withdraw from Strasburg, and, after executing a difficult march over the Vosges Mountains in the depth of winter, fell suddenly on the flank of the retreating Germans, who had no suspicion of his approach, routed them in three important battles, and forced them to repass the Rhine on the 11th of January, 1675. Never had the genius of Turenne been seen to such advantage, and, on his return to Paris, he was received with boundless enthusiasm, as the most consummate general of his age. But his achievements were nearly equalled by those of Condé, who, with an army of 35,000 men, stationed on the frontier

of Hainault, was operating against the Imperialist and Dutch forces under the Prince of Orange. A desperate and prolonged battle was fought at the village of Seneffe on the 11th of August, 1674, with no other result than a tremendous slaughter on both sides. On this occasion, William of Orange exhibited amazing coolness, promptitude, and ability, and thus saved his army from a disaster which for a time seemed imminent. At the close of the campaign, the balance of advantages was slightly in favour of the allies; but, on the whole, Condé maintained his position, though with numbers scarcely equal to the task.

The campaign of 1675 was signalised by the great battle of Sasbach, on the Upper Rhine, fought on the 27th of July—an occasion memorable for the death of Turenne, who was killed by a spent cannon-ball at the very commencement of the action. The French troops were so much dismayed by this irreparable misfortune that the Marshal's successor found it necessary to retreat, and to recross the Rhine into Alsace. Condé was then appointed to the chief command, and by his vigorous measures checked the further progress of the enemy. This, however, was Condé's last campaign. He was now old and infirm, and, quitting the army, he retired into private life, and died at Chantilly in 1686. At sea, Admiral Duquesne thrice defeated the Dutch fleet in the Mediterranean; and in one of these actions, fought in the early part of 1676, the Dutch lost their gallant seaman, de Ruyter. The war continued with varying success throughout the year 1677; fresh generals of signal ability arose to take the place of Turenne and Condé; and although the Prince of Orange struggled with unremitting heroism, and often with great military skill, against his antagonists, the allies were baffled in most of their designs, and reduced to a condition which threatened ruin to the less powerful States. Under the mediation of Sweden, a Congress had been opened at Nimeguen in 1675, and the Prince of Orange experienced the utmost difficulty in preventing his countrymen from agreeing to a separate peace. He hoped to obtain the co-operation of England, and in this design he was ultimately successful; but he had great obstacles to overcome, for, in consideration of further money payments, Charles II. had engaged to enter into no alliance without the consent of France. The English people, however, were as strongly opposed as ever to any understanding with a Romanist against a Protestant Power. The Puritan feeling was still powerful in the nation, even amongst those not included in the Puritan body; and it was felt that

the dearest interests of England were intimately concerned in the resistance of Holland to the designs of France.

This sentiment was faithfully reflected in Parliament, and the King was at length obliged to signify his willingness for war. The Prince of Orange visited England in 1677, where he espoused the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Before the close of the year, a treaty of alliance had been signed at the Hague between England and the United Provinces; but it soon appeared that Charles was not earnest in his support of the Dutch, and in the meanwhile Louis had obtained some further successes in the Netherlands, where, in the spring of 1678, Ghent and Ypres surrendered to his arms. The Dutch ministers now found it absolutely necessary to make peace with the victor, though William himself still desired to prolong the contest. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Nimeguen on the 11th of August, 1678, by which France and Holland agreed to a cessation of hostilities. Spain acceded to the peace on the 17th of September; the Emperor Leopold, not until the 5th of February, 1679. The terms granted to Holland were remarkably easy. In consideration of a promise of neutrality, Louis restored to the Dutch the city of Maestricht, and granted them a commercial treaty, in which all the old relations were re-established. Spain, on the other hand, had to pay a heavy price for the pacification which she needed. She surrendered to France the whole of Franche-Comté, together with twelve fortresses on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and the surrounding territory. In this way, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ypres, and St. Omer, became portions of the French monarchy, and the strength of the eastern frontiers was largely augmented by these valuable additions to the strongholds of France. By the agreement with the Empire, Louis retained Freiburg, in exchange for the right of keeping a garrison in Philipsburg granted to her at the Peace of Westphalia, thirty years before. Sweden, which, in accordance with the secret articles of her alliance, had assisted the cause of France in 1674-5, was placed in a position of some difficulty. The Swedes had been completely defeated by the Elector of Brandenburg, and, as a punishment for their interference, had been stripped of the larger part of their possessions in the Empire. Louis, however, made it a point of honour not to desert his ally; and his interposition secured for the northern kingdom much more favourable terms than it would otherwise have obtained.

During the progress of these wars, Louis XIV.

had frequently appeared in person at the head of his armies, and had seemed to gain victories which were in truth attributable to the genius of his commanders. On his return to France, he received from the flattery of the Parisians the title of Louis the Great, and two triumphal arches, called the *Porte St. Martin* and the *Porte St. Denis*, were erected in his honour. His popularity was unbounded, and his vanity must have been vast indeed if it was not satisfied with the adulation perpetually offered up by wits, poets, and historians. In all foreign lands, his name was dreaded as that of a monarch whose displeasure was deadly, and whose armies were invincible. Perhaps it is not surprising that, after such brilliant successes, his appetite for extended territory should have increased with each succeeding year. If he did not aim at universal dominion, he at least desired a dominion which should surpass those of other European princes; and he devised a method by which he might add to his possessions without the cost of war. The towns and districts recently ceded to France were to be accompanied, according to the treaties, by the dependencies belonging to them. In several instances, it was doubtful what these dependencies were, and Louis therefore instituted certain courts, which he called *Chambers of Reunion*. The result was that twenty towns, not specifically mentioned in the agreement of *Nimeguen*, were added to the French dominions. With respect to *Alsace*, he claimed the absolute sovereignty of the whole province, and obliged the States included in it to do him fealty and homage, notwithstanding certain reservations in the treaty with the Empire. A French army under de *Louvois* appeared before *Strasburg* in September, 1681, and compelled an immediate surrender. The French King entered that city in state on the 23rd of October, and the great military engineer, *Vauban*, surrounded it with fortifications which were long deemed impregnable. *Strasburg* remained one of the possessions of France until the war of 1870-1; but it is now once more a German city, peopled by a race which is curiously compounded of the two nationalities. In the Netherlands, the French took possession of *Courtrai*, *Dixmude*, and *Luxemburg*, together with other cities; but, however much these acquisitions may have flattered the self-love of Louis, they raised against him a feeling of the deepest anger on the part of those whom he had despoiled.

The Imperial Diet protested against the annexations of France; but its representations were disregarded, and the Powers concerned were left to take their own measures of redress. William of

Orange saw in the general discontent an opportunity for reviving the combination of earlier years, and, on his initiative, a fresh league was organised, of which the members were Holland, Sweden, Spain, and the Empire. The Diet of *Ratisbon*, in 1681, deliberated on the means of creating an Imperial army for enforcing the provisions of the recent treaties. But the members of the Germanic body were not unanimous; the exhaustion of the war had left them with few resources for a second; and troubles in the south-east, where the Turks were again threatening the frontiers of Christendom, rendered it all the more difficult to engage in another contest with the formidable armies of France. Louis took advantage of these circumstances, and, having first demanded *Alost* and other places in Belgium from the Spanish monarch, threw a body of troops, under Marshal *Créqui*, into the province of *Luxemburg*. This was in March, 1682; but it was not until the autumn of 1683 that active operations were commenced. The Spanish Government then declared war against France, but took no measures to enforce its authority. Louis seized all the places which he claimed, and, in August, 1684, a twenty years' truce was concluded at *Ratisbon* between France, Spain, and the Empire.

While thus continually engaged with foreign affairs and warlike operations, Louis was not unmindful of matters more immediately affecting the condition of his realm. The most important of these was religion. Although not a devotee until the latter years of his life, the French King was probably a sincere son of the Church; yet he was as strongly opposed to the encroachments of the Papacy as any of his predecessors. From time to time, several disputes arose between him and the sovereign Pontiff, and this was especially the case when two of the French Bishops claimed to be exempt from the regal authority, and applied to *Innocent XI.* for protection. The Pope addressed the French monarch in favour of the prelates; but Louis convoked an assemblage of the French clergy in 1682, and caused them to draw up four propositions (the composition of the celebrated *Bossuet*), establishing on yet firmer grounds the liberties of the Gallican Church. It was here asserted that the power of the Pope extends only to things spiritual, and is not concerned with temporal matters; that his authority in spiritual affairs is subordinate to a General Council; that it is limited by the canons, the constitution of the kingdom, and the usages of the Gallican Church; and that even in matters of faith the Pope's authority is not infallible. These propositions may

have seemed startling to the ill-informed; but they were quite in harmony with the prescriptive tone of French opinion with respect to the relations between Church and State. Even Louis IX. resisted unwarrantable assumptions, and Gallican freedom was triumphantly asserted at the Council of Constance. Innocent XI. censured the proceedings of the clerical assembly of 1682, and caused the four propositions to be publicly burned at Rome. For eleven years, a serious division existed between the Pontiff and a portion of the French Church; but a compromise was arranged in 1693, under the Pontificate of Innocent XII.

The French Protestants, however, had nothing to hope from this spirit of independence. Louis hated them, not merely as theologians, but as men who had at one time threatened, and almost destroyed, the unity of France and the supremacy of the Crown. He was also much under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, whom, after the death of Maria Theresa, in 1683, he privately married, and whose religious feelings were those of a bigot. This lady was constantly representing to the King the duty of forcing the Huguenots to conform, or compelling them to quit the kingdom. Colbert, the great Minister of Finance, protected the Calvinists to the utmost of his power; but Louis had many councillors about him who supported the representations of Madame de Maintenon. Attempts were therefore made to break down the convictions of the Protestants by that species of persuasion which makes no concealment that it has resistless force in the background; and when these endeavours failed, measures of coercion were at once adopted. The Protestant courts in the Parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble, were abolished; several of the reformed places of worship were shut up; the Huguenots were denied many of the elementary rights of citizenship; and, to give the utmost encouragement to conversions, it was declared that the children of heretics might choose for themselves, at seven years of age, what religion they would adopt. Rather than submit to such oppressions, the Protestants of Languedoc—always the cradle of religious independence—rose in defiance of the King's decrees, and were hunted down by squadrons of dragoons, directed by the Minister Louvois. These "dragonnades," as they were termed, enjoy an infamous notoriety in the annals of France, for the unrelenting cruelty with which they were carried out. They were not without their effect. Thousands of the wretched Calvinists in the south of France made an insincere profession of Romanism, from terror of the persecution; and Madame de

Maintenon rejoiced greatly over the results of her crusade.

The treatment of the Protestants was the more atrocious as they had for several years abandoned their former attitude of rebellion, and had settled down into orderly and industrious citizens, remarkable amongst all the French populations for devotion to the useful arts. Louis, however, would be satisfied with nothing less than the entire suppression of Protestantism throughout his dominions. Even the persecutions of Louvois were not sufficient, and it was resolved to abolish every tittle of the tolerant legislation which had distinguished earlier times. The celebrated Edict of Nantes, promulgated by Henry IV. in 1598, had placed the French Protestants in a very favourable position before the law; but Louis determined that it should no longer exist. The celebrated Revocation of this Edict was dated October 17th, 1685, and the exercise of the Protestant religion in France was now absolutely prohibited, except in Alsace. All Protestant places of worship were to be destroyed; the ministers were to quit France within fifteen days; and the reformers were forbidden, under pain of confiscation and condemnation to the galleys, to follow their pastors into exile. Their children were thenceforth to be baptised by Catholic priests, and educated as members of the Romish Church; and a large body of inoffensive men and women were thus handed over to the indiscriminating rage of fanaticism. The publication of the original Edict had greatly offended Pope Clement VIII., who declared that a decree which sanctioned liberty of conscience was the most accursed that had ever been known. Its abrogation was honoured by the special approval of the reigning Pontiff, Innocent XI.

A savage persecution followed, and the emigration from France into various Protestant lands was so great that, only a few years after the Revocation, Vauban computed that the country had lost 100,000 inhabitants, 60,000,000 of money, 9,000 sailors, 12,000 tried soldiers, 600 officers, and its most flourishing manufactures. At a somewhat later period, the total number of emigrants appears to have amounted to between three and four hundred thousand; and to these must be added many more, who perished in prison, on the scaffold, at the galleys, and in their attempts to escape. Whole villages were depopulated, and many towns half abandoned by their customary inhabitants. Large numbers of the fugitives settled in England, where they gave a fresh impetus to manufacturing skill; others went to Germany, Holland, and Switzerland: the loss of

France proved the gain of many neighbouring lands. Several French authors of great distinction, including Bayle, the philosophical writer, and Rapin, the historian, quitted France, rather than violate their consciences by remaining; but it was from the industrial classes that the exodus mainly proceeded, and it is generally believed that France has never recovered from the injuries thus inflicted on the national prosperity. This voluntary expatriation was against the terms of the royal decree; and it is difficult not to believe that the authorities connived at the escape of those whom they may have felt it dangerous to retain.

Intelligence of these facts kindled a flame of indignation in all the Protestant countries of Europe. Frederick William, the Elector of Brandenburg, even went so far as to retaliate, by publishing an Edict against his Catholic subjects—an act of questionable policy, and of manifest injustice. In a more commendable spirit, he granted peculiar privileges to the French emigrants who entered his dominions, supplied them with money to open manufactories, and assisted them in the erection of schools, churches, and other neces-

sary buildings. Sweden, which had but recently been the ally of France, gave warm expression to its feelings of horror and reprobation, and in the spring of 1686 a secret treaty was concluded between Charles XI. of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, for mutual defence against the attacks of France. Equally strong was the sentiment excited in Holland, where even the followers of de Witt, though formerly inclined to a French policy, went over to the party of the Prince of Orange, which, with its more intensely Protestant sympathies, had been opposed to anything like friendly relations with Louis XIV. The King had even directed his wrath against the Dutch merchants naturalised in France; so that the citizens of the United Provinces had many reasons for cherishing a mood of exasperation against the despot who aimed at ruling half Europe from the salons of Paris. No more infatuated act was ever committed by a monarch than the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and it incurred, with startling rapidity, that punishment which is the natural and inevitable consequence of crime.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

SWEDEN AND THE NORTH; HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, AND ENGLAND.

Affairs of Sweden—Character of Queen Christina—Her Reign, Abdication, and Subsequent Life—Accession of Charles X.—State of Poland in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century—Polish War with the Russian Czar Alexis—Re-conquest of the Ukraine by Russia—Invasion of Poland by Charles X. of Sweden—Alliance with Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg—Desperate Resistance of the Poles—Frederick William acknowledged by Charles X. as Sovereign Prince of Prussia—Project for the Partition of Poland—Denmark Declares War against Sweden—Renunciation of his Polish Conquests by Charles X.—Invasion of Jutland by the Swedes—A Winter Campaign in the North—Crossing of the Little Belt on the Ice—Circuitous Route of the Invaders into Zealand—Conclusion of the Peace of Roskild—Gigantic Schemes of Charles X.—Renewal of the War with Denmark—Heroic Defence of Copenhagen—Decline in the Fortunes of Charles—Interposition of England and Holland—Operations of the Dutch Fleet—The Swedes Reduced to Extremities—Death of Charles X.—Conclusion of Peace by the Belligerents—Colonial War between the Dutch and Portuguese—Death of Alfonso VI. of Portugal—Reign of Charles II. of England—Loss of Popularity by the King—Intrigues with the Roman Catholics—Progress of Despotism—An Era of Suspicion and Disturbance—Death of Charles, and Succession of James II.—Efforts of the Latter to re-introduce Popery—Acquittal of the Seven Bishops—Arbitrary Proceedings of James in Scotland and Ireland—His Fury at English Opposition—The Patriotic Party solicit the Interposition of William, Prince of Orange—Arrival of the Prince in Torbay—Flight of James II.—Calling of a Convention, and Completion of the Revolution of 1688-9—The Crown Settled on William and Mary—Rebellion in Scotland and Ireland—Character of the New King.

FROM the Western and Central parts of Europe, it will now be necessary to direct our attention to the North, where Sweden was still maintaining the power she had manifested under Gustavus Adolphus. Queen Christina, the daughter of that great soldier, was a woman of remarkable ability—a ripe scholar, a lover of literature and philosophy, a politician deeply versed in affairs of State, and

an administrator of untiring industry, until studies of another kind disgusted her with the duties of a sovereign. Many great thinkers and writers visited her court; and from their conversation she derived, not merely a habit of free speculation on matters of religion, but a dislike of her rugged and ungenial land, where there was little to satisfy the artistic tastes of a nature such as hers. Weary of

Stockholm, and of the regal functions which she was so well fitted to discharge, the Queen longed to visit the South, and to enjoy the dignity of a monarch, without being burdened by the labour. The death of her father had taken place in 1632, when she was a child of six; it was in 1644 that she assumed the reins of government; and the intense desire for a more independent life appears to have shown itself a few years later. The decidedly

Treaty of Westphalia (which she is said to have been largely instrumental in effecting) increased her power and importance as a sovereign. Whitelock, the English Ambassador at Stockholm in the time of Cromwell, has left, in his well-known Journal, a curious account of the Queen and her surroundings during the years 1653-4.

The extravagant expenditure of Christina, which was often for ostentatious rather than useful pur-



VIEW IN NANTES.

masculine bent of Christina's mind was the result of circumstances which had been ordered for her. Even when an infant, she was accustomed by Gustavus to the roar of artillery, as he considered it fit that the daughter of a warrior should be able to hear such sounds without emotion. Her education, as she grew up, was that of a boy, rather than of a girl. She was instructed in Hebrew, Greek; and Latin, and was allowed to ride on horseback in masculine dress, to hunt, shoot, and review the troops. The conversation of the learned and brilliant men, French and German, whom she attracted to her court, fostered the original tendency to suppress all feminine characteristics, while the concessions to Sweden resulting from the

poses, brought the finances of Sweden, an essentially poor country, into a state of embarrassment. This increased the difficulties of her position, and in 1651 she proposed to abdicate, but was dissuaded by the earnest representations of her ministers. The idea, however, still clung to her, and with such increasing tenacity that in 1654 she resolved to transfer the crown to her cousin, Charles Gustavus, a son of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, by Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus. Reserving to herself certain rights, and the revenues of several towns and provinces, she hurriedly quitted Sweden, and, arriving at Brussels, publicly abjured the Protestant religion, which she was strongly suspected to have forsaken long before.

She had, in fact, very little religious feeling at all ; but Roman Catholicism was more agreeable to her nature than the austerity, gloom, and artistic barrenness of the reformed faith, and in November, 1655, she was received into the Papal Church at Innsbrück. From the Tyrol she went to Rome, which she entered on horseback, in the guise of an Amazon. The rest of her life belongs rather to

Her cousin succeeded to the throne as Charles X. The state of Sweden in 1654—the year in which the crown devolved on him—was one of extreme exhaustion ; yet Charles had to maintain a large army, consisting of Swedes and of German mercenaries, and, being himself a soldier of some experience in the Thirty Years' War, was well inclined to a policy of military adventure. The re-



THE ROYAL PALACE, STOCKHOLM.

biography than to history, and can in this place be only very briefly noticed. Sometimes residing at Rome, sometimes at Paris, but more often at the former, she acted with a degree of eccentricity not far removed from madness ; frequently engaging in political intrigues, and at other times calling attention to herself as a patroness of learning and the arts. While at Paris in 1657, she horrified many by causing her Grand Equerry, Monaldeschi, to be executed in her own house for some offence which she described as high-treason—an act which she justified by the circumstance that in the deed of abdication she had reserved to herself supreme power over her suite, and that she still remained a Queen. Two visits were afterwards paid to her own country—in 1660 and 1667 ; and she even signified a wish to resume the crown. But nothing could atone for her renunciation of Protestantism, and Christina died at Rome in 1689.

quired opportunity was furnished by the antagonism of the Polish King, John Casimir II., who protested against his succession to the Swedish monarchy. The predominance of Poland over certain parts of Europe had long been declining, and the power of the country was now greatly reduced. As we have already explained, the majority of the population were serfs, living in constant misery and degradation ; while the aristocracy was divided into four classes, the lowest and largest of which consisted of poor gentlemen, dependent for their subsistence on the more fortunate nobles above them. The leading families, having the command of numerous retainers, were often at war with one another, and the King, who was simply the elected head of an aristocratical Republic, had scarcely any power to

control the turbulent forces of the great landed proprietors. Little could be expected from a Diet chosen by the nobles to the exclusion of all other classes; so that it was sometimes necessary to establish a temporary despotism, lest the State should disappear in a chaos of anarchy. To increase the general infirmity of the Government, the reigning monarch was weak and incompetent—a man more disposed to religious than to political studies. Such was the condition of Poland in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The failing resources of the country had been severely taxed by a war with the Czar Alexis, whose reign began in 1645, on the death of his father Michael, the first of the Romanoffs. Alexis had to some extent reconstructed his army on the European model, and had taken measures for introducing manufactures and industrial arts into his dominions. He therefore felt himself in a position of some strength, and eagerly supported the Cossacks of the Ukraine in a movement against the Polish sovereignty which commenced in 1647. The Ukraine, a country lying on the Dnieper, had at one time formed a boundary separating Russia, Poland, Turkey, and Little Tartary from each other. In those days it was governed by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, and was called Little Russia; but when Jagellon, one of those princes, was elected to the throne of Poland in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the Ukraine was united to that kingdom. The conjunction was not a fortunate one. The Cossacks were Russian in their sympathies, and Greek in their religion; the Polish sovereigns spared no pains to make them Romanists; and the feeling of discontent was deep and general. A rising in 1647-8 was pacified by concessions that were almost immediately withdrawn. Exasperated by the bad faith of the Poles, the Cossacks revolted once more, but were defeated in 1651, and compelled to accept unfavourable terms. Soon afterwards they solicited and obtained the assistance of the Czar Alexis; the war broke out afresh, and the Russians, acting in concert with the rebellious Cossacks, achieved some important successes. The whole of the Ukraine, comprising the famous historic city of Kief, was in 1654 restored to its original association with Russia, from which it had been detached about the close of the twelfth century; and Poland was proportionately weakened by the loss of territory and of martial honour.

All things were admirably suited to the Swedish project of an attack on Poland; and the captious opposition of John Casimir, who assumed the title of King of Sweden, in consequence of his father

having really occupied that position, gave Charles X. the very pretext that he wanted. The designs of the latter sovereign were favoured by Oliver Cromwell, who, in exchange for a commercial treaty, engaged to put twenty ships of war at the service of Sweden, and to allow recruits to be levied in England and Scotland. In the summer of 1655, a large Swedish army entered Poland, and prosecuted the war with such vigour that Casimir was obliged to seek shelter in Silesia. Charles X. then took Cracow, received oaths of allegiance from all the cities and provinces of Poland, and was recognised as Grand Duke of Lithuania. Indeed, nothing seemed wanting to his complete success; yet his position was one of danger, for the Russians, threatened in their new possessions, were evidently determined not to relinquish them without a struggle, and the Elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, had thrown a body of eight thousand men into West Prussia, one of the Polish dependencies. The victorious Swede could hardly have been confronted by a more formidable enemy than the Great Elector, as he is usually called. Frederick William was a man of great political sagacity, of courage and military aptitude, and of religious convictions, which gave force and energy to his character. His Calvinism, however, though intense, did not stand in the way of his ambition, and he saw that too great a success on the part of Charles X. might frustrate many of his hopes. He therefore concluded an alliance with the Dutch, and in November, 1655, engaged to defend Prussia against the encroachments of the Swedish King. His efforts were attended by ill-success, and in a little while he consented to be the vassal of Sweden instead of Poland. From the enemy, he became the ally, of Charles X., and the disorganised Poles suffered terribly from the united forces of the Swedes and Brandenburgers. Nevertheless, Charles obtained no certain grasp on Poland. Though repeatedly beaten in the open field, the Poles burst again and again into insurrection, whenever the pressure of the foreign armies was removed. Large numbers of the Scandinavians were massacred, while others perished of hunger and cold; so that, in March, 1656, Charles found it necessary to retreat on Warsaw—a movement which the bad condition of the roads, and the furious opposition of the peasantry, rendered extremely difficult. The day of his success had for the present fled, and, contenting himself with the acquisition of Prussia, he gave up the rest of the country to Frederick William of Brandenburg, to the Czar of Russia, the Prince of Transylvania, and the Cossacks. The war, however, still continued with varying success.

Warsaw was retaken by the Poles, and again captured by the Swedes and Germans; and an invasion of Sweden by the Russians extended the area, and multiplied the chances, of the war.

The Emperor Ferdinand III. had been disconcerted by the progress of the Swedish arms, and, when John Casimir was driven into exile, he had afforded him an asylum, and concluded with him a treaty of alliance. All these circumstances induced Charles X. to desire a settlement of affairs, and, on the 20th of November, 1656, he signed the Treaty of Labiau, by which the Elector of Brandenburg and his heirs male were recognised as legitimate and independent sovereigns of Prussia and Ermland; in acknowledgment of which, Frederick William agreed to further the designs of Charles whenever the opportunity should present itself. This treaty may be regarded as the commencement of the Prussian Monarchy, though it was not until nearly half a century later that Prussia acquired the title and dignity of a kingdom. The great object of Charles X. was to partition Poland, as was done more than a century later by Russia, Prussia, and Austria; but the difficulties of such a project were greater than he could overcome. In the spring of 1657, Charles was diverted from his new campaign by a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. He was also menaced by Leopold of Austria (soon afterwards to be the Emperor of Germany), who, in May, 1657, concluded an alliance with John Casimir, and undertook to furnish him with 12,000 men. Even the Elector of Brandenburg showed symptoms of antagonism, so that it was now high time to abandon plans of foreign conquest, and consider the defence of Sweden itself, together with its German possessions. Ragotski, the Prince of Transylvania, was abandoned by his northern ally, and soon afterwards compelled to sign a capitulation, by which he renounced all his former pretensions, and agreed to pay 400,000 ducats for the mischief he had done. Leaving a desolated country in their rear, the Swedes hurried towards the north, and arrived at Stettin early in July, greatly reduced in numbers, suffering not a little from the hardships of the war, but still sustained by martial enthusiasm, and the desire to retrieve their fortunes. Relieved from the presence of Charles's armies, the Elector of Brandenburg came to an understanding with the Polish monarch, and, being confirmed in the sovereignty of Prussia, gave up all the other territories which he had acquired during the war.

The Danes had commenced their operations by entering the German possessions of Sweden; but

on the approach of Charles they hastily retreated. The Swedish monarch followed with extraordinary rapidity; the Danes were defeated in every encounter; and, on the 23rd of August, Charles X. appeared before Fridericksodde, in Jutland, a fortress commanding the Lesser Belt. The siege of this position was confided by Charles to his commander Wrangel, while he himself, retiring to Wismar, superintended the operations of the fleet, and kept a general watch upon the Powers allied against him. Fridericksodde was taken on the 24th of October, and Charles then proposed to pass over the Belt to Funen. But his fleet, which had recently been engaged in a tremendous encounter with that of Denmark, was in no position to perform the service required of it, especially as the Danes had been reinforced with eighteen Dutch ships. The Swedish King had expected the assistance of an English fleet; but it had not suited the views of Cromwell to oblige him in this respect, and Charles was for a time reduced to a state of inactivity. Nevertheless, he maintained his position at Fridericksodde, though threatened by many dangers in so advanced a station. On the approach of winter, large masses of ice appeared, as usual, in the Baltic, and it occurred to the invader that he might cross the Little Belt without the aid of ships. The narrowest part of the channel would of course have been the most convenient; but the strength of the current at that point was so considerable as to render the attempt extremely perilous. Charles therefore moved his forces some miles lower down in the direction of Hadersleben. Here the ice was more secure, and a little island in the middle of the channel rendered the operation less difficult, by presenting a resting-place between shore and shore. To the last, many persons considered the enterprise impracticable; but Charles was not to be deterred by prophecies of evil, and, on the night of January 30th, 1658, started with the cavalry and artillery under Wrangel, while the infantry crossed at a different part of the Belt.

The distance to be traversed on the frozen surface of the waves was between six and seven miles, and, although the feat was accomplished, its dangerous nature was sufficiently proved by the fact that several squadrons of cavalry broke through the ice, and were lost. The main body, however, reached the opposite coast, and Charles, having defeated a Danish corps which intercepted his path, occupied Odensee on the 31st of January. The island of Funen was now completely in possession of the Swedes; but this was only one step in their progress. It was necessary to the

designs of Charles that he should penetrate to the more eastern territory of Zealand, separated from Funen by the much broader channel of the Great Belt. To proceed by the shortest route would have been too hazardous: the army was therefore conducted across the isles lying between the southern extremities of Funen and Zealand. On successive days, the comparatively narrow channels between Funen and Langeland, between Langeland and Laaland, and between Laaland and Falster, were safely passed; but at the last of these places a halt was necessary, to give time for the infantry and artillery to join the cavalry. On the 11th and 12th of February, the reunited army passed over into Zealand; and Copenhagen, the capital of the Danish kingdom, situated on the eastern shore of that island, lay at the mercy of the audacious Swede. History presents no more extraordinary exploit than this triumphant passage from island to island, across frozen wastes of sea; but the position was full of dangerous possibilities, and the King therefore pushed on rapidly towards Copenhagen, that he might finish the war by a bold and effective stroke, before succours could arrive to the assistance of the Danish monarch. In this design, however, he was arrested by an offer of mediation proposed by England and France; and peace was concluded at Roskild on the 8th of March, 1658.

The terms of the settlement were extremely favourable to Sweden, as the conquering Power; but it is doubtful whether Charles ever intended to remain at rest longer than was necessary to the recruiting of his forces. He was a warrior, and nothing else, and his schemes of ambition assumed the most gigantic proportions. He contemplated, not merely a union of all the Scandinavian countries under his own sceptre, but a subsequent invasion of Italy, where he hoped to found another Kingdom of the Goths. Charles X. has been likened to Pyrrhus; and undoubtedly there was a great similitude between his prodigious and impracticable dreams of empire, and those of the great Epirote. That he might be ready for renewed hostilities at a moment's notice, he kept a large portion of his army in some of the Danish provinces after the conclusion of the recent treaty. A pretext was readily found for recommencing the war, and, on the 5th of August, Charles embarked with his army at Kiel, on the north-eastern coast of Holstein. Landing at Corsoer, on the western coast of Zealand, he began his march to Copenhagen, but, before commencing the siege of that capital, was induced by Wrangel to attack Kronenborg. The delay thus occasioned gave the Danes time to strengthen the fortifications of their metropolis,

which had long been in a very dilapidated state. Had Charles proceeded at once to Copenhagen, he could have taken it with very little difficulty; but, unfortunately for his own purposes, he let the favourable moment slip. Beset by dangers, and without any immediate prospect of help, Frederick III. and his subjects displayed the most heroic spirit in their defence of the Danish capital. The Swedes, on the other hand, were equally determined in their attack. Copenhagen was regularly invested by the middle of September, and several assaults were delivered, which the Danes gallantly repulsed. On the 29th of October, a Dutch fleet of thirty-five vessels entered the Sound, defeated the Swedish navy, and compelled it to retire. The beleaguered city was then re-victualled by the Dutch, who landed 2,000 men, and still further assisted Frederick by a substantial loan. Soon afterwards, an army of Germans, Austrians, and Poles, under the Elector of Brandenburg, appeared in Jutland, from which they speedily drove out the Swedes. The position of Charles before Copenhagen was becoming desperate, and, on the 10th of February, 1659, he made a fierce attempt to take the city by assault. His troops were driven back with loss, and it now became necessary to retire within a fortified camp.

Towards the end of the previous year, however, Charles had concluded a three years' truce with the Russians, who had been severely handled by the Swedes; but in Poland the events of the war had been unfavourable to the armies of the invader. In Russia and Swedish Pomerania, moreover, the cause of Charles X. ceased to be prosperous, and, in April, 1659, an English fleet arrived in the Sound, with proposals for a pacification. Long and complicated negotiations ensued; but England and the United Provinces demanded a peace on the general basis of the Treaty of Roskild. Frederick III. ultimately accepted these terms; Charles X. rejected them; and the Dutch Admiral, de Ruyter, at once commenced hostilities against the Swedes, while the English fleet, in obedience to orders from home, ignominiously sailed away. Four thousand men were landed by the Dutch vessels on the shores of Funen; when the dispirited Swedes were routed near Nyeborg, and compelled to take shelter in that town, which was bombarded by de Ruyter on the 15th of November, and speedily reduced to extremities. The discomfited troops surrendered, and negotiations for a peace were shortly afterwards commenced. So rapid a succession of misfortunes broke the heart of Charles X., who, after retiring to Gothenburg, was seized with a malignant fever,

of which he died on the 13th of February, 1660. He had reigned not much more than five years and a half, and was only thirty-seven years of age when he expired. His genius as a commander was extraordinary; yet his enterprises were often characterised by imprudence, and nothing can be advanced on moral grounds in justification of a man who said it was the duty of a king to be always at war, that he might occupy his subjects, and make himself a terror to his neighbours. The same genius, directed into peaceful channels, might have done inestimable service to Sweden; but Charles preferred the evil glory of a conqueror, whose conquests, after all, resulted in nothing but dust and ashes—in the misery of others, and the ruin of himself.

Peace had not been concluded when Charles X. breathed his last; but it followed soon after. The first arrangement was between Sweden and Poland, the terms of which were contained in the Treaty of Oliva, signed on the 3rd of May, 1660. This agreement also established peace between the Emperor Leopold, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Sweden. The war between Sweden and Denmark was brought to a close by the Treaty of Copenhagen, concluded on the 6th of June, 1660. All that Sweden had gained by her gigantic efforts was the renunciation by John Casimir of his claim to the Swedish crown, together with the cession of Livadia beyond the Divina, and some other territories not necessary to her existence. As between Russia and Poland, the war still continued, and the campaign of 1660 was fertile in misfortune to the Russians. The Czar became extremely desirous of a pacification with Sweden, and this was effected at Kardis on the 1st of July, 1661. The differences of the Russians and Poles were not so easily composed; but both parties were utterly worn out by the commencement of 1667, when a truce of thirteen years was concluded at Andrusoff. The Cossacks, who had been the cause of the war, were divided into two distinct tribes, each with a Hetman, or commander, of its own; and one of these tribes was placed under the orders of Russia, the other under those of Poland.

While these events were passing in the North, the extreme South-west of Europe was threatened with new revolutions, owing to the desire of Spain to recover her predominance in Portugal. A state of warfare between the two peninsular monarchies had followed the recovery of Portuguese independence in 1640; and this had for the most part gone in favour of the smaller State. John IV., the founder of the House of Braganza, died in 1656, and was succeeded by his younger son, Alfonso VI., a boy

of thirteen. The actual sovereignty devolved on the Queen-Mother, Donna Luisa de Guzman, whose abilities were equal to the task. The troubles of the time were great; for not only was Portugal still at war with Spain, but the Dutch were tempted to renew their attacks on the Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, and America. The United Provinces even declared war on Portugal itself, although, up to that time, the state of hostilities in the East and West had not interrupted the amicable relations of the two mother countries. Dutch fleets now cruised along the Lusitanian coasts, blockaded the harbours, intercepted commercial vessels from Brazil, and nearly destroyed the trade of Lisbon. Under these circumstances, it may appear surprising that Spain was not able to crush Portugal altogether; but the latter kingdom formed alliances with France and England, and obtained secret assistance from Louis XIV., despite the peace effected by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. The association with England was of a matrimonial nature. In 1662, Charles II. married Catherine, the eldest daughter of the Portuguese Queen-Mother, and, in consideration of a dowry amounting to half a million sterling, together with the cession of Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies, engaged to succour Portugal with 3,000 men, and ten ships of war. In August, 1661, peace was concluded with Holland through the mediation of England; but disagreements afterwards arose, and the Dutch made further conquests in the Portuguese colonies. A definitive treaty of peace, however, was signed at the Hague in July, 1669; but its terms were so favourable to the Hollanders that they retained all the territories they had won, and obliged the Portuguese to give them salt to the value of a million florins. With respect to Spain, the Portuguese were assisted clandestinely by the French, and openly by the English, so that they were enabled to repel all the assaults of the enemy. The reign of Alfonso VI. came to an ignominious termination in 1667. The King was compelled by his brother, Don Pedro, to sign an act of abdication, and, after several years of imprisonment, died in the castle of Cintra in 1683. The profligacy of his life had been extreme; yet the circumstances of his deposition were disgraceful both to his brother and his wife. The latter had conceived a guilty passion for the former, and, after the banishment of Alfonso, she procured a divorce, when, quitting the convent where she had taken refuge, she married the lover who had plotted her husband's overthrow.

The reign of Charles II. of England began in the midst of popular enthusiasm surpassing anything ever known before in our usually sedate and

temperate country. The people were tired of the Puritan gloom and rigour; their habitual love of order had been offended by continual revolutions, which seemed fruitless of any permanent settlement; and the old affection for the monarchy, as part of the ancient historic life of the nation, awoke once more when Charles addressed himself to his loving subjects, and made as many fine promises as he had words to express. The old order was at once restored, both in Church and State; such of

natural or accidental causes, as in the case of the Great Plague of 1665, and the Great Fire of London of 1666; but, in the generality of instances, the national discontent was due to the bad government and immoral life of Charles himself. The closing of the Exchequer in 1671, and the suspension of the payment of either principal or interest upon loans advanced to the Treasury, previous to the war with Holland in 1672, was one of those acts which spread general dismay throughout a nation.



CHARLES II.

the regicides as could be found were tried and executed; and in 1662 the Presbyterian clergy were, by an Act of Uniformity, compelled to resign their livings. These proceedings, harsh as many of them were, do not seem to have caused any general unpopularity, and even the profligate life of the King was at first regarded with toleration, owing to the gay and attractive manner by which it was set off. It was not until the sale of Dunkirk to the French, in the latter part of 1662, that the English people began to doubt whether they had done wisely in bringing back Charles II., without imposing on him very stringent conditions for the proper discharge of his office. Thenceforward the King was regarded with constantly-increasing distrust, and the events of his reign were in many respects such as to depress the national spirit. This sometimes resulted from

The foreign complications of Charles's reign have been related in other connections. They were almost wholly disgraceful and unfortunate; but the domestic state of the kingdom was equally deplorable. Lord Clarendon, who, whatever his faults, was at one with the House of Commons in opposing the more extreme inclinations of the King, was dismissed from the Chancellorship in 1667, and affairs then progressed without a check. The notorious Cabinet called the Cabal, after the initials of its five members, encouraged Charles in his attempts to establish an uncontrolled despotism. The power of this Administration lasted from 1667 to 1674, and for a time Charles II. imperilled the throne itself by his opposition to the general sentiment. In 1673, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., openly declared his adhesion to the Roman Catholic Church, and it



TITUS OATES IN THE PILLORY.

was suspected that the King himself had privately followed the same course. The so-called Popish plot of 1678, the alleged object of which was the assassination of the King and the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, led to a terrible persecution of the Papists, and to many judicial sentences of great cruelty; but it is now doubted whether the conspiracy had any actual existence. In the main, it was probably concocted by the infamous Titus Oates; yet it is unquestionably the fact that intrigues had for some time been proceeding between the French Court and the English Catholics headed by the Duke of York, with a view to the reintroduction of Romanism. The Meal-tub Plot of Dangerfield, when the Protestants were accused of treason by the adherents of the King's brother, followed in October, 1679; and the popular agitation again went up to fever heat. The Duke of York had been compelled early in the year to leave England for Brussels, and even Charles had proposed some limitation of his power in the event of his succeeding to the throne. A Bill for his total exclusion passed the House of Commons; and the same session of Parliament—that of 1679—was rendered memorable by the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which secured the liberties of the subject in several important respects. Charles was frequently at issue with his Parliaments, and often dissolved them after very brief sittings; but popular rights made progress during this reign, and the despotic schemes of the monarch were circumscribed, if not entirely foiled. It was about 1680, or a little earlier, that the division into Whigs and Tories first appeared in our national annals; the former party representing the principle of freedom, the latter that of court supremacy.

The country was still agitated by considerations as to the succession; but the Exclusion Bill, directed against the Duke of York, was thrown out by the House of Lords in 1680, though it had again passed the Commons. Many persons felt that to exclude James's Protestant children from the throne, in favour of one of Charles's illegitimate offspring (the Duke of Monmouth), would be an act of great injustice, and the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had all along been the leader of the extreme Protestant party, fell in general estimation when the tide began to turn. Parliament was dissolved in 1681; its successor was summoned to meet at Oxford. It sat only a week, and was then dismissed by the King, who could not tolerate its opposition to his arbitrary measures. From that time until the close of his reign, Charles governed without Parliaments—a bold stroke, considering what the same conduct had cost his father.

Two years before, the Scottish Covenanters, exasperated to madness by the tyranny of Lauderdale, had risen in insurrection, but, being defeated at Bothwell Bridge, on the 22nd of June, 1679, were compelled to acknowledge a despotism which they hated, but were not strong enough to overthrow. This triumph doubtless encouraged Charles in his designs against the liberties of both kingdoms. Being now delivered from the fear of Parliament, he obliged many of the Municipal Corporations, in 1683, to surrender their charters into his hands; after which they were restored with such modifications as placed them entirely under the control of the Crown. At the same time, the Nonconformists were treated with great rigour, and all persons suspected of republican principles were ejected from posts of trust or profit. The latter years of the King's reign were embittered by fears of conspiracy and insurrection, which were not entirely without cause. The Rye House Plot aimed at the assassination of the King; but the more moderate of the malcontents, such as Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, thought only of an armed rising which should free the nation from the despotism fast settling down upon it. Russell and Sidney were executed for an alleged share in the plot for assassination; but there is no real ground for supposing that they contemplated any such act, and their names have ever since been cherished as those of martyrs to the principles of constitutional freedom. Both England and Scotland now lay helpless at the feet of a triumphant autocrat; yet Charles had grave doubts as to whether he could permanently maintain his position, and it is said that he had resolved to follow a different course, when an apoplectic fit brought his life to a close on the 6th of February, 1685. On his deathbed he received the sacraments of the Romish Church, and there can be no doubt that he had for some years belonged to that communion, though, unlike his brother, he had not the honesty to proclaim it. Charles was a witty and to some extent a shrewd man; but the open profligacy of his life infected the manners and the literature of the nation to an extent which had never before been equalled, and which left behind it a depth of corruption not easily cured. His political principles were no better than his morals; and it is probable that, had he lived much longer, he would have suffered the fate which soon afterwards overtook his brother.

Before his accession to the regal state, James II. had had some experience of government in Scotland, where he had acted as the representative of Charles after his return from Brussels in the

autumn of 1679; but his actions in that country had given the people of the South every reason to dread his occupation of the throne. In his first address to the Privy Council, he promised to preserve the government, both in Church and State, as it was by law established; but he immediately began to act in contravention of accepted principles, and lost no time in making arrangements with the French Ambassador at London for occupying the same humiliating position towards Louis XIV. that Charles had so long filled, for the sake of the yearly income that it brought him. He offended the religious sense of the nation by going openly to Mass, and he sent an agent to Rome to make arrangements for the readmission of England into the Romish Church. A Parliament was indeed called; but this was simply to save appearances, for the King had no intention of being guided by its wishes. Discontent soon became general, and, in the very year of the accession of James, the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth in England, and that of the Earl of Argyle in Scotland, showed how formidable was the spirit of opposition thus early aroused. Terrible severities followed, and, at the Bloody Assize in the West of England, the infamous Judge Jeffreys hanged three hundred and twenty persons. Many other persons perished during the military excesses of Colonel Kirke, after the suppression of Monmouth's rising; and James now considered that he might safely proceed with the projects he had formed. By an apparent act of liberality, the really sinister nature of which it is not difficult to discern, the King issued, on the 4th of April, 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, in which he announced his intention of protecting the Dissenters in the free exercise of their religion. His object (like that of Charles in a similar proceeding) was simply to weaken the Church of England, and thus prepare the way for the introduction of Romanism; after which, the Nonconformists would have had little opportunity of following their conscience. The Puritans, however, were not deceived by so transparent a device, and the detestation of the King rapidly increased in all but Papistical quarters. Nevertheless, James would take no warning, and the arbitrary manner in which, by sheer military force, he imposed Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a known Roman Catholic, upon the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, as their President, gave convincing proof of the spirit in which he was determined to act against the whole Protestant body of Great Britain.

The quarrel with the Seven Bishops followed in 1688. On the 27th of April in that year, James

published a second Declaration of Indulgence, which he ordered to be read in all churches. The clergy, for the most part, disobeyed, and seven of the Bishops sent a written remonstrance, for which they were committed to the Tower. Considered in the abstract, the position of the Bishops was manifestly illiberal; but, on grounds of legality, and with reference to the obvious intentions of the King, their action was perfectly correct. The asserted power of the monarch to dispense with the effect of Acts of Parliament had been frequently declared to be against the laws and constitution of England. On the 29th of June, however, the Bishops were brought to trial before the Court of King's Bench, on the charge of publishing a seditious libel; but the jury pronounced a verdict of acquittal, which was received with popular rejoicings. The regiments encamped at Hounslow, to overawe the discontented Londoners, cheered loudly when they heard the news; but the infatuation of James was such that even this warning did not bid him pause. He had already deeply offended the people of Scotland by placing the government of that kingdom in the hands of two Lords who had been converted to Romanism, and by ordering the Scottish Judges to treat all laws against the Catholics as null and void—an order which the Judges had the servility to obey, but which kindled a flame of indignation in the hearts of the people. In Ireland, James incurred the hatred of the Protestants by admitting Papists to the Council and to civil offices, by cashiering Protestant officers in the army, and by enrolling two thousand of the Catholic Irish among its ranks. Every Englishman in the island was turned out of office; all the great functions of State were confided to adherents of the older religion; and English ascendancy was so completely annihilated that fifteen hundred Protestant families crossed the channel in dread of a massacre. James's object was apparently to create a Catholic and independent Ireland, in order that, supposing he should be succeeded on the English throne by a Protestant, the sister country might serve as a place of refuge for the Catholics and himself. At the same time, he was determined to make England as Catholic as Ireland, if any human efforts could accomplish the result.

A man of less dogged resolution would have drawn back when he heard the shouts of the soldiery, and saw in every direction the most unmistakable signs that the vast majority of the English people were determined to resist such encroachments. But James was besotted with a sense of his own power, and inspired with a certain

low form of sincerity, which commands an equally low measure of respect. He said that indulgence had ruined his father. He ought rather to have said that equivocation was the cause of that tragedy; at any rate, he forgot that obstinacy may be fatal too. In the madness of his fury at the acquittal of the Bishops, he struck out two of the Judges who had appeared to favour them, and issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration—"that is," says

Modena. This child, James Francis Edward, afterwards known as the Elder Pretender, was born on the 10th of June, 1688; but at the time there was a strong belief that the infant was supposititious, and that the Queen had not been confined at all. The suspicion is now generally admitted to have been groundless; yet it probably made the chiefs of the Revolution all the less scrupulous about calling in a foreigner, who, after all, was closely connected with the English royal



JAMES II.

Hume, "the whole Church of England, two hundred excepted." His despotism was met by the calm front of an united nation, determined to uphold the laws, and to save the life of English freedom. It had by this time become evident that nothing was to be hoped from James himself, and the eyes of the patriotic leaders were turned towards William, Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had already, in his own country, given proofs of the highest abilities, both as a soldier and a statesman. The Prince's mother was the eldest daughter of Charles I.; his wife was the eldest daughter of James II. William had therefore a claim to the throne of England, in default of James leaving no heir; but it happened, shortly before the appeal to the Stadtholder, that a son was born to the King by his second wife, Mary of

family, and might, under conceivable circumstances, be the actual heir to the throne.

However this may have been, the Prince of Orange was invited to appear in England, that he might save the public liberties; and, after some hesitation, he acceded to the request. A fleet of fifty men-of-war, accompanied by, three hundred transports, and an army of about 14,000 men, appeared on the 5th of November, 1688, at Wrexham, in Torbay. James had heard of what was contemplated, and, seized with sudden terror at the prospect of his overthrow, endeavoured to gain popularity by the withdrawal of his most obnoxious acts. But it was now too late. England was ready to welcome the friendly invader, although the people of the West, remembering all they had suffered after the futile rebellion of the Duke of

Monmouth, hung back for a little while from the cause of William. A bolder spirit soon arose, and not only in Devonshire, but in all other parts, the nobility, the gentry, and the populace, declared for a free Parliament and the Protestant religion. The royal army deserted by whole regiments, and even Baron Churchill (afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough), who had been mainly instrumental in crushing the earlier movement at the battle of Sedgemoor, and who was a favourite of James, quitted the setting for the rising sun. The Princess Anne, now married to George of Denmark, went over to the insurgents, and the wretched father, who had advanced to Salisbury, only to retire before the overwhelming forces of the rebellion, exclaimed, in the bitterness of his heart, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me." His overtures of accommodation were rejected, and nothing remained but to quit the country, together with the Queen and infant prince. After one ineffectual attempt, James, on December 23rd, embarked on board a frigate which conveyed him to Ambleteuse in Picardy, and, proceeding thence to St. Germain, he was hospitably received by Louis XIV.

By the cessation of all government, England was thrown for a while into a state of anarchy, and London was disturbed by the occurrence of numerous outrages. This, however, did not last many days. The Lords of the Privy Council undertook the necessary work by their own authority, and, on the arrival of William in the capital on the 18th of December, resigned into his hands the powers they had temporarily used. In the absence of any person legally qualified to summon a Parliament, the House of Lords was convoked, and a second Chamber was formed by bringing together all persons who sat in the Commons during the reign of Charles II., together with the Aldermen and Common Councillors of London. By these bodies, William was requested to take upon himself the provisional government of the kingdom, and a Convention, consisting of representatives from every town and county, met in January, 1689. The final settlement was not reached without considerable divisions, proceeding from two contrary views, as to whether there should be a Regency, or a resumption of the monarchy in the person of William himself. At length it was determined, by a compromise, that the Prince of Orange should be declared King, and Mary be recognised, not only as Queen Consort, but as Queen Regnant. The arrangement, though somewhat clumsy, had the advantage of reconciling the principle of the Revolution, as represented by William, with the principle of hereditary succession, as embodied in

Mary. At the same time, it was agreed that the actual administration should rest with William alone. Somers, a young lawyer of great promise belonging to the Whig party, drew up a Declaration of Rights, which, on the 13th of February, was presented to William and Mary by both Houses, in the banqueting-room at Whitehall. This celebrated document, which was shortly afterwards converted into the Bill of Rights, declared the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, but, before doing so, laid down in unmistakable terms those great principles of English freedom which recognise the popular good as the essential object of all government, and, destroying for ever the pernicious doctrine of Divine Right, asserted, by implication, the privilege of Englishmen to set aside a king who has been false to his trust. On these terms, William and Mary accepted the crown, which was offered to them in the name of the Estates of the Realm; and the Revolution of 1688-9 was consummated.

It was not, however, without considerable difficulty that the Dutch Prince established himself in his new seat of dominion. The adherents of the excluded monarch, who thenceforth appear in history as the Jacobites, made desperate efforts to effect the restoration of James; and the first of these movements, which occurred in Scotland in the summer of 1689, seemed for a moment very near success. Lord Dundee (John Graham of Claverhouse) defeated the troops of William in the pass of Killiecrankie, but fell in the very moment of victory. The loss of their commander broke the spirit of the clans, and the authority of the new King was ultimately established in the wildest parts of the Highlands—a distinct gain to orderly government, though in one quarter disgraced by the treacherous and dreadful Massacre of Glencoe, in 1692. The greatest trouble was in Ireland, where Lord Tyrconnell, to whom James had confided the government of that country, raised the flag of rebellion against the new rule established in England. Seeing that the moment for action had come, James set sail from France, and landed at Kinsale in the spring of 1689. Londonderry was besieged by the Irish, and heroically defended by the English Protestants within the walls, until, after a hundred and five days of suffering and apprehension, the town was relieved by an English ship, and the besiegers fled in panic-stricken rout. James was at Dublin, and he sanctioned a sweeping proscription of the Protestants. For a time, William could do nothing, being hampered by his foreign wars; but in the autumn of 1689 he sent the Duke of Schomberg—a German soldier of

fortune, intensely Protestant in his convictions, of long experience, and of high reputation—to take the command in Ulster, with a small body of troops, consisting partly of French Huguenots. The Catholics, on the other hand, were reinforced by some regiments despatched by Louis XIV, under the Count de Lauzun. William himself arrived towards the end of June, and the battle of the Boyne was fought on the 1st of July, 1690. Old Marshal Schomberg fell in repulsing a charge of

times a fatal, course; but, in the great instance to which we have been referring, its results were valuable in the highest degree. The nature of William was cold and reserved, at least to outward seeming; but he was an honest ruler, a man of large capacity, and a sovereign who had already gained wide experience in the government of a State not very dissimilar from that of England. The Dutch and English races are ethnologically allied in a close degree; and he who was native to



WILLIAM III.

the Irish horse; but the victory of the English was complete. Still, the Catholics held out, though James returned in craven trepidation to France. William also left the seat of war, to resume the conduct of affairs in England; and the struggle was finished in 1690-1, by Lord Marlborough (who had been recalled from Flanders for the purpose), and a general of less repute who succeeded him. Limerick, where the insurgents were commanded by an officer named Sarsfield, was the last place to hold out. It was at length compelled to surrender, and, by the terms of the capitulation, ten thousand Irish soldiers followed their general into France. The peace of Ireland was not again disturbed for a century.

To call in a foreign sovereign as the saviour of a nation's liberties is always a perilous, and some-

times a fatal, course; but, in the great instance to which we have been referring, its results were valuable in the highest degree. The nature of William was cold and reserved, at least to outward seeming; but he was an honest ruler, a man of large capacity, and a sovereign who had already gained wide experience in the government of a State not very dissimilar from that of England. The Dutch and English races are ethnologically allied in a close degree; and he who was native to the one, might be fairly presumed to have no great difficulty in understanding the other. As a matter of fact, many disagreements arose between William and his new subjects; yet he maintained his power to the last, and was out of harmony rather with the political parties than with the main body of the people. His actions, in some respects, were justly open to criticism; still, it cannot be denied that the thirteen years of his reign secured the principles which he had been called in to assert, and conducted England from the old era of Tudor and Stuart tyranny to the modern epoch of constitutional freedom. The latest developments of English history begin with William III.; and a glorious expansion, both of the nation and of the Empire, dates from the memorable year of James's fall.



VIEW IN VENICE: THE MOLO.

CHAPTER XXIX.

TURKEY, POLAND, RUSSIA, AND SCANDINAVIA.

Recovery of Turkish Power—Energetic Government of the Grand Vizier, Mohammed Kiuprili—Wars with Venice and with Transylvania—Hungary threatened by the Turks—Interposition of the Emperor Leopold—Turkish Victories in Hungary—Defeat of the Invaders, and Conclusion of a Truce—Reduction of Candia by the Ottomans—Unsuccessful Wars with Poland—Heroism of John Sobieski, and his Election to the Polish Throne—Discomfiture of the Pasha of Damascus—Revolt of the Hungarians against Austrian Supremacy—Siege of Vienna by the Turks, and its Relief by Sobieski—Formation of a Holy League against the Ottomans—Successes of Austria—The Hungarian Crown made Hereditary in the House of Hapsburg—Progress of Russia under the Czars Alexis and Feodor III.—Commencement of the Reign of Peter the Great—Successes of the Venetians in their War with the Turks—Reduction of Athens—Mutiny of the Turkish Army—Deposition of Mohammed IV., and Succession of Solyman II.—Military Turbulence—Continuance of the War with Austria—End of the Reign of Sobieski in Poland—Augustus of Saxony Elected to the Vacant Throne—Rise of Prince Eugene—His Early Services against the Turks—Venetian and Russian Triumphs—Conclusion of Peace with Turkey in 1699—Hanover made an Electorate—Revolution in Denmark—State of Sweden after the Peace of Copenhagen—Wars of Charles XI. with the Elector of Brandenburg and Christian V. of Denmark—Final Defeat of Charles, and Conclusion of Peace—The Swedish Possessions saved by Louis XIV.—Establishment of Despotism in Sweden—Arbitrary Treatment of the Nobles—Reorganisation of the Army—Death of Charles XI. and Christian V.

For several years weakened by military tumults and growing sensuality, Turkey began to show symptoms of reviving power shortly beyond the middle of the seventeenth century. The appointment of Mohammed Kiuprili as Grand Vizier, in 1656, placed a man of great abilities at the head of affairs, after a period of administrative anarchy which had been marked by continual changes.

Kiuprili was an Albanian, and, although then more than seventy years of age, and not previously distinguished, he soon, by his vigour and intelligence, gave a new direction to affairs. In 1656, the Sultan Mohammed IV. was only fifteen years of age, and still under the control of his mother, who acted as Regent, with the assistance of a council of twelve Pashas; but the chief power

was that of the Grand Vizier, and it was steadily directed towards the restoration of Turkish supremacy in the south-east of Europe. In the first place, Kiuprili severely repressed the spirit of insubordination which had long been rife at Constantinople; then, turning his attention to matters of war, he fitted out a fleet with which to oppose the Venetians, who, in 1657, under the leadership of the brothers Mocenigo, were threatening to force the passage of the Dardanelles. He also sent fresh troops to the island of Candia (Crete), where the Porte was struggling for supremacy with the maritime Republic. But it was not merely Venice that engaged the thoughts of Kiuprili. He made war on George Ragotski II., the Voïvode of Transylvania, whom, after a contest of two years, he defeated in May, 1660. Ragotski had shown too independent a spirit for a vassal prince, and the Turks set up another in his place. In the battle which ended in his defeat, the unfortunate Voïvode received a wound of which he afterwards died; but the war still continued, and ultimately assumed proportions of far greater magnitude.

Proceeding in their career of conquest, the Ottoman forces took Great Waradin, a strong fortress on the borders of Transylvania and Hungary. Matters were now beginning to look serious for the latter country, and even for the German Empire. The Hungarians entered the field in the latter part of 1660, and the Emperor Leopold I., though with great reluctance (for the terror of the Turkish arms was still powerful in that part of Europe), at length resolved to take part in the war. There were now two Voïvodes of Transylvania—one the nominee of the Porte, the other elected under the auspices of the Emperor. The latter was supported by an army under Montecuculi and Count Stahremberg; but even then Leopold gave directions that the Turks were not to be attacked. Under these circumstances, very little could be effected, and the Imperial Voïvode was beaten and slain in the winter of 1661-2. On the death of Mohammed Kiuprili, in November, 1661, he was succeeded in the Viziership by his son Achmet—a fact unprecedented in the history of the Ottoman Empire, and one which seemed to create a power in rivalry with that of the Sultans themselves. Achmet determined to follow the same warlike policy as his father, and in the spring of 1663 sent a large army to Buda, the Hungarian capital. The Imperial general, Montecuculi—an Italian of ability and experience—had only a very small force under his command, while the invaders were 200,000 strong; so that his operations were seriously hampered, and the Turks, having gained

numerous victories in Hungary, crossed the Waag into Moravia, and struck terror far and wide by their cruelties. Montecuculi could do but little to arrest their progress; but in 1664 his forces were augmented by contingents from most of the European States, and he was enabled to defeat the Ottomans near St. Gothard, on the borders of Hungary and Styria. Nine days later—namely, on the 10th of August—a truce for twenty years was concluded; and by this arrangement the Emperor abandoned to the Turks all their recent conquests, resigned Transylvania to the nominee of the Porte, and made a payment to the Sultan of 200,000 florins. Had Montecuculi been allowed to follow up his victory, which had resulted in the complete rout of the Turks, and the destruction of many thousands, it is possible that these humiliating terms might have been avoided. But the Imperial Government was timid, and Montecuculi was checked in the very beginning of his success. The Germans and Hungarians were alike dissatisfied; yet some palliation for the truce is to be found in the impoverished state of the Austrian exchequer, and the jealousies that had arisen amongst the several nationalities of the Imperial army.

Achmet Kiuprili had thus brilliantly inaugurated his tenure of the chief office, and, in September, 1669, he obtained another success in the reduction of Candia, the capital of the island of the same name, which, after a siege of two years and four months, surrendered on the 6th of September, 1669. The war for the possession of the island itself had lasted twenty-four years, and it is said that more than 200,000 men perished in the several operations. The Turkish arms, however, were not very fortunate in a series of encounters with Poland in 1665, 1667, and 1673, when that noble warrior, John Sobieski—a member of an old aristocratic family—vanquished the Ottomans several times, though they were in alliance with the Tartars and the Cossacks. On the Polish throne becoming vacant in 1674, owing to the death of Michael Koributh Wiesnowiski, who succeeded John Casimir in 1669, after a short interregnum, Sobieski was chosen to the throne, but was soon called into the field again by the renewed incursions of the Turks. His forces were numerically weak, and he was opposed by a large army under the Pasha of Damascus; but, after entrenching himself between two villages on the banks of the Dniester, and sustaining for twenty days the fury of the Moslem cannonade, he broke forth on the 14th of October, 1676, and showed so bold a front to the enemy that the Pasha proposed honourable terms of peace, which were accepted.

The greatest of Sobieski's achievements, however, had yet to be performed. A revolt of the Hungarians against Austrian supremacy, in 1678, gave the Porte fresh opportunities of interference in those regions; and, on the conclusion of the Russian war in 1681, Kara Mustapha, who had become Grand Vizier after the death of Achmet Kiuprili in 1676, determined to render assistance to the insurgents under Count Emmerich Tekeli. That leader entered into a formal treaty with the Turks, and, in the spring of 1683, Kara Mustapha received from the Sultan, at Belgrade, the command of a large army. In conjunction with Tekeli, he marched on Vienna, without taking the precaution to subdue the intervening country. The people of the Austrian capital were seized with abject terror. Leopold and his courtiers took to flight; many thousands of the citizens hurried after them; and Count Stalremberg was left with an insufficient garrison to defend the Imperial city. A few months earlier, the Emperor had concluded with John Sobieski an offensive and defensive alliance against the Turks, and the Polish sovereign now hastened to the relief of Vienna. The siege had commenced on the 14th of July; it was not until a month later that Sobieski could leave Cracow with an army of 25,000 men; and the 9th of September had arrived before he could form a junction with the Austrian and German forces despatched on the same errand. The united army amounted to more than 83,000 men, provided with a hundred and eighty-six guns.

On the 11th of September, the allies came in sight of Vienna, where the beleaguered garrison had already lost large numbers from disease and the casualties of war, and was beginning to fear the approach of famine. It was apprehended by many, not merely that Vienna would fall, but that the whole of Southern Germany would share the fate which had already overtaken so many lands bordering on the Danube. The arrival of the allies, however, speedily altered the posture of affairs. Sobieski took up his position on the mountain ridge of Kalemberg, and beheld the plain beneath him glittering with the mail-clad hosts of the Ottomans, or white with countless tents. On the 12th, he attacked the enemy, and drove him within his entrenchments, which at first he refrained from assaulting. As evening approached, however, he was irritated by seeing Kara Mustapha sipping coffee outside his tent, as if in scorn of his opponents. In a moment of impetuosity, he ordered an immediate attack; and the Turks, utterly routed by the sudden onslaught, fled in confusion, with the loss of their camp,

artillery, and baggage, and were unable to rally until they had gained the river Raab. In the pursuit, Sobieski sustained a defeat at Parkany on the 7th of October, but, in conjunction with the Duke of Lorraine, overthrew the invader two days later, and finished the campaign with the capture of Gran on the 27th of the same month. Kara Mustapha was beheaded at Belgrade on the 25th of December, by order of the enraged Sultan.

Sobieski returned to his own kingdom in 1684, and the war against Turkey was then carried on by the Duke of Lorraine, who captured several towns, but was foiled in an attempt to take Buda. The troops of that commander were thinned by an epidemic disease, and when he broke up his camp he had lost no fewer than 23,000 men. The recovery of Turkish power at this period is shown by the fact that a Holy League against the Ottomans was formed in 1684, under the protection of the Pope. The parties to the League were the German Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Republic of Venice. The Venetians, hoping to recover the dependencies of which they had lately been deprived, declared war against the Sultan in July, and the struggle, which lasted fifteen years, was distinguished, on the side of Venice, by an exhibition of military and naval power worthy of the best days of that illustrious commonwealth. In 1685, the contest between Austria and the Turks went much to the advantage of the former. The Ottomans were driven out of several places, and, in the following year, Buda itself, which had been under the suzerainty of the Sultans for nearly a century and a half, was carried by assault on the 2nd of September, after a siege of more than three months. Before the close of 1687, nearly the whole of Hungary had been recovered by Austria, together with Transylvania and Sclavonia. These conquests were followed by a proposal on the part of the Emperor Leopold to confirm the ancient privileges of the Hungarian nation, to grant the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and to incorporate in the kingdom of Hungary all that had just been won from the Turks, on the three conditions—that the Hungarian States should abolish the law passed in 1222, which authorised any nobleman to take up arms against the King, if he considered that he had violated his coronation oath; that the crown should be made hereditary in the heirs male of the House of Austria; and that Imperial garrisons should be admitted into all the fortresses of the realm. These conditions were sanctioned by the Diet, and the Archduke Joseph, the Emperor's eldest son, was crowned King of Hungary on the 9th of December, 1687. This

agreement was not without its advantages ; but it diminished the independence of Hungary, and placed that kingdom more under the dictation of the Empire than was consistent with its ancient renown as a powerful and warlike State.

While these events were proceeding, Russia continued to make some progress out of the primitive barbarism which had so long held her enchained. The Czar Alexis, son of Michael Romanoff, was distinguished rather in peace than in war. The code of laws compiled by Ivan IV. was amended by his orders. Many works on mathematics, military science, tactics, fortification, and geography, were translated into the Russian language under the directions of this enlightened sovereign. The city of Moscow was enlarged by the addition of two suburbs ; foreign officers were invited to join the Russian service ; and Alexis constructed some vessels on the Caspian by the help of shipwrights whom he procured from Amsterdam. Alexis died on the 10th of February, 1676, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Feodor II., who brought the Turkish war to an end in 1681. The Ottomans then acknowledged the Muscovite sovereignty over the Cossacks, and one cause of dissension between the two Empires was removed. Feodor expired in 1682, after having nominated his half-brother, Peter, as successor to the throne ; for Ivan, the second son of Alexis, was set aside on account of mental incapacity. The Princess Sophia, Ivan's sister, was dissatisfied with the arrangement, and excited an insurrection, which was not put down until Peter consented to share the sovereignty with Ivan, and to recognise Sophia as Regent on behalf of the imbecile. Such were the opening events of the reign of Peter the Great, which, however, can hardly be said to have really commenced until a later period. A new insurrection broke out in 1689, when the Prime Minister, Prince Galitzin, attempted to upset Peter, and confer the sole authority on Sophia, acting in the name of Ivan. The rising was soon crushed ; Galitzin was sent to Archangel, and the Princess was shut up in a convent until her death in 1704. Ivan expired in 1696, and Peter then became the sole monarch, not merely in fact, but in name. Up to this period, the rule of Peter had been far from brilliant. The Russians, who had joined the Holy League in 1686, were frustrated by the Tartars in all their attempts to penetrate into the Crimea ; but the true glory of Peter's reign, such as it was, appeared very conspicuously after the Czar had carried out those reforms in his army, his navy, and his civil administration, which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe.

The war between Venice and Turkey was attended by some important results. The Venetians acted with extraordinary vigour, and a large number of places on the mainland of Greece, especially in the Morea, fell into their hands. Corinth and Athens were among the cities taken by the forces of the Republic, and the siege of Athens is especially memorable for an event which must be regarded as a permanent misfortune to the whole civilised world. The Turks had abandoned the city, with the exception of the Acropolis. Here they maintained the defence, and during the siege one of the Venetian bombs fell into the Parthenon, which had been converted into a powder-magazine. The damage thus inflicted on some of the noblest remains of antiquity was irreparable ; but, regarded from a military point of view, it contributed to the desired effect. The Acropolis surrendered on the 29th of September, 1687, and the great seat of ancient philosophy and art was now completely in the hands of the Venetians. The Turkish star was once more declining, and the Grand Vizier Solymán, after his repeated defeats in Hungary and the adjacent countries, found his troops in a state of mutiny. The army was concentrated at Belgrade, where the Janizaries and Sipahis, alienated by the severity of Solymán's discipline, and enraged at his frequent reverses, deposed him from his high office, elected the Governor of Aleppo in his place, and sent envoys to Constantinople, to require that their acts should be ratified. The Vizier had fled to the capital ; but Mohammed IV., knowing that the infuriated soldiery were in full march for the Bosphorus, refused to support his chief Minister, and even ordered his head to be struck off. The mutineers were informed of this concession, but did not abandon their attitude of defiance. They even demanded the deposition of the Sultan himself, and continued their forward movement. Their wishes were seconded by the populace generally, and the Ulema, or men of the law, made themselves the interpreters of the general desire. Mohammed IV. had spent the greater part of his time in hunting and other amusements, and the Turks were now in no humour to tolerate an idle and unwarlike sovereign. The Sultan was upbraided with neglect of business, and required to resign the government into the hands of his brother. In order, if possible, to avoid such a step, Mohammed sent orders that his relative should be put to death ; but his commands were disregarded, and the Sultan was obliged to submit to a mandate framed by the Ulema in the Mosque of St. Sophia, on the 8th of November, 1687, and conveyed to him by the keeper of the holy standard. This mandate pro-

nounced the deposition of Mohammed IV.; his brother, Solymán II., was saluted as Padishah by the soldiers; and the fallen monarch was thrown into prison, where he died in 1691.

Even this change of government did not ensure the restoration of order. The rebellious troops entered Constantinople immediately after the appointment of the new sovereign, when the Janizaries and Sipahis demanded that the customary donation on the accession of a new Sultan should be increased, and that all unpopular ministers should be banished. These insolent requirements being resisted, the soldiers broke into still more confirmed rebellion, stormed and burned several of the ministerial palaces, and even slew the Grand Vizier whom they had themselves chosen. The insurrection was at length put down, in February, 1688, by a movement of the people themselves, and Ismael Pasha, a man of years and discretion, was called to the chief office. The position of the Empire was very serious, for the Imperialists, under the Elector of Bavaria and the Margrave Louis of Baden, were making great progress, and the Ottomans, distracted by military insubordination, were rapidly losing the supremacy they had recently once more acquired. Belgrade was taken in 1688; a large part of Bosnia submitted to the invaders; and the Porte was reduced to the necessity of soliciting peace. Leopold, however, believed that he was destined to destroy the Turkish Empire in Europe, and to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches. He therefore refused to entertain the Turkish proposals, and in 1689 the Margrave Louis penetrated into Servia, occupied the passes of the Balkans, captured several fortresses on the Danube, and took up his winter quarters in Wallachia. Still, the Turks were far from being reduced to extremities; and when Mustapha Kiuprili—the grandson of Mohammed, and son of Achmet—became Grand Vizier in 1690, so much vigour was thrown into the conduct of the war that the Imperialists receded from nearly all the positions they had won. The tide again shifted in the following year, during which Mustapha Kiuprili was defeated and slain by the Margrave Louis. In fact, the strength of the two belligerents was so fairly balanced that for several years the war proceeded with frequent alternations of success and failure on both sides. The Imperialists were in some degree weakened by the lukewarmness of their Hungarian troops. The Protestants of Hungary—a very numerous body—had been so severely persecuted by the Emperors that they had often doubted whether they would not be better off under a Mohammedan dominion.

Their hatred of Romanist idolatry inclined them to take a favourable view of the Moslem religion, and they were little disposed to strengthen a Catholic Empire by any serious reduction of the Turkish power. Even to the present day, the Hungarians show a friendly disposition towards the Ottomans; and in the latter part of the seventeenth century this feeling was perhaps even stronger, owing to greater provocation on the part of the Imperial sovereigns.

After his great defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, and the victories which he obtained in his pursuit of the invaders, John Sobieski gave earnest attention to the reform of his own country, where the arrogance of the nobility, and the miserable condition of the serfs, threatened the gravest consequences in the future; but his efforts in this respect were defeated by the selfishness of the privileged classes. He was accused of desiring to perpetuate the sovereignty in his own family, and the projects of amelioration which he pressed on the Legislature met with no support. His spirit was at length broken by continual opposition, and, in closing the Diet of 1688, he warned its members, in solemn language, that the ruin of the country was inevitable if the dominant orders continued in their fatal path. "For myself," he remarked, "I may from time to time have gained her battles; but I am powerless to save her." The words were indeed prophetic, but they made no impression on the assembled legislators. From that time forth, Sobieski appears to have refrained from any further attempt to remedy the abuses which were destroying the very life of Poland. In 1696 he was taken suddenly ill, and, dying on the 17th of June, was succeeded by Augustus of Saxony, whose election was supported by the Emperor, and secured by liberal payments. To qualify himself for the position, Augustus renounced his Protestantism for the faith of Rome, entered the kingdom with a body of Saxon troops, and was crowned at Cracow on the 15th of September, 1697.

His successor in the command of the Imperial army—which he had for some time held with no great credit to himself—was destined, within a short period, to gather brilliant laurels in the field of battle. Prince Eugene was descended from a younger branch of the House of Savoy, and related, through his mother, to Cardinal Mazarin. His father was the Comte de Soissons, and he was born in Paris on the 18th of October, 1663. His mother, Olimpia Mancini, was a distinguished member of the court of Louis XIV. during the earlier years of that reign, but in 1680 was banished, owing to a suspicion that she had been

concerned in some act of poisoning. The family suffered from the disgrace of Olympia; and when Eugene requested a commission in the army, he was refused by the King. He therefore offered his services to the Emperor Leopold, by whom they were accepted, renounced his allegiance to France, and would never listen to any proposals from the French Government having for their object a return to his former nationality. In excuse for conduct which, at the first blush, might seem

abandoned their camp, artillery, stores, and military chest. Nevertheless, the forces of Eugene were too much reduced to be capable of following up their victory by any extensive operations; and the war languished for a time, owing to the exhaustion of the two belligerents.

Meanwhile, the Venetians were pursuing their career of good fortune in Greece. Malvasia, in the Morea, was captured in 1690, and in 1694 the island of Chios, situated in the Archipelago, sub-



PRINCE EUGENE.

that of a traitor, it must be recollected that Eugene was much more an Italian than a Frenchman, and that at any rate he acted from no self-interested motive. His first campaign was against the Turks, and he was at Vienna during the siege of 1683. In 1691 he was raised to the command of the Imperial army in Piedmont, and obtained some brilliant successes over the French in the war then raging with that nation. On the return of the Duke of Savoy to the French alliance, Prince Eugene was again at the disposal of the Emperor, and his appointment to the chief command against the Turks, in 1697, afforded him a large field for the display of his military genius. He gained a signal victory over the Turks at Zenta, on the river Theiss, on September 11th, when the discomfiture of the Ottomans was so great that they

mitted to the Republican fleet. In the following year, however, that valuable possession was recovered by a Tunisian pirate, who offered to destroy the whole Venetian armament, if the Sultan would furnish him with twelve vessels of war. This success was more than counterbalanced by the failure of the Mohammedan arms in the direction of the Danube, where the Venetians acquired, and retained, a large tract of country. The conquest of Azof by the Russians, in 1696, was a serious blow to the Turks, since it gave Russia a position at the mouth of the Don, and opened the Black Sea to their enterprise and ambition. Worn out and disheartened by a long series of reverses, the Turks were now resolved to obtain peace at almost any price, and, in October, 1698, conferences were opened at Carlowitz, near Peterwaradin, in Austrian

Slavonia. On the 26th of January, 1699, treaties were signed between Turkey, on the one part, and the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Republic of Venice, on the other, by which the position of the eastern countries underwent a new settlement. In accordance with these treaties, the Emperor Leopold took the greater part of Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia, and Slavonia; the Poles received Podolia, the Ukraine, and Kamenick,

war had been unfortunate for Turkey; but, by the treaties of 1699, she retained that part of Hungary called the Banat of Temeswar, some portions of Transylvania and Slavonia, and the northern and eastern parts of Greece. At the period of the Peace of Carlowitz, the reigning Sultan was Mustapha II., a son of Mohammed IV., who in 1695 had succeeded Achmet II., the brother of Solyman II., who died in 1691. Mustapha was a



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which had been conquered by the Turks; and the Venetians kept the Morea, St. Maura, and Ægina, together with a strong frontier in Dalmatia. With Russia, peace was not concluded until July, 1702, owing to the reluctance of the Porte to abandon Azof to its northern enemy. Peter the Great, however, had posted himself so strongly in the coveted possession, and was so well acquainted with its value, that he would have risked a long continuance of the war, rather than relinquish what he had obtained. In the end, Azof was handed over to him, together with eighty miles of the adjacent territory, and in a little while a fortress of unusual strength bore witness to the power of Russia in the vicinity of the Euxine. The general results of the

man of good military abilities, accompanied his armies to the field, and was often fortunate in his operations; but the concessions he was at length obliged to make raised so strong a feeling of opposition that an insurrection in 1703 compelled his resignation of the sovereignty.

The internal affairs of Germany presented little of interest during the progress of the war; but in 1692 Hanover underwent an important change by its elevation to the dignity of a ninth Electorate. The Emperor conferred this honour on Duke Ernest Augustus, but with the understanding that the Duke was to furnish him with 6,000 men, in addition to his ordinary contingent, as long as the war lasted, and at the same time to pay a subsidy of 500,000

crowns. In other respects, the Duke was compelled to bind himself, his heirs and successors, to an unquestioning support of the House of Austria in all important transactions. This arrangement was strongly opposed by some of the other German princes, and it was not until several years later that a full recognition of the new Electoral dignity was obtained by George Louis, the son of Ernest Augustus. A more important change was effected, at an earlier period, in the Constitution of Denmark, the weakness of which kingdom was due to the oligarchical nature of its government. The nobles were exempt from taxation, and enjoyed many privileges which they used to the detriment of the State. In the war with Sweden, they refused to take any part in the defence of Copenhagen, and the popular hatred of their order was so extreme that Frederick III. saw his opportunity for effecting a pacific revolution. Great concessions were made by him both to the citizens and the serfs, and Copenhagen was constituted one of the States of the kingdom, which conferred on it a voice in the direction of public affairs. A general Assembly was opened at the Danish capital on the 10th of September, 1660, when a contention arose as to whether the taxes necessitated by the late war should be shared by the nobility or not. The representatives of the clergy and citizens took the popular side; but the great landowners stood out obstinately for the retention of their invidious privilege. Up to this time, the Danish crown had been elective; it was now declared to be hereditary, both in the male and female issue of the King—a change which the nobles were compelled to accept by the pressure of military force. On the 18th of October, an oath of homage was taken to Frederick, and the administration was entrusted to various official bodies, the members of which could be appointed or dismissed at the sovereign's pleasure. The Constitution of Denmark was thus changed from an oligarchy to an autocracy; but the despotic powers acquired by the King, and which were supported by a standing army of 24,000 men, were in reality much more favourable to the national well-being than the state of aristocratical misgovernment which had preceded them.

Unlike Denmark, Sweden became even more aristocratical in its constitution after the Peace of Copenhagen in 1660. The Regency appointed by Charles X., a little before his death, was overthrown by a combination of the nobles, and an oligarchical government was established, which administered the royal domains, the national revenues, and the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority of Charles XI. The subsequent alliances of Sweden

with England, during the early years of the reign of Charles II., have already been described; but the contests of the northern kingdom with the Elector of Brandenburg, and with Christian V. of Denmark, merit a more particular account than has been given in connection with the wars of Louis XIV. In 1672, Sweden entered into a treaty with that powerful monarch, to help him in his conflict with the Dutch; and the Elector of Brandenburg, having in 1674 leagued himself with the Emperor, the Dutch States, and Spain, assumed an attitude of hostility towards the Swedes, who had invaded his dominions. His warlike projects received no sanction from the Emperor, or the German princes generally; but Frederick William was a man of ambitious views, and hoped to extend his dominions at the cost of his Scandinavian enemy. He therefore set his troops in motion towards the March of Brandenburg, which the Swedes had occupied, and the war began in the summer of 1675. The Swedes, taken by surprise, were defeated at Rathenau on the 25th of June, and again at Fehrbellin on the 28th. The latter reverse was so considerable that the Swedes were obliged to quit the Electoral dominion with the utmost haste.

The throne of Denmark was now occupied by Christian V., who had succeeded his father, Frederick III., in 1670. He could not well be indifferent to a war which might approach his frontiers; but, before joining the Elector of Brandenburg—the alliance which appeared most politic—he inveigled the Duke of Holstein, a connection of Charles XI., into a meeting at Rendsborg, and compelled him, by actual violence, to sign a convention on the 10th of July, 1675, by which he consented to transfer his troops to the Danish service, and to place his dominions at the disposal of Christian. The result of these proceedings was the conclusion of a secret treaty between the King of Denmark and the Elector of Brandenburg, when the contracting parties engaged to carry on war against the King of Sweden until they had effected an arrangement favourable to the interests of both parties. The allies were soon afterwards supported by a Dutch fleet, and the war raged with great fury both by sea and land. Upon the whole, the issue of the contest was unfavourable to Sweden; but a sanguinary battle, fought in December, 1676, between the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, near Lunden, the ancient capital of Scania, terminated rather in favour of Charles XI. than of Christian V. Both sovereigns claimed the victory; but the Danes were so much disabled as to be prevented from pursuing their invasion of the Swedish dominions. The Elector of Branden-

burg was more fortunate in his operations; and, before the close of the year, a more intimate alliance was concluded between him and his northern ally.

The campaign of 1677 was distinguished by many stirring actions, in which the Swedes were often victorious by land, but generally unfortunate on the sea. The King of Denmark took the island of Rügen, lost it shortly afterwards, and again obtained possession of its wild shores and solitary fields. On the 26th of December, the Elector of Brandenburg captured Stettin, after a six months' siege, and the misfortunes of the Swedes continued throughout the first half of 1678. In the autumn of that year, however, a large Swedish force, under Field-Marshal Horn, Governor of Livonia, entered the Duchy of Prussia (one of the possessions of Frederick William), and penetrated as far as Insterburg. The Elector was not a little alarmed at this invasion, for he had alienated the goodwill of the Prussians by his dictatorial rule, and feared that they might join the Scandinavian army. In the early winter of 1679, Frederick William proceeded with all haste into this portion of his dominions; crossing the intervening friths on the ice, and compelling his army to proceed, with the aid of sledges, at the rate of ten or twelve leagues a day. The celerity of his movements rescued his cause in Prussia from very probable extinction. The Swedes, after sustaining a comparatively slight defeat, near Tilsit, at the hands of Frederick's advanced guard, were entirely crushed by the Elector at the neighbouring village of Splitter. The invaders were pursued for several miles, and a meagre and exhausted remnant at length got back to Livonia, though with the loss of their commander, who was taken by the victorious Germans. Thus, the Swedish policy, in quarrelling with the Great Elector, had been productive of little save disaster, and the defeat of Marshal Horn left Charles XI. in no position for renewed exertions.

On the other hand, the Emperor Leopold regarded with much jealousy the repeated successes of Frederick William, and showed a disposition to abandon his cause, now that it had so signally triumphed. The Treaty of Nimeguen, between France and Holland, had been concluded on the 11th of August, 1678, and the Emperor acceded to its terms on the 5th of February, 1679. Louis XIV., who had received some help from Sweden, insisted that the northern allies should restore to that kingdom all the territories they had conquered, and, as already mentioned, he succeeded in this design. The Elector of Brandenburg held out as long as he dared; but when the French King

took measures for entering his dominions, he considered it prudent to give way, and a treaty was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye on the 29th of June, 1679. This agreement left the Swedes in possession of nearly all they had held before the war. Christian of Denmark accepted a similar arrangement by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed on the 2nd of September, 1679; and the Treaty of Lunden, between Denmark and Sweden, followed on September 26th. All these treaties were favourable to Sweden, but only through the interposition of France; and the country was left in a state of extreme exhaustion, with a ruined treasury and a damaged military reputation. The general discontent, which was directed chiefly against the aristocracy, led to a revolution in 1680, similar to that which had occurred in Sweden twenty years before. A Diet was assembled at Stockholm, and the Chamber of Nobles surrounded by soldiers; after which the three Lower Estates, consisting of the clergy, the peasants, and the burghers, passed a resolution conferring absolute power upon the King. Charles XI. knew that he could depend on the army, and the nobles soon acknowledged that they had no choice but to submit.

Two years later, the Council of State was converted into a Royal Council, the members of which were nominated by the King, and held office entirely at his pleasure. Measures of an arbitrary character were then adopted, restoring to the Crown a large number of landed estates which had for several years been held on lease, or otherwise. Numerous families were ruined by this sweeping reform, and the sufferings of the nobility were still further increased by the imposition of a tax amounting to a fourth part of their revenues. The aristocracy had long been in possession of privileges unjust in themselves, and impolitic in any well-ordered State. They had used those privileges in a spirit of unmitigated selfishness; but they were now themselves the victims of arbitrary and inequitable regulations. The King, however, was resolved to put down all opposition; and when, in 1694, a deputation from Livonia protested against the measures of the court, its members were condemned to death as rebels. The sentence was afterwards commuted to one of perpetual imprisonment; but even this milder penalty was grossly disproportioned to the offence. Having thus established the revolution that had been made in his favour, Charles XI. devoted the remaining years of his reign to the reorganisation of the Swedish army and navy, and the recovery of the national finances. The King himself, together

with his household, lived with extreme frugality, and, although the people were heavily taxed, the revenue was not wasted. Charles perceived that the greatness which Sweden had reached during the reigns of his father and of his father's uncle, could never be restored, nor, if restored, maintained, without the institution of a large military force, well disciplined, and kept up from year to year in a state of the highest efficiency. He therefore decreed that every nobleman should provide a soldier, or a certain number of soldiers, according to his means, and that the peasants also should contribute to the national armament at their own expense, except in respect of horses, which were furnished by the State. The army so formed was exercised twice a year, and soon became an instrument of terrible force and efficiency.

The death of Charles XI. occurred in 1697; that of Christian V., his Danish enemy, in 1699. When Charles XI. expired, his son, afterwards the celebrated warrior, Charles XII., was only fifteen years of age, for the late monarch himself was barely forty-two. The Regent was the young

King's grandmother, Hedwige Eleanora of Holstein, the difficulties of whose position were greatly lessened by the politic measures of recent years. This was fortunate for Sweden, since many of the northern sovereigns were willing to take advantage of the national weakness, resulting from the conduct of affairs being suddenly transferred to the hands of an elderly woman. The foreign possessions secured to Sweden by recent treaties excited the jealousy of other Powers, and invited attack whenever the opportunity should seem favourable. Had the kingdom been as weak as it undoubtedly was after the conclusion of the war with Brandenburg and Denmark, in 1679, it would certainly have been attacked at once; but the military reforms of Charles XI. gave Sweden a breathing time, during which she was able to prepare herself for the great struggle to which the ambition of neighbouring princes, and the natural inclinations of Charles XII. himself, alike devoted her. The events of that struggle must be related farther on. In the meanwhile, our attention is solicited by the affairs of Western and Central Europe.

CHAPTER XXX.

LOUIS XIV. AND WILLIAM III.

Position of Louis XIV. after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Enmity of William of Orange—The League of Augsburg—Claims of Louis on the Palatinate—War with the Emperor Leopold—Opening Campaign in the Palatinate—Ruthless Devastation of the Country—Intervention of Louis in the Affairs of Cologne—His Quarrel with Pope Innocent XI.—Alliance between the Emperor and the United Provinces of the Netherlands—Naval Victory of the French off Beachy Head—Campaigns of 1689, 1690, and 1691—Project for the Invasion of England in 1692—Defeat of the French Naval Forces off La Hogue—Final Years of the Life of James II.—Successes of the French on Land—Ineffectual Efforts of William III.—Renewed Devastation by the French in Germany—Victory at Marsaglia, in Piedmont—Early Use of the Bayonet in Infantry Charges—Defeat of the English and Dutch at Sea—Rapid Exhaustion of France—French Privateers in the English Channel—Capture of Namur by William III.—Alliance of the Duke of Savoy with the French—Conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick (1697)—Question of the Spanish Succession—Progress of Affairs in England under William—Jealousy of the Royal Prerogative—Rise of the System of Party Government—Foundation of the Bank of England, and Commencement of the National Debt—Death of Queen Mary—Reduction of the Army—Claimants to the Spanish Throne in the event of King Charles's Death—Opposition of Louis XIV. and the Emperor Leopold—Action of William III.—The Two Treaties of Partition—Death of Charles II. of Spain—Succession of the Grandson of Louis to the Spanish Throne.

EXHAUSTED as France had been by the contests of recent years, Louis XIV. could not refrain from conduct which was pretty certain to provoke a renewal of hostilities. His almost unqualified success had probably induced the belief that he was invincible, and that no combination of Powers could prevail against him. But the greatest man cannot afford to make indiscriminate enemies, and Louis had certainly been reckless as to whom he offended. On the one hand, the Pope was alienated by his independence; on the other, the Protestants were

injured by his bigotry. With respect to merely political issues, the German Empire and the Spanish Monarchy were alarmed and angry at the progress of France, and the rapacious policy of her sovereign. It would be hard to say in what direction Louis had any friends, unless it was in England, where first Charles II., and then James, were glad to take his money and adopt his religion. But he could not have been unaware that the English people, with few exceptions, were strongly opposed to him and his faith, and he should have seen that, amongst so

stubborn a race, his projects were not likely to succeed. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, filled England with his enemies, and scattered many others over Holland and Germany. It was in Holland that active opposition to his power first arose. The Stadtholder, William of Orange, had every reason to cherish a feeling of hatred against Louis XIV. The French monarch had invaded his country several years before, and reduced it almost to the verge of ruin. Since then, he had shown an unfriendly sentiment towards the nation of traders, as he scornfully termed the Dutch; and in 1682 he inflicted an injury on William by incorporating in the French dominions his principality of Orange, in Provence, which was in truth an Imperial fief. The Prince determined on revenge; and personal feelings, together with political motives, mingled with religious convictions in the mind of the Stadtholder.

The oppression of the French Protestants kindled his resentment to the utmost. Self-preservation alone made it necessary to take some measures against a sovereign who was equally arrogant, and equally dangerous, on secular and on spiritual grounds. William of Orange, therefore, set himself to organise a powerful confederacy against the King of France, and the result was the formation of the League of Augsburg, which was concluded on the 9th of July, 1686, and to which the Emperor of Germany, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Elector Palatine, were parties. The object of the agreement was to maintain the Treaties of Münster and Nimeguen, and the Truce of Ratisbon. Each of the members was to support any of the others, if attacked; and the allies were to raise a body of 60,000 men, who were to be frequently drilled, and to form a camp for some weeks during every year. Although the Stadtholder had been the chief instigator of this League, Holland did not immediately join the coalition, as it would have imperilled the designs of William to assume at that moment a position of open hostility towards France. Louis was, of course, fully aware of the objects with which the League had been formed; but he hesitated for a while as to how he should proceed. At length he determined to strike at Germany, and the requisite pretext was found in a difference of opinion which had arisen with respect to the Palatinate. The Duke of Orleans, the brother of Louis, had married the sister of the Elector Palatine Charles (the last of the House of Simmern), who died in 1685, when his nearest relative, Philip William, Duke of Neuburg, assumed the government of the Electorate. On her marriage,

the Duchess had reserved her rights to the allodial property and movables of her family; and Louis insisted on including under the latter head the cannon of the fortresses, as well as the furniture of the State dwellings. The new Elector satisfied these claims by a heavy payment, and Louis then demanded, in respect of the allodial property, a very large proportion of the Electorate.* Such extravagant pretensions were, of course, resisted, and the relations between France and Germany grew strained and uneasy. It was not, however, until two years after the conclusion of the League of Augsburg that the French monarch resolved on war with the Emperor, who, in obedience to the terms of that understanding, had supported the cause of the Elector Palatine against the claims of France. In addition to this grievance, there were other allegations of unfriendly conduct on the part of Leopold; and, at the close of the French manifesto, that sovereign was required to convert the Truce of Ratisbon into a definitive peace.

Compromise being impossible where the demands were so high, and the spirit was so irreconcilable, war broke out, in October, 1688, when a large French army (nominally commanded by the Dauphin, but really under the directions of Marshals Duras and Vauban) entered the Palatinate, and, besieging Philipsburg, compelled it to surrender within a month. Hopeless of a successful defence, Mannheim submitted immediately after. At the same time, another corps, operating in a different direction, under the command of the Marquis de Boufflers, took possession of nearly all the cities on the left bank of the Rhine, belonging to the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Mainz. The French then ascended the Moselle, and captured Treves, while Marshal d'Humières invaded the Bishopric of Liège, and occupied Dinant. A series of almost unparalleled atrocities followed these military successes. On the advice of his Minister, Louvois, who saw that the Palatinate could not be permanently held, Louis ordered that the whole country should be devastated with fire, lest it should be re-occupied by the enemy; and these directions were ruthlessly carried out. The people, it is true, were warned to retire; but whither could they go, when their dwellings were ruined, their household goods demolished, their crops wasted, their means of life destroyed? All the places between Mainz and Philipsburg were given to the flames, and many noble cathedrals and churches, together with other

* Allodial tenure was the free and absolute right of property in land, independently of any burden of homage or fidelity to a superior. It was the least onerous part of the Feudal system.

remains of the Middle Ages, were reduced to blackened wrecks. More than forty towns and villages were burned; a large tract of fertile country was converted into a desert; and a hundred thousand human beings wandered houseless about the open fields. The Emperor Leopold expressed the general sense of Europe, when, on the 24th of January, 1689, in confirming a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon for a declaration of war, he character-

holder of Holland was his most deadly antagonist; but he refrained from attacking him until circumstances appeared favourable to the design. Immediately on learning that the Prince of Orange had conducted his forces into England, to assist in the deposition of James, he declared war against the United Provinces; founding his action, however, not on William's expedition, but on the intervention of the Dutch in the affairs of Cologne. This



BEACHY HEAD.

ised Louis XIV. as the enemy of all Christendom, and worthy to be regarded in the same light as the Turk. A few months later, he wrote to the same effect to the dethroned King James, who had solicited the assistance of the Emperor against William of Orange, in the names of legitimacy and the Catholic religion. The French, said Leopold, had "burned the palaces of princes, plundered the churches, carried away the inhabitants as slaves, and treated the Catholics with a cruelty of which the Turks themselves would be ashamed." In retaliation for these acts, the Diet of Ratisbon decreed the expulsion of every Frenchman from Germany, and interdicted all commerce with France.

It had long been known to Louis that the Stadt-

was also one of the pretexts for the war with Germany. Cardinal von Fürstenberg, a creature of the French monarch, had been elected to the Archbishopric of Cologne by part of the Chapter; but the Emperor had contrived that the Bavarian Prince, Joseph Clement, should be chosen in his place. The Archbishopric carried with it the Electorate of Cologne, and Louis hoped, by prevailing in this matter, to acquire an influence in the affairs of the Empire. Clement, however, was supported by the reigning Pope, Innocent XI, the implacable enemy of Louis XIV. Other causes of quarrel still further explain the antagonism between the Pontiff and the King, and the latter accused Innocent of encouraging the Prince of Orange to



WILLIAM III. AT THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

attack the King of England, with a view to the extirpation of Catholicism—a strange charge to bring against the head of that religion; though it is clear that, in his hatred of Louis, Innocent had really given some kind of countenance to the projects of William. Louis plainly informed the Pope that he should continue to assist Cardinal von Fürstenberg; and Innocent XI. replied by proclaiming Clement of Bavaria Archbishop of Cologne, and by excommunicating the Parliament of Paris, which had supported the contention of the King. That the Prince of Orange had sided with Clement, rather than with Fürstenberg, was doubtless an additional motive with Louis for proclaiming war against the Dutch Republic; yet it is probable that his principal reason was the interference of William in the affairs of England, the result of which would be to increase, in a very marked degree, the forces already marshalled against the ambition of France. Louis, having thus assumed a posture of open hostility towards William of Orange, the Emperor Leopold entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with the United Provinces on the 12th of May, 1689. The declared object of the alliance was to prosecute war against the French monarch until he should be reduced within the limits prescribed by the Treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. In his capacity of King of England, William acceded to this treaty on the 30th of December, 1689; the King of Spain took the same course on the 6th of June, 1690; and the combination thus effected against France was called the Grand Alliance.

The French sovereign's endeavours on behalf of James II. began shortly after the opening of the Continental war. We have seen that they were entirely unsuccessful; but the naval forces of France distinguished themselves in an action with the combined forces of Holland and England, which was fought off Beachy Head on the 30th of June, 1690. In this encounter, the Dutch showed to much greater advantage than their allies. The English Admiral, Herbert, Earl of Torrington, exhibited manifest reluctance, and was suspected of being in the interests of James. The French commander, Count Tourville, displayed the highest skill and gallantry, and the allied fleet was ultimately compelled to seek shelter in the Thames. For some weeks, the French held undisputed possession of the Channel. Teignmouth was attacked and destroyed, and it was expected every day that the French would invade England. Fortunately, however, they refrained from such an enterprise, and the Battle of the Boyne, which was fought the very day after the engagement off Beachy Head, gave convincing proof that Louis had little chance

of prevailing against the resolution of William III. and of the English people. The turn of events in Ireland, while not immediately putting an end to French interposition on behalf of James, probably saved England from the horrors of war, waged after the fashion which Louvois suggested and Louis XIV. carried out. The sovereign of France, moreover, had by this time enough to do in encountering the enemies whom his policy had created on the Continent of Europe.

The war went somewhat in favour of the Imperialists during the year 1689; but in 1690 the French were led by two very able officers, the Duke of Luxembourg and General Catinat, the second of whom was of plebeian origin, and had won his way upwards against the jealousy of an aristocratic court. These commanders gave a decided preponderance to the arms of France, and Catinat, in particular, overran the greater part of Savoy, as a punishment for the refusal of Victor Amadeus to give military support to the French cause. The consequence of these attacks was that the Duke joined the Grand Alliance, and in the following year (1691) Catinat was less prosperous against the Piedmontese. The Duke of Luxembourg was remarkably successful in the campaign of 1690, directed against Prince Waldeck in the Spanish Netherlands; and in 1691, that commander, accompanied by Louis himself, laid siege to Mons, the capital of Hainault, which surrendered after a siege of only nine days. King William marched with a large force to the relief of this city, but arrived too late to be of any service. In the summer of the same year, the cruel but gifted French Minister, Louvois, died under a species of disgrace, brought about by Madame de Maintenon, who hated him for his pride and arrogance. His administrative skill and consummate knowledge of war had made him extremely serviceable to a monarch such as Louis; and, although the King rejoiced at his death, he found it very difficult to supply his loss.

In the spring of 1692, Louis found himself at the head of forces more numerous than any that had ever before obeyed the orders of a French sovereign. Nevertheless, it was determined that, in Germany, Piedmont, and Spain, the armies of France should remain simply on the defensive, in order that the main strength of the country should be directed towards two great objects—the restoration of James II. to the throne of England, and the reduction of the Spanish Netherlands. For the first of these purposes, five hundred transports were provided, to convey 30,000 men to the British shores; and their passage across the Channel was to be protected by fifty ships of the line, under the command

of Count Tourville, who had distinguished himself in the naval battle near Beachy Head. This time he was not to be so fortunate, though the blame of his repulse must be attributed rather to Louis than to himself. Midway between Cape Barfleur and the Isle of Wight lay the combined English and Dutch fleet, numbering no fewer than ninety-nine sail of the line. The French King sent orders to his Admiral that he should at once attack the enemy—orders which Tourville had no choice but to obey, and which his gallant nature would have been the last to decline. A desperate conflict, on the 19th of May, lasted until nightfall without any definite results, and during the darkness Tourville escaped to the French coast. Here he was followed by the English and Dutch vessels, which, on the 23rd of May, inflicted a terrible defeat on the French. The battle was fought by Tourville under cover of the artillery which the army of invasion had planted on the neighbouring heights of La Hogue; and, to obtain full advantage of this assistance, he caused his vessels to be stranded on the beach, with their broadsides to the enemy. The disproportion of the opposing fleets was to a great extent neutralised by this arrangement; yet the English commander, Admiral Rooke, sending his frigates, and the boats of the larger vessels, into the shallow waters, succeeded in capturing thirteen of the French men-of-war, and in burning so many that the armament was almost annihilated. The action was witnessed from the cliffs by James II., who could not refrain from admiring the courage of the English sailors, even while they were effecting the total ruin of his cause. The dethroned monarch seems now to have given up all hope of better days, and, retiring to St. Germain, he devoted the remainder of his life to the practice of charity and of self-mortification. The austerity of his habits not improbably hastened his death. On Good Friday, 1701, he was stricken with paralysis while listening in his chapel to the service of the day. After lying for some time insensible, he partially recovered for a few months, when a second stroke gave notice of his approaching end. The French King assured the dying man that he would acknowledge his son as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. James expired on the 16th of September, 1701, and the young prince, afterwards known as the First Pretender, was immediately proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, the rightful possessor of a throne which he was never to occupy.

The defeat of Tourville at La Hogue was a humiliation for Louis, as well as a fatal misfortune for James. On land, however, the French arms were successful throughout the year 1692.

At the head of 100,000 men, the French King and the Duke of Luxembourg laid siege to Namur on the 25th of May, and pressed the attack so vigorously that the town surrendered in less than a week. Nevertheless, one of the forts held out for nearly a month, but at length yielded to the engineering science of Marshal Vauban. King William was in the neighbourhood with 70,000 men, but was as powerless to save Namur as he had previously been to succour Mons. Louis then returned to Versailles, leaving his Marshal to repel the assaults of the enemy. On the 3rd of August, the French commander was attacked by William, and very nearly defeated, but, at the close of the day, he succeeded in repulsing the English forces. At the hands of the Duke of Savoy, the French suffered some reverses, though not such as to produce any great effect on the general course of the war. The campaign of 1693 seemed likely to be distinguished by a brilliant triumph near Louvain, where the forces of Louis were confronted by those of William. The French army was in an extremely favourable position for meeting any attack by the English King, who nevertheless offered battle to his opponents. The Duke of Luxembourg eagerly desired that the encounter should take place; but Louis feared the result, and, sending a portion of his troops into Germany, hurriedly returned to Paris. His own soldiers regarded his conduct with open contempt, and he never again ventured to appear at their head. After the King's departure, Luxembourg won a brilliant victory over King William, at Neerwinden, on the 29th of July; but the defeated sovereign conducted his retreat with that consummate self-possession which was one of his finest characteristics, and which he had often shown on other occasions of reverse. Luxembourg did not attempt to follow him, but soon afterwards captured Charleroi, which ended the campaign in that part of Europe.

Little was effected in Germany, except the conquest of the ruins of Heidelberg, which had been destroyed by the French at the latter end of 1688, but had partially recovered in 1693. On the second occasion, the women were outraged by the troops under Marshal de Lorges, the churches set on fire, and the citizens plundered and driven from their homes. When the news reached France, a "Te Deum" was sung at Paris, and a boastful medal was struck, in commemoration of the crime. In Piedmont, Catinat (who had now become a Marshal) overthrew the Duke of Savoy at Marsaglia, on the 4th of

October, when Prince Eugene, who commanded the allied infantry, once more gave proof of the high abilities he possessed. It was about this time that the bayonet first came into use as one of the principal weapons of foot-soldiers. Its name is derived from the town of Bayonne, where it is said to have been invented, and its employment by the French at the battle of Marsaglia produced great astonishment and dismay in the ranks of the enemy, who were wholly unprepared for so novel an onslaught. The French were also successful in Catalonia, where they captured Rosas on the 9th of June. A defeat of Admiral Rooke by Count Tourville, in the Bay of Lagos, added another to the French triumphs of the year. The action, which was fought on the 27th of June, resulted in the capture of a large portion of the English and Dutch fleet of merchantmen from Smyrna which the Admiral was convoying.

With but few exceptions, Louis had been remarkably successful in this the latest series of his wars; but the country was being rapidly exhausted by its efforts to maintain the army and navy at their height. France, indeed, was in no position to enter on such extensive contests; for the national resources had been terribly drained by the earlier wars of the same reign, and sufficient money could not be raised for these new adventures, without resorting to objectionable expedients. The currency was depreciated; trade and agriculture were hampered by injurious taxes; it was found necessary to send the silver plate of private individuals to be coined at the Mint; and so many of the peasants were pressed into the ranks of the army that an insufficient number remained for the proper cultivation of the land. The French sovereign was therefore desirous of effecting a peace, and, through the mediation of Sweden and Denmark, which had recently adopted a position of neutrality, offered to make great concessions to the Empire, as the price of a general pacification. These proposals, however, were not favourably received, either by the Emperor Leopold, or by William of England, both of whom hoped to extract much from the evident exhaustion of France. The war was therefore resumed in 1694, but with considerable languor, except in Catalonia, where Marshal Noailles gained some striking victories. The allies were almost uniformly unsuccessful, and, even on the sea, the English and Dutch armaments achieved but little. The English Channel was swept by French privateers, under the command of remarkably daring and unscrupulous captains; and the merchant-vessels of England and the United Provinces

were repeatedly captured by these adventurous sea-rovers.

Marshal Luxembourg, the commander of the French army in the Netherlands, died on the 4th of January, 1696, when his post was conferred on Marshal Villeroi, a court favourite, possessed of no ability for the discharge of such important functions. Namur was taken by King William on the 6th of September, and nothing was accomplished by his antagonist to counterbalance this serious loss. The Duke of Savoy, however, came to an understanding with the French, by which, while still preserving a pretence of adhering to the Grand Alliance, he promoted the interests of Louis in various underhand ways. But the good fortune of the French was evidently on the decline, and the Flemish and German campaigns of 1696 were distinguished by no important events. Victor Amadeus of Savoy now openly concluded an alliance with Louis, and threatened to invade the Milanese territory; yet, despite this accession of strength, the French King was impressed with the necessity of making peace, and, after much preliminary discussion, carried on through the agency of Sweden, the plenipotentiaries of the several belligerents met at Ryswick, a village near the Hague, on the 9th of May, 1697. During the progress of negotiations, the French generals still continued the campaign, especially in Catalonia, where, on the 10th of August, Barcelona was forced to capitulate. All the parties to the war were by this time weary of its continuance, and, on the 20th of September, three treaties were signed, between France on the one part, and Holland, England, and Spain on the other. One of the chief features of the treaty with Great Britain was the recognition of William III. as the lawful sovereign of that country. At the same time, Louis XIV. undertook to give no further assistance to the enemies of the reigning King; and thus one of the principal objects of William was attained, without the achievement of any great success on his part, except the recapture of Namur. The treaty with the Emperor was not concluded until the 30th of October; for Leopold was less desirous of peace than the other Powers, and hesitated whether he would not carry on the war alone. By his agreements with the belligerent Powers, Louis relinquished most of his territorial acquisitions; but he reserved to himself all the places, both in Higher and Lower Alsace, of which he had taken possession several years before. The Duke of Lorraine was reinstated in his dominions after an exile of twenty-seven years, and the Bavarian

prince, Joseph Clement, was left in possession of the Electorate of Cologne. It is lamentable to reflect that a war of nine years, waged with extraordinary bitterness on all sides, and productive of incalculable misery to a large portion of the human race, should have resulted in very little advantage to any one. France was in a decidedly worse position than at the commencement of hostilities, and the pride of Louis was deeply wounded by a consummation which all the genius of his commanders, and all the valour of his troops, had been unable to avert.

More than one motive determined the French sovereign to accept a peace which must in many ways have been distasteful to his self-love. The alarming exhaustion of France was a circumstance which he could not overlook, and he had designs with respect to Spain, which a continuance of the war might have frustrated, or at least endangered. Charles II., the monarch of that country, who succeeded to the throne in 1665, had long been in a state of physical and mental prostration approaching imbecility. It was quite certain that he would leave no heir to the throne, and Louis believed that, if his hands were not tied in other directions, he would be able to make arrangements favourable to his own aggrandisement. The Emperor Leopold was well informed of these designs, and his reluctance to conclude peace proceeded from a hope that, by the continuance of the war, he should defeat the pretensions of Louis to the Spanish succession. The feeling of the other Powers, however, was strongly in favour of an arrangement, and the Treaties of Ryswick were the consequence of their determination to bring hostilities to a close.

During the progress of the war, William III. had been unable to give much attention to the affairs of England, as he was almost continuously engaged in opposing French attempts upon the Netherlands. But this very circumstance enabled the principles of the Revolution to take deeper root in England, since they were not compromised by what might have been regarded as a foreign influence. Even before his departure for the seat of war in the spring of 1691, William had found his power regarded with jealousy by the very party which had called him into England. The royal prerogative was circumscribed in a spirit of open distrust. By the Mutiny Act (1689), the House of Commons acquired an annual control over the pay and discipline of the army. The Triennial Act (1694) established the custom of appealing to the constituencies once in every three years. Religious toleration was established shortly after the

Revolution; but the Nonjuring clergy, who refused to swear allegiance to William, were subjected to some penalties. The Convention Parliament, composed chiefly of Whigs, refused to settle the Crown revenue upon the King for life, and confined the grant first to four years, and afterwards to one year. William dissolved the assembly in anger, and appealed to the constituencies, which in 1690 returned a House of Commons with a decided inclination to Tory principles. The Jacobites in the Scottish Highlands were a constant source of anxiety, and England itself would have been invaded by the French and the refugees, but for the great victory at La Hogue in 1692.

The position of the King at this time was far from enviable. The adherents of the former monarch were busy with their intrigues; the Tories, even when not actually disloyal, were unfriendly to a prince who reigned in defiance of hereditary right; and the Whigs desired to lower the royal power, in order that the chief influence of the State might pass into the hands of a few aristocratic families. The ill-success of the war increased the unpopularity of the King, and Parliament was disgraced by a spirit of faction with which the Ministers of the Crown knew not how to contend. It was in the midst of these difficulties that the Earl of Sunderland, who had held office towards the end of Charles II.'s reign, and through the greater part of James's, made a suggestion to William, which has ever since formed the basis of English Government. He recommended the sovereign to choose his Ministers from among the members of the party which was strongest in the House of Commons. Such was the beginning of party government in England—a change in the national procedure which must be referred to the year 1693, though its adoption was at first rather partial than complete. When, however, in 1695, a new election resulted in the return of a House of Commons decidedly favourable to the Whigs, the king did not hesitate to replace his Tory Ministers by a Government selected from the dominant party. The Lower House now worked with greater regularity and force than it had ever shown before, and several measures of a liberal character were rapidly passed into law. The Commons refused to renew the Bill for the censorship of the press, and an immense number of public prints made their appearance immediately after.

The Bank of England had been established in the previous year (1694), on a plan suggested by one Paterson, a Scottish adventurer, who persuaded the Finance Minister, Montague, to adopt his

ideas. This was the commencement of the permanent National Debt, which, from the original sum of £1,200,000, lent by the new Company, has grown in time to a portentous bulk, and which, even at the Peace of Ryswick, only three years after the beginning of the system, had swollen to the amount of twenty-one millions and a half. Its creation, however, proved an additional source of strength to the Revolutionary Govern-

Jacobites, who formed numerous conspiracies, and even plotted the assassination of William. On the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick, the English Parliament showed a spirit of great opposition to the monarch, and insisted on a large reduction of the army, and on the dismissal of those regiments of French Protestant refugees and Dutch guards, by which the King had surrounded himself. In these demands both parties agreed, and



NAMUR.

ment, since all who had lent money to King William were concerned in the maintenance of his authority against the plots of the Jacobites. At the same time, Montague, the ablest financier of his time, effected a reform of the coinage, and delivered it from a debasement which had long injured the national credit. Such were some of the triumphs of 1695; but, in the beginning of that year, William experienced a severe affliction in the death of his consort, Queen Mary, to whom, notwithstanding a certain coldness of disposition, more apparent than real, he was tenderly attached. The decease of Mary was regarded by several persons as putting an end to the King's right to the crown, and this naturally revived the hopes of the

it cannot be said that they were altogether unreasonable. William, however, was much attached to his Dutch troops, and feared that, if deprived of them, he would be left without sufficient protection against the murderous designs of his enemies. He struggled hard for the maintenance of a standing force, such as he considered necessary for the safety of the kingdom and of himself, but was at length compelled to give way before the unmistakable determination of the English people. Parliament would not allow more than 7,000 men on the peace establishment, and all of these were to be natives. Mortified by the successful opposition to his wishes, William exclaimed, in a moment of impatience, that he regretted

having ever interfered in the fortunes of so suspicious and ungrateful a race.

It was with a sense of relief that he turned his thoughts from English to foreign politics. The Treaties of Ryswick secured for Europe only a brief repose; and indeed it was obvious from the first that the death of Charles II. of Spain would once more light up a general conflagration. We have already observed that the Spanish monarch

union of the Spanish and French crowns in the person of a French prince, and the succession of Maria Theresa's posterity was therefore deliberately excluded in the marriage treaty. No such precaution was taken on the marriage of the younger princess, for the combination of Spain and the Empire under one sovereign was a circumstance familiar to the Spanish people, and indeed associated with their days of glory and



THE OLD BANK OF ENGLAND, LOOKING FROM THE MANSION HOUSE. (From a Print of 1733.)

was childless, and without the hope of issue. A question therefore arose, as to who was to be his successor when he himself should be removed by death. Of the two daughters of Charles's father, Philip IV., the elder, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV., while the younger, Margarita, was the consort of the Emperor Leopold. The eldest son of Louis and Maria Theresa had consequently, on purely natural grounds, the better right to the succession; but Maria Theresa, on her marriage to the French sovereign, had renounced, both for herself and her descendants, all claim to the Spanish throne. It had been considered by Charles's advisers that it would be dangerous to admit any such contingency as the

predominance. The daughter of the Emperor Leopold and Margarita had married the Elector of Bavaria, and at her death had left an infant son, who was generally regarded by the Spaniards as their legitimate monarch. In 1696, Charles of Spain, acting under the influence of his mother, signed a will, bequeathing his dominions to the Bavarian prince. Another candidate to the crown was the Emperor Leopold himself, who claimed in right of his mother, a daughter of Philip III. of Spain, and who argued that his own daughter, the wife of the Bavarian Elector, had, previously to her marriage, made a renunciation similar to that of Maria Theresa—though this had never been ratified either by the King of Spain or by the

Cortes. The Emperor, however, waived his claims, and those of his eldest son, in favour of the second son, the Archduke Charles. There were also a few other claimants to the Spanish crown, but of such little importance that it is not necessary to state the grounds of their demands.

The claim of Louis XIV. would seem to have been completely barred by the act of renunciation agreed to by Maria Theresa on her marriage; but the French King contended that the efficacy of that renunciation depended on the Queen's dowry, which had not been paid. Charles of Spain, however, had an extreme dislike to France, though his first wife was Maria Louisa of Orleans, a niece of Louis XIV. On the death of that princess in 1689, some ten years after her marriage, Charles took for his second wife Eleanora of Neuburg, a sister of the Empress, and thus fell under the influence of the Austrian court. The most satisfactory settlement would doubtless have been the inheritance of the Spanish crown by the Electoral Prince of Bavaria—the person most desired by the Spanish people, and the one least likely to raise a feeling of jealousy amongst the European Powers. It was feared, not unreasonably, that the union of Spain with either France or the Empire would create a Power of such enormous magnitude as to be dangerous to other States; and it was on this account that Leopold transferred his own claims to his second son, who would not, in the ordinary course of things, succeed to the Imperial throne, and that Louis ultimately substituted his grandson, Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, for the Dauphin himself. The unhappy monarch, Charles II., weak in body and in mind, was the sport of the French and Austrian representatives at Madrid, and the Spanish court became the scene of shameless intrigues, in which the last years of the King's life were agitated by contentions which his intellect was little fitted to sustain. Louis saw clearly the difficulties of the situation; for, in the exhausted state of France, a renewal of war would be extremely onerous, and perhaps even fatal to the prosperity of his kingdom. He therefore listened to a compromise proposed by William III., according to which the Spanish dominions were, on the death of Charles II., to be partitioned amongst three of the claimants to the crown. A secret treaty with that view was actually concluded at the Hague on the 11th of October, 1698. The parties to that engagement, which is called the First Treaty of Partition, were France, England, and Holland; and the persons in whose favour it was made were the Dauphin, the Archduke Charles, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. The

last-named was to receive Spain itself, the Belgian provinces, and the colonies, while the Italian possessions, and the province of Guipuscoa, in the Basque country, were to be divided between the French and Austrian princes. About four months after this arrangement—viz., in February, 1699—the Bavarian prince died in Brussels, at the age of six; and the contest was thus confined to Louis of France and Leopold of Austria.

The Second Partition Treaty between Louis XIV. and William III. was signed at the Hague in March, 1700. It was now agreed that Spain and the Indies should descend to the Austrian Archduke, while France was to receive, not merely the Italian dependencies, including the Two Sicilies, but the Duchy of Lorraine, the Duke of which province was to have the Milanese territory in exchange. Agitated by conflicting counsels, Charles applied for a decision to the reigning Pope, Innocent XII., who pronounced in favour of the House of Bourbon. The King thereupon drew up a fresh will, the effect of which was to confer the succession on Philip, Duke of Anjou. Within a few weeks after the signature of this final testament, the unhappy life of Charles II. came to an end. He died on the 1st of November, 1700, and the conduct of affairs was provisionally undertaken by a Council of Regency, consisting of the Queen, and several persons of high position in the State. Louis had now to decide whether he would hold with the agreement he had recently made with William III., by which a large part of Italy, besides other territories, would be transferred to the French crown, or would accept, on behalf of his grandson, the whole of the Spanish dominions. After much discussion, he determined to abide by the will. The Duke of Anjou was presented to the French court as King of Spain, and proclaimed at Madrid as Philip V. "There are no more Pyrenees," was the confident epigram of Louis in parting from his grandchild; and it seemed as if the phrase were as true as an epigram can be. The title of Philip was recognised in all parts of the Spanish Empire, and even William III., although his partition projects had been defeated, acquiesced in the elevation of a Bourbon to the throne of Spain. It is not very easy to divine what were the motives of the English King in proposing to Louis an arrangement which divided the Spanish monarchy behind the back of the Spanish monarch, and without the slightest authority on the part of Spain itself. But it is possible that William hoped to prevent the absorption of all the Spanish dominions by sacrificing a part; or he may have followed a course opposed to his own ideas of justice and

prudence, because the jealousy of the English Parliament had reduced his army to a shadow, and deprived him of the means of making war.* For the same reason, probably, he assented to the accession of Philip V. The leading European nations had suffered so much in recent wars, that the disinclination to embark in fresh hostilities was powerfully felt on all hands. But the imprudence of Louis

XIV. precipitated a crisis within a short period. Statesmen were anxious for the balance of power; and, although the Bourbons were established on the throne of Spain for some generations, it soon became manifest that a mere dynastic arrangement will not entirely remove those national distinctions which are stronger and more effective than a chain of mountains, or even a dividing sea.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

Effect on Europe of the Succession of Philip of Anjou to the Crown of Spain—Creation of the Kingdom of Prussia—French Troops sent into the Netherlands—Campaign in Northern Italy—Designs of William III.—Conclusion of the Second Grand Alliance—Louis XIV. offends England by recognising the Son of James II. as King—Measures of William III. and the English Parliament—Last Illness and Death of William—Succession, Early Years, and Character of Queen Anne—Marlborough at the Opening of the War of the Spanish Succession—His Adroit Management of the Grand Alliance—Commencement of Hostilities—Campaign of 1702—Naval Victory of the English and Dutch in the Bay of Vigo—Campaign of 1703—The Methuen Treaty with Portugal—Insurrection among the French Protestants of the Cevennes—Marlborough's March into Germany—The Battle of Blenheim (1704)—The French Evacuate the Whole of Germany—Further Triumphs of Marlborough—The War in Spain—Capture of Gibraltar by the English—Death of the Emperor Leopold, and Succession of Joseph I.—Troubles in Hungary—Campaigns of 1705—Operations of the Earl of Peterborough in Catalonia—Invasion of Spain from Portugal—Services of the Duke of Berwick to King Philip—Conquests of Prince Eugene in Northern Italy—The War in Flanders—Battle of Ramillies (1707)—The Duke of Vendôme Opposes Marlborough—Further Progress of the War in its Several Stages—Exhaustion of France—Louis makes Ineffectual Proposals for Peace—Battle of Malplaquet (1709)—Further Peace Negotiations—Rising Fortunes of Louis—Change of Government in England—Death of the Emperor Joseph I., and Succession of the Archduke Charles—England makes Advances towards a Peace—Recall and Disgrace of Marlborough—Discomfiture of the Imperial Forces under Prince Eugene—Conference at Utrecht—Numerous Deaths in the French Royal Family—Conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht (1713)—The War Continued by the Empire until 1714.

LEOPOLD OF AUSTRIA, the German Emperor, was of course dissatisfied with the accession of Philip of Anjou to the throne of Spain, and Count Harrach, his representative at Madrid, protested against the arrangement which Charles II. had authorised in the closing days of his life. But the Emperor was just then in no position to do more than protest; most of the European States accepted the new dynasty, and everything seemed to promise the continuance of peace. Louis XIV., however, presumed too much on his good fortune and his dictatorial power. Europe rather tolerated the aggrandisement of the House of Bourbon than approved of it; but Louis seemed to act as if he were sure of general support, whatever might be the modifications of his policy. Soon after the departure of the Duke of Anjou, he sent to him letters-patent reserving his rights to the French crown in default of the Duke of Burgundy and his male heirs, and without stipulating that he must

choose between the crowns of France and Spain. At the same time, he irritated the Dutch by measures injurious to their commerce, and by military preparations which seemed to threaten a renewal of the war.

While Spain was thus passing under a new dynasty, an important event occurred at Vienna. On the 16th of November, 1700, the Emperor Leopold entered into a treaty with the Elector of Brandenburg, which added another kingdom to the older monarchies of Europe. By the "Treaty of the Crown," as it was called, the Emperor recognised the Elector Frederick III. as King of Prussia, on the understanding (amongst other things) that the new sovereign should place 10,000 men in the field, side in the Diet with Austria, and give his Electoral vote in favour of the descendants of the Emperor's son Joseph, King of the Romans. Frederick hereupon hastened to Königsberg in the dead of winter, and, on the 18th of January, 1701, solemnly crowned himself and his consort. The reader has already seen the progress of Prussia from a wild community of Slavonic

* Macaulay defends the conduct of his favourite William, but on grounds that appear insufficient.

barbarians to a Germanised commonwealth governed by the military order of the Teutonic Knights; from a fief of Poland to a dukedom under the Electors of Brandenburg. He has now to behold it entering on a larger stage as one of the great martial powers of Europe. The new kingdom was born under stormy conditions. In February, 1701, French troops were introduced into all the frontier fortresses of the Netherlands, displacing the Dutch garrisons established there under the Treaty of Ryswick. England joined Holland in remonstrating against this act; and the Emperor Leopold, persuaded by Prince Eugene, began war in Lombardy before he had effected any other alliance than that with the Elector of Brandenburg, now King of Prussia. Northern Italy was entered by the forces of Eugene towards the end of May, and the French under Catinat retired before them. The Imperialists defeated the enemy at Carpi in July, and the whole district between the Adige and the Adda was soon in their possession. It was as the allies of Piedmont that the French were in that region; but the Duke of Savoy was jealous of their presence, and did little to assist them. Louis XIV., however, threw the blame of what had happened on Catinat, whom he supplanted by the incompetent Villeroi. The new commander was shortly afterwards worsted at Chiari, near Brescia, and the campaign in Italy then came to an end.

William III. of England had from the first resented the accession of a Bourbon to the throne of Spain; but he was unable to take any active measures without allies who were not forthcoming, and he therefore acknowledged the sovereignty of Philip V., while resolving in his own mind to effect a fresh combination against Louis XIV. To this purpose he held with all the tenacity of his nature, and circumstances at length favoured its accomplishment. The result was the conclusion of the Second Grand Alliance, which was signed at the Hague on the 7th of September, 1701. The parties to this engagement were England, Holland, the Empire, the King of Prussia, and the Elector Palatine; and the chief objects of the contracting Powers were to procure reasonable satisfaction for the Emperor with regard to the Spanish succession, to establish Spanish Flanders as a barrier between France and Holland, and to secure an effectual guarantee against the union of the crowns of Spain and France in the person of one sovereign. It was fortunate for the designs of William III. that, at this very time, a circumstance, slight in itself, but having a significance that was far from trifling, re-awakened the belligerent feeling of the English

people, which had of late considerably declined. Immediately after the death of James II., on the 16th of September, 1701, Louis XIV. committed a direct violation of the Peace of Ryswick by acknowledging the son of the fallen sovereign as James III. of England. The royal exile had persistently kept up the farce of appointing ministers and court officers; and these were still retained by the young prince, with the evident approval of the French King. So gross a breach of faith aroused the deepest indignation in England, and strengthened the hands of William in the warlike schemes he had formed. No sooner had Louis committed himself (mainly under the influence of Madame de Maintenon) to the imprudent course of recognising the prince, than he saw the dangerous folly of which he had been guilty. He gave the most profuse explanations that he had not the least conception of violating his engagements; that, in fact, he had intended nothing more than to gratify an unfortunate family by observing forms which really meant nothing at all. William, however, would accept no such lame excuses. He was then in Holland, and, from his palace at Loo, he despatched orders to the English Ambassador to quit France instantly, and to the Lords Justices in London to send the French Ambassador out of England without delay.

War was even yet not declared against France; but there could be no doubt as to its imminence. The majority of the English people were furious at the insult that had been offered them. William all at once recovered his popularity, and loyal addresses came pouring in from every part of the kingdom. Parliament was dissolved in November, and the new assembly met on the 30th of the following month. The King now openly avowed his recent negotiations, and declared the policy he proposed to follow. The Legislature approved all that had been done, and all that it was intended to do; attainted the so-called Prince of Wales, son of James II.; and, by the Act of Abjuration, for ever excluded the Stuarts from the throne of Great Britain. These facts were the more remarkable, as the new House of Commons contained a majority of Tories—the party most inclined to reaction, and least disposed to favour the policy of war. Thus supported at home, William had also the full countenance of the Emperor Leopold; and, in March, 1702, an article was added to the treaty re-establishing the Grand Alliance, by which the Emperor engaged not to make peace with France until England had received satisfaction for the injury done to her by the recognition of the Stuart prince. At length, then, the English King had

accomplished his purpose, and had formed a powerful coalition against the ambition of Louis XIV. But, in the very moment of success, death brought his labours and his plans to a close. The health of the great Dutchman had never been good; recently it had become very bad indeed; dropsy had supervened on consumption; and when the King returned to England in the latter part of 1701, it was seen that his life could not be much prolonged. Though only fifty-one, he had all the feebleness of advanced age, and his physicians did not scruple to tell him the worst. Still, he bore up with extraordinary courage; but, on the 21st of February, 1702, while riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, his horse fell under him, and he fell with such violence as to fracture his collar-bone. He was conveyed to Hampton Court, where the injury received surgical treatment; but, on returning in the evening to Kensington, the jolting of the coach disunited the bone, and necessitated a second operation. The shock was too great for the shattered constitution of William, and he expired on the 8th of March. His horse, it was afterwards related, had stumbled over a molehill; and the Jacobites used to toast "the little gentleman in black" who had rid them of a hated King.

The successor of William on the throne of England was Anne, the second daughter of James II. by his first wife, Anne Hyde, the daughter of Lord Clarendon. In 1683 she had been married to Prince George, brother of Christian V., King of Denmark, and at the Revolution of 1688 she and her husband sided with the constitutional party which called in the Stadtholder of Holland. By the Act of Settlement, passed in 1689, the English crown, in default of issue to William and Mary, was to pass to Anne and her children. Though the daughter of one who had forsaken Protestantism for the faith of Rome, the Princess was educated in the Church of England, to which she was always sincerely and devotedly attached. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, and the readiness which she showed to support the Prince of Orange against her own father, William III., after a time, regarded her with great distrust, having, indeed, reason to believe that she was a feeble instrument in the hands of Marlborough, who seems to have plotted to raise her to the throne, with the help of the Tories, during the life of her brother-in-law. Anne was in consequence obliged to retire from court, and her earlier years were years of discomfort and neglect. They were also years of domestic affliction. She had seventeen children, all of whom died in infancy, with the exception of the Duke of Gloucester, who lived to the age of twelve. After the

death of that prince in 1700—Queen Mary having already expired without issue—an alteration was made in the Act of Settlement, by which the Princess Sophia, Dowager Electress of Hanover, and her Protestant descendants, were declared next heirs to the throne, in default of direct heirs to King William and to the Princess Anne. By the succession of James's daughter to the throne, the Stuarts were restored for a few years; but, though the period was one of remarkable brilliance, the character of Anne—feeble, wayward, and un-intellectual—shed no departing glory on the race.

A little before his death, William had sent 10,000 men into Holland under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, and the appointment of that great captain was judiciously continued by the new Queen. John Churchill came of an old Devonshire family, and was born in June, 1650, so that, when Queen Anne ascended the throne, he had nearly attained the ripe and experienced age of fifty-two. From his youth he had evinced a disposition to the military life, and, having received a commission, he distinguished himself in the defence of Tangiers against the Moors, and in those operations, during the reign of Charles II., in which the English acted as auxiliaries to the French under Turenne. From that great commander he doubtless learned much, and Turenne prophesied of him that he would one day prove a master in the art of war. He had, indeed, all the highest requisites of a consummate general: dauntless courage, an adventurous spirit, a perfect tranquillity in danger which nothing could disturb, the keenest penetration in discovering the designs of an enemy, and exhaustless resource in the formation of his own. To these intellectual gifts he added an unusual grace and dignity of person, and a singularly attractive and persuasive manner, which enabled him to prevail in the council chamber, as well as in the field of battle. Had his moral nature been equal to his physical and mental endowments, he would be one of the most magnificent figures in history; but, though his character was distinguished by many amiable and some noble qualities, he was wholly unprincipled in his public conduct, and dishonoured himself by a greed of money, incurring charges even of speculation. For one person, however, he had a disinterested and lasting affection—his wife, Sarah Jennings, whom he married as a penniless beauty, and whom, notwithstanding her imperious temper, he loved and trusted to the end. The Duchess of Marlborough, as she subsequently became, was herself a person of unusual powers, and the ascendancy which she retained for several years over the

feeble and wavering mind of Anne is among the most noticeable circumstances of a great and brilliant epoch.

The main object of John Churchill was to attain distinction and riches; and to do this he scrupled not to betray first one master, and then another. He had been a page to the Duke of York, who regarded him with affection, and, after his accession to the throne, created him Baron Churchill; yet, when the tide of fortune turned against James II., he went over to the stronger side. By William

Countess exercised over her, may be doubtful; but, as it was, the Earl was confirmed in his post, and entered on a career of military glory such as no English general had ever before equalled, and which has scarcely been surpassed even in later times.

Proceeding at once to the Hague, the Earl of Marlborough received the command of the Dutch as well as of the English forces. A considerable change in the political state of the Netherlands had occurred immediately after William's death. The



QUEEN ANNE.

III. he was made Earl of Marlborough, but proved as faithless to the new as to the old patron. Placing himself in communication with the exiled monarch, he endeavoured, in an underhand way, to serve his cause, and even went so far as to effect the defeat of the English expedition against Brest in 1693, by revealing to James, and through him to Louis, the destination of the fleet and army sent out under Admiral Berkley and General Tollemache. William was well acquainted with the treacherous character of Marlborough, whom he imprisoned and cashiered; but he also knew his commanding abilities, and on his deathbed recommended him to the Princess Anne as the fittest person to lead her armies and direct her councils. Whether the new Queen would have adopted this advice, had it not been for the extraordinary influence which the

Stadtholdership was abolished in the five provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overijssel, and a more republican form of government was set up in its place. But the determination to prosecute war with France suffered no abatement, and Marlborough soon became the guiding spirit of the Grand Alliance. He, Prince Eugene, and Daniel Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, were entitled the Triumvirate of the Coalition. The cohesion of the Continental Powers had been greatly shaken by the death of William; but Marlborough, by his extraordinary address, re-established the Alliance on as secure a footing as before. He even managed to draw the minor German Powers into the confederacy against France, and the strength arrayed in opposition to that country was vastly increased by his diplomatic

skill before a shot had been fired; some of the other German princes, however, including the powerful Elector of Bavaria, ranged themselves on the side of Louis. The three allied Powers—viz., the Empire, England, and Holland—declared war against France and Spain in May, 1702; but hostile operations had begun even before this formal announcement, and, in Italy, Prince Eugene had opened the campaign as early as February. On the whole, he was not successful, and the Duke of Vendôme, who succeeded Marshal Villeroi in the

to Liège, which he carried by assault on the 23rd of October. For these services he was soon afterwards raised to the ducal dignity; but the greatest of his achievements had yet to come. On the Upper Rhine, the French army was commanded by Marshal Catinat, who was opposed by the Emperor's son Joseph, King of the Romans, and by Prince Louis of Baden. Nothing decisive was accomplished on either side, and in the autumn the attention of observers was drawn from the land to the sea by the operations of a combined English



THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

command of the French troops after the latter had been taken prisoner, maintained the ascendancy of his sovereign's arms.

The operations of Marlborough on the Lower Rhine commenced in April, when the Elector of Cologne, Joseph Clement, the former opponent of Louis XIV., to whose interests, however, he was now devoted, was attacked with great spirit. The nominal commander of the French army in this direction was the King's grandson, the Duke of Burgundy; the actual commander was Marshal Boufflers, a man of talent and experience, but certainly not the equal of Marlborough. With astonishing rapidity, the English and Dutch allies took Kaiserswerth, Venloo, Stephanswerth, and Ruremonde; and Marlborough, having thus obtained undisputed command of the Lower Meuse, marched

and Dutch fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke. An attempted descent at Cadiz was repulsed by the Spaniards; but the naval forces destroyed the Spanish West India fleet, which, on the 22nd of October, was lying for protection in the Bay of Vigo. Some French men-of-war were included in the escort of the Spanish fleet, and the Admiral set fire to his ships, rather than see them fall into the hands of the enemy. Nevertheless, several war vessels, together with six galleons, were captured by the English and their allies, an enormous amount of treasure was taken, and a still larger sum went to the bottom, where it is supposed to be still lying.

Marshal Villars now began to distinguish himself as the ablest general on the side of France. He crossed the Rhine in the early part of 1703,

advanced into the valley of the Danube, and effected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria, in Wurtemberg. Villars desired to march at once upon Vienna, and might perhaps have succeeded, had the Bavarian Elector been disposed to support him in his daring project. He shrank, however, from the hazard of so bold a stroke, and contented himself with taking possession of Innsbrück, from which he was speedily driven out by the populace. Meanwhile, Bavaria was invaded by two Imperial armies, and Munich itself was threatened with attack. By a rapid and skilful movement, however, Villars placed himself between these two divisions, and defeated one of them in the plain of Hochstadt, near Donauwerth, on the 20th of September. The road seemed open to Vienna, but Villars could not induce the Elector to join him in his contemplated invasion of Austria. Vexed at the ruin of his plans, the Marshal requested and obtained his recall, and some months later, the Bavarian Elector made a desperate attempt to carry out the scheme he had formerly opposed. But the winter had by that time set in, and, notwithstanding a brief success at Passau, he was compelled to retreat. The operations of Marlborough were confined to the capture of a few towns in the Spanish Netherlands, and the English commander was so much annoyed at the restrictions which the Dutch imposed on him, that he was with difficulty dissuaded from demanding his recall. In the autumn of the same year, the Duke of Savoy seceded from the French alliance, and signed a treaty with the Emperor on the 26th of October. Portugal also joined the league against France—a determination which had, to a great extent, been induced by a treaty between that country and England, the sole object of which was to provide that Portugal should admit British cloths, and England should admit Portuguese wines, at one-third less duty than those of France. This was the commencement of the English taste for port, which rapidly superseded the clarets and other vintages of France. The treaty is known by the name of its negotiator, Paul Methuen, the British Minister at Lisbon.

While France was thus contending with numerous and powerful enemies abroad, she was threatened with a danger of another kind within her own frontiers. The Protestants of the Cevennes Mountains, on the borders of Languedoc, were driven by systematic oppression into serious rebellion, and under the name of Camisards—a term derived from the white garment which they wore, in order to distinguish each other by night—proved formidable enemies even to the royal troops. Marshal Montrevel, having entirely failed to sup-

press the revolt, while at the same time he infuriated the people by the cruelty of his measures, was supplanted by Villars, who, by his military genius, his firmness, and at the same time his clemency where there was a disposition to submit, re-established order in most parts of the province before the close of 1704, though it was not until six years later that the rebellion was entirely suppressed.

The foreign war proceeded with great vigour during the year 1704, when Marlborough gave striking proof of his genius as a strategist. Finding that Villeroy and Boufflers were determined to remain on the defensive in Flanders, the war being very timidly supported by the Dutch Government, the English General resolved to carry the war into that part of Germany where the French and Bavarians were threatening Vienna. The design was kept entirely secret, both from the enemy, and from Marlborough's own allies. By various adroit manœuvres, the French and Bavarians were led to believe that the Moselle, Alsace, or Landau, was the true object of the movement; and even the Dutch contingent did not know what they were going to do when, on the 4th of June, Marlborough crossed the Neckar. Uniting his forces with those of the Imperialists under Prince Louis of Baden, he found himself confronted by the Elector of Bavaria, and the French Marshals, Villeroy, Tallard, and Marsin. An engagement took place near Donauwerth on the 2nd of July, when after the heights of Schellenberg had been stormed by the Allies, the Bavarian Elector and Marshal Marsin were driven across the Danube to Augsburg, where they were joined by Tallard. Marlborough was reinforced by Prince Eugene on the 11th of August, and the celebrated battle of Blenheim ensued on the 13th. Confident in the strength of their legions, the Elector, Marsin and Tallard, had resumed the offensive, re-crossed the Danube to its northern banks, and taken up a good position between the villages of Blenheim and Lutzingen, in Bavaria. The encounter was one of the most sanguinary of the war, but it resulted in the complete success of the Allies. The left wing was commanded by Marlborough, whose forces, consisting of English and Dutch, rested on the Danube; the right wing was under Prince Eugene, whose army was made up of Austrians and Germans. The immediate opponent of Marlborough was Marshal Tallard, who, after a hot engagement, was defeated and taken prisoner by his great antagonist. The chief fighting was at the village of Blenheim, where Tallard was isolated from the rest of the French army. A desperate struggle

took place for the mastery of this position; but the village was at length carried after the French centre had been taken by a cavalry charge, and Marlborough, establishing himself upon the neighbouring heights, cut the French line in two. Nearly 12,000 men, together with Tallard himself, were taken prisoners, and a still greater number in killed and wounded covered the marshes that stretched towards the Danube. Marlborough then detached some forces to the assistance of Prince Eugene, who was seriously outnumbered by the Bavarians and French under the Elector and Marsin; but those commanders retired towards Ulm on observing the utter rout of Tallard's division. The consequence of this brilliant victory was that the French re-crossed the Rhine, and evacuated the whole of Germany. The Allies followed in the same direction, and Marlborough, advancing to the Moselle, took Treves and Trarbach, and even extended his posts to the Sarre. Landau, which had been invested by the Germans and Austrians, surrendered on the 24th of November; shortly before which date, the second wife of the Bavarian Elector, a daughter of John Sobieski, to whom her husband had entrusted the government of the State while he was absent in the field, unexpectedly presented herself in the Imperial camp, and concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor and his allies. In Northern Italy, the Duke of Vendôme achieved some important successes, and obtained a mastery over the greater part of Piedmont.

Extended as were the operations of the war in the central parts of Europe, the Allies considered it desirable to make a direct attack on Spain itself, where the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold, hoped to gain possession of the crown. Having obtained the assistance of an English and Dutch army, he landed in Portugal during the spring of 1704, and advanced towards the Spanish frontier. The invaders were met by a force of Spaniards under the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II. by Arabella Churchill, and therefore a nephew of the Duke of Marlborough. The abilities of this general were not unworthy of his maternal relative, and, driving back the forces of the Pretender, he penetrated so far into Portugal as for a time to menace Lisbon. An English fleet under Admiral Rooke made an attempt on Barcelona, but, not succeeding, sailed to Gibraltar, which, being weakly garrisoned by the Spaniards, was scaled by the English sailors during the celebration of a Saint's day, while another party stormed the South Mole Head. Rooke took possession of the place in the name of

his country, and it has never since passed out of British possession.

The military reputation of the French had suffered greatly by the progress of events. It was discovered that their armies were not invincible, as the dazzling achievements of Turenne, Condé, and other commanders of a somewhat earlier time, had almost induced men to believe. But her fortunes were now directed by leaders of inferior powers; a commanding genius had arisen in the ranks of her enemies; and the fortune of war turned against her in the declining years of Louis XIV. The invasion of Germany had proved a complete failure, and the English, in combination with the Dutch, were established on the line of the Moselle towards the close of 1704. France herself was threatened by her formidable adversaries, and the capture of Gibraltar gave the command of the Mediterranean into English hands. The campaign of 1705, therefore, opened gloomily for the French; the more so as, by the death of Leopold I., on the 5th of May, the Empire passed into the hands of an energetic prince, his son Joseph I., who had previously borne the barren title of King of the Romans. Joseph, however, had to encounter considerable difficulties on the side of Hungary, where a revolt had broken out in the previous year. The object of the Magyars was to recover their elective constitution, and to regain possession of Transylvania, which had been taken by Leopold a few years before. The movement was attended by no great success; yet the new Emperor gave but little support to the Allies. The design of Marlborough was to penetrate into Lorraine; but Villars, who had now been sent to oppose him, occupied a fortified camp at Sierck, and the forces of the English General were not sufficiently strong to break through the interposing barrier. An insurrection in Bavaria against the oppressions of the Austrian Government resulted in the temporary dissolution of that State as an independent body, and in the division of the territory among several princes. These internal troubles tied the hands of the Emperor Joseph, and nothing of importance occurred, either in Germany or the Netherlands. In Italy, the campaign of 1705 had been favourable to the French, who defeated Prince Eugene at Cassano on the 16th of August, and possessed themselves of several towns. Some active operations were carried on in Spain, where an attempt to retake Gibraltar, though prosecuted for several months, was defeated by the English garrison and the naval force under Admiral Leake. A body of 5,000 English and Dutch troops, under Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, made a strong

demonstration on the eastern side of Spain, and, having taken the castle of Denia, in Valencia, caused the Archduke Charles to be proclaimed King of Spain and of the Indies. The expedition then proceeded to Barcelona, which, after a siege of nearly two months, surrendered on the 9th of October. The whole province of Catalonia, and shortly afterwards the greater part of Valencia, declared in favour of Charles III. on hearing of this great success.

An attempt to recover Barcelona, in 1706, was unsuccessful, though the land forces of the King, who commanded in person, were assisted by a fleet. The siege was raised on the approach of the English and Dutch vessels, and Philip, together with his army, escaped with difficulty. Aragon now broke into revolt, and proclaimed Charles III. Several important cities in Estremadura and Leon were taken in rapid succession by the English and Portuguese forces from the west, which, marching without opposition on Madrid, entered that city on the 25th of June. They found the Spanish capital almost deserted, for, less than a week before, Philip and his army had fled in terror, accompanied by the *grandees*, the Councils of State, and the public tribunals. Had the victors pursued the retreating enemy with vigour, they might not improbably have destroyed the power of Philip by one crushing blow. But the allied generals delayed a month at Madrid; the Archduke Charles and the Earl of Peterborough remained unnecessarily at Barcelona; and a reaction set in amongst the populations of the Spanish provinces, especially in the two Castiles, and in Andalusia. The Duke of Berwick, who had for some time held the chief command in Spain, advanced on Madrid, and the allied generals, Lord Galway and Das Minas, evacuated the city. Marching in a north-easterly direction to Guadalajara, they effected a junction at that spot with the forces under Charles and Peterborough, who had at length quitted Barcelona for the middle parts of the peninsula. But the favourable moment had now passed; the troops were suffering from sickness and want of provisions; and Peterborough, irritated by the persistent rejection of his advice, which had perhaps been urged in too haughty and dictatorial a fashion, resigned his command, and proceeded to Italy, to assist the Duke of Savoy—a liberty which had been allowed him by his instructions. Retreat now became inevitable; yet the Allies, though pursued by Berwick, got safely into Valencia. A campaign which had opened brilliantly had ended in almost ridiculous failure; but the English and Dutch fleets were more successful than the army, and

compelled the submission of the islands of Iviça and Majorca.

The French in Italy continued, in the early part of 1706, the successes they had commenced the year before. The Imperialists were defeated by Marshal Vendôme at Calcinato, and Eugene was held in check upon the Trent. In the middle of June, however, Vendôme was recalled from Italy to take the command in Flanders, and, even before his departure, Eugene began to advance upon Turin. The French lines in front of that city were routed on the 7th of September. All Lombardy submitted to the Imperialists soon after, and, in March, 1707, the French agreed to quit nearly the whole of Northern Italy. These were important events; but Flanders had been the scene of a still greater triumph on the 23rd of May, 1706, when the Duke of Marlborough defeated Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies. Covered by morasses in their front, the French presented a wide curve to the enemy, and seem to have counted too much on the strength of their position. Villeroi disposed his regiments with little skill, and Marlborough, after drawing off the attention of his adversary by a feint on the left, flung himself on the right wing at Ramillies, and drove the whole body headlong before him until it found refuge within the walls of Louvain. The action had lasted only an hour and a half; but the French loss was immense, and the success of the Allies placed the greater part of Flanders in their power. It was in consequence of this defeat that Villeroi was superseded by Vendôme; but Louis XIV. behaved with great magnanimity to his discomfited commander. "*Monsieur le Maréchal*," he said, "at our age one is no longer fortunate." He was probably thinking of a similar speech by the Emperor Charles V., who observed that fortune did not favour the old. On the arrival of Vendôme in Flanders, he succeeded in covering Ypres, Lille, and Tournay; but Marlborough took possession of Menin, Dendermonde, and Ath. The general results of the war had now proved so disastrous to Louis that he made proposals for peace, on terms similar to those of the Second Treaty of Partition; but the Allies refused to sheathe the sword, except on conditions which the French sovereign could hardly have been expected to admit. The armies of the great King were not yet sufficiently discomfited to compel his acceptance of arrangements which he might reasonably consider humiliating; and, in fact, the events of the next year were in many respects favourable to his cause.

The Austrian Pretender to the throne of Spain was entirely worsted on the 25th of April, 1707,

when a great battle was fought between his adherents and the army of Philip V. on the plains of Almanza, near the borders of Murcia and Valencia. The Portuguese, Das Minas, and the English commander, Lord Galway—an Englishman only by adoption, for he was a Huguenot refugee, named Ruvigin—determined to attack the Duke of Berwick, whom they hoped to overthrow before the arrival of reinforcements. In the event, however, the Duke received fresh troops before the Allies could attack him; and the latter, being outnumbered, and probably out-generalled also, sustained a miserable defeat. Ciudad Rodrigo, on the Portuguese frontier, was re-taken on the 4th of October, and Lerida, one of the principal cities of Catalonia, yielded to the French and Spanish arms on the 11th of the following month. On the other hand, the Imperialists won many triumphs in Italy, where the whole kingdom of Naples was conquered with but slight difficulty. Little was accomplished in the north of the Italian peninsula, and an attempt by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to obtain a position in France was unattended by success, though their attack upon Toulon was aided by an English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Another invasion of Germany by the French under Villars was distinguished by some brilliant actions, and by the masterly exploit of breaking through the lines of Stolhofen, which had been considered impregnable; but these achievements led to no permanent results. In 1708, Prince Eugene was in the Netherlands, again co-operating with Marlborough. The Duke of Burgundy and Marshal Vendôme were defeated near Oudenarde on the 11th of July, and the conquerors then entered the French provinces of Artois and Picardy, where they captured Lille, Ghent, and Bruges. The first of these places was admirably defended by Boufflers, but was obliged to capitulate on the 22nd of October. At the same time, the English fleet predominated in the Mediterranean, where the island of Sardinia voluntarily submitted, and proclaimed Charles III. Minorca was captured by the same force; but in Spain itself the Pretender to the throne was so entirely without support that he shut himself up within the fortifications of Barcelona.

Such were the varying fortunes of a war with which most of the combatants were now disgusted. France, in particular, was reduced to a state of the greatest misery by the exhaustion of her resources, the increasing poverty of the nation, and the rigours of an unusually severe winter, which fettered even the Rhone with ice, and froze the neighbouring seas. Famine presently set in, and

the whole prospect was so gloomy that Louis XIV. again made proposals for bringing the war to an end. He even offered to renounce, in the name of his grandson, the whole of the Spanish succession, and to restore Strasburg to the Empire. But Marlborough and Eugene were so strongly persuaded that these proposals were insincere, and intended only to postpone the war until France had in some degree recovered her strength, that their respective governments refused to accept what they might otherwise have regarded as a concession of all their demands. They required, on the other hand, that the Duke of Anjou, as they called him, should quit Spain at the end of two months; but the harshness of this condition roused the French people to fresh exertions, and enabled Louis to continue the war with renewed spirit.

The campaign of 1709 was conducted mainly in Flanders, where Marshal Villars was sent to oppose the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Tournay was taken by the Allies on September 3rd. On the 11th, the French were defeated at Malplaquet, though at the price of terrible losses to the conquerors; and Mons fell into the hands of the Allies, as a consequence of their victory over Villars. In the spring of 1710, diplomatic negotiations were renewed at Gertruydenburg, near Breda, when Louis advanced upon his former proposals, but still without satisfying the demands of the Allies. It was required that he should himself expel his grandson from the throne of Spain; but it could hardly have been supposed that he would accept such degrading conditions. The war again flamed up in Spain, where Charles III. had once more forced his way to Madrid. Being unable to maintain himself there, he rapidly retreated to Barcelona, followed by Vendôme, who was now commanding in the western peninsula. In the course of his pursuit, the French Marshal surprised General Stanhope, and a British division at Brihuega. A sanguinary battle was fought on the 9th of December; the town submitted to the French, and the whole English force surrendered as prisoners of war. The main army of the Imperialists, under Charles III. and Count Stahremberg was worsted two days later, and driven in utter rout to the Ebro. The cause of Louis XIV. was again irradiated by the sunshine of good fortune, while the King had acquired a position of moral elevation by his readiness to conclude peace on highly liberal terms, and by the firmness with which he refused to march against his own grandson, after having placed him on the throne of Spain. The only question is as to how far his offers were sincere; but, considering the evils which a continuance of hostilities

would assuredly inflict on the whole of Western Europe, it might have been better to take his good faith for granted, and to rely on the probability that exhaustion alone would prevent him from renewing the war. The Allies, in fact, sought to grasp too much, and in the end, were obliged to content themselves with less than they might have obtained at an earlier date.

The Imperialists were the chief supporters of a

Continent, which favoured the chief object of their policy. The Emperor Joseph I. died very prematurely on the 17th of April, 1711, and, as he left no male heirs, the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria passed to the Archduke Charles, whom the Allies had recognised as King of Spain, and who would in all probability be elected to the Empire. The concentration of power in the hands of one man would in that case be so great that the



THE BATTLE OF BLENHEIM.

warlike policy. In England, the people were beginning to tire of a struggle which imposed on them enormous sacrifices, and brought with it nothing but delusive glory. However popular at first, the war was now little more than a war of the Whig Government. The Tories had long insisted on the necessity of peace; and in August, 1710, the Ministry of Godolphin was succeeded by that of Harley and St. John, the Tory enemies of the Tory Marlborough, if, indeed, we must not rather, by this time, count the great soldier as an adherent of the Whigs, whose war he had conducted. The new Cabinet was inclined to peace, and, while its members were considering how best they could effect such a result, an event took place on the

confederated nations were disinclined to promote a result which might prove as formidable in the eighteenth century as the supremacy of Charles V. had proved in the sixteenth. The English Ministry had made advances to Louis even before the death of the Emperor Joseph, and the preliminaries of a peace were signed in London on the 8th of October. Nevertheless, the war still continued, but with slight results in any quarter. The Archduke Charles (who had quitted Spain on the death of his brother) was chosen Emperor on the 12th of October, and received the Imperial crown at Frankfort on the 22nd of December. At Vienna and the Hague, the news of separate negotiations between England and France was received with

consternation and anger; and it is difficult to deny that the conduct of the Tory Government was dishonourable towards the Allies of Great Britain. Desperate attempts were made to prevent the contemplated peace, but the English Cabinet maintained its ground, and it could undoubtedly appeal to a large degree of popular support. The Duke of Marlborough was dismissed from his offices, and accused of peculation; and the Duke of Ormond

In proceeding to the seat of war, the Duke of Ormond took with him secret orders to abstain from undertaking any serious operation. The Empire, however, still carried on the war with vigour, though with no great success. Prince Eugene besieged Landrecies in 1712, but was defeated by Villars at Denain. Douai, Le Quesnoi, and Bouchain, were recaptured by the French soon after, and the campaign of 1712 terminated with a



THE ROCK OF GIBRALTAR.

succeeded him in the direction of the English forces. The last of Marlborough's campaigns was that of 1711, when he forced the entrenched camp established by Villars at Arleux, and captured Bouchain. Whatever may be thought of the war itself, there can be no question as to the extraordinary genius which Marlborough had exhibited from the commencement to the end of his command. Voltaire had remarked of him that he never besieged a town which he did not take, or fought a battle which he did not win. His sun went down in glory, and although some of his contemporaries and countrymen possessed military endowments not unworthy of comparison with his own, there was certainly no one of equal versatility and power.

great improvement in the position of France. All this while, a Conference was sitting with a view to the arrangement of a general peace. It had opened at Utrecht on the 29th of January, 1712, and was still sitting when Villars obtained his brilliant successes over Prince Eugene. Wide divergences of opinion developed themselves in the views of the several Powers; but England stood alone in the policy of seeking only moderate conditions. The continental princes, however, were at length induced to qualify their demands by a series of events which had occurred in France, and which seemed likely to result in the union of the French and Spanish crowns in the person of Philip, unless arrangements were rapidly made for preventing

such a consummation. The eldest son of Louis XIV. had died in April, 1711, and was succeeded, as heir to the throne, by his own son, the Duke of Burgundy, of whom high expectations were formed, owing to the numerous virtues of his character. But it unfortunately happened that his consort, Adelaide of Savoy, was carried off, in February, 1712, by a malignant fever, of which her husband also died within a week. Their eldest child, the Duke of Brittany, expired a month later, and the Duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, was now all that stood between Philip of Spain and the French throne. The successes of Villars in the summer came as another inducement to a pacific course; and it was well known that, if the continental Allies persisted in carrying on the war England would secede from the Coalition, of which she had previously been one of the most active members.

Many vexatious delays interposed between the willingness to treat and the actual conclusion of a general agreement; but at length the Peace of Utrecht was signed by the Plenipotentiaries of France, England, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy, on the 11th of April, 1713. Each of the confederates had submitted his claims singly, and separate treaties of peace were concluded by the several belligerents, excepting the Empire, which still held back. By the arrangements thus sanctioned, Philip V. was left in possession of Spain, but under an express proviso that the Spanish and French crowns should never be worn by the same sovereign. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands, were to be separated from the Spanish monarchy, and ceded to the House of Austria. Queen Anne and the Protestant succession in England were recognised by Louis; the Pretender and his family were to be excluded from France; and it was furthermore agreed that Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and Newfoundland, should be made over to Great Britain. A line of frontier fortresses, extending from Furnes, on the sea-coast, to Charleroi and Namur, was to be garrisoned by the Dutch, as a perpetual barrier

between France and the Netherlands. The fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed; in compensation for which, Lille was restored to the French sovereign. The title of King was granted to the Duke of Savoy, and his dominions were augmented by the island of Sicily. By the treaty of peace between Spain and England, the former country relinquished to the latter the rock of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca, and granted to England the right, formerly possessed by France, of importing for thirty years 4,800 negroes into Spanish America—a detestable privilege, which bound up the interests of England with the great curse of the New World. The Catalans maintained their independent position until the 14th of September, 1714, when Barcelona was taken by the Duke of Berwick, after a prolonged and splendid defence.

To the treaties of the other powers, the German Emperor did not accede, and he therefore continued the war alone. The ensuing campaign was conducted in the Palatinate, where Villars again distinguished himself by the highest qualities of a commander. The Austrians were defeated at every point, though their forces were led by Prince Eugene. Spires, Worms, Landau, and Freiburg were taken by the French, and the Emperor Charles VI. was obliged to make proposals for peace, which was concluded in September, 1714. Former treaties, concluded since the Peace of Westphalia, were now renewed; and the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who had been deprived of their estates, were fully re-established. Such was the conclusion of a sanguinary and destructive war springing from the ambition of France, and a want of mutual consideration on the part of all concerned. The Power chiefly benefited was England; the greatest sufferer was France herself, who lost a portion of her frontiers, and was reduced to a state of exhaustion such as she had not experienced since the invasions of France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the English Kings, Edward and Henry, ravaged her fields, and reduced her population to despair.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

State of English Parties in the Reign of Queen Anne—The Case of Dr. Sacheverell—Intrigues of Anne for Securing the Succession to the Pretender—Quarrel of the Earl of Oxford with Lady Masham—Dismissal of the Earl from Office—Sudden Death of Queen Anne—General Character of her Reign—Legislative Union of England and Scotland—Measures of the Privy Council for giving Effect to the Act of Succession—Arrival of George I. in England—Rising of the First Pretender—James Stuart compelled to Withdraw beyond the Alps—Death of Louis XIV.—Religious Dissensions in France during his Reign: the Jansenists, Quietists, &c.—Progress of the English Colonies in America—Federal Union of New England Settlements—Attempts of Charles II. to Restore the Authority of the Mother Country—Sir Edmund Andros sent over by James II.—His Arbitrary Measures—Revolution in Boston—Prevalence of Anarchy—War with the Indians and the French Settlers in Canada—Operations of Sir William Phipps—New Charter for Massachusetts granted by William III.—Terms of the Peace of Ryswick as affecting North America—Influence of French Priests over the Red Men—The Colony of Maryland—Early Colonial History of New York, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the Two Carolinas—War between English and French Colonists in North America—Fighting in South Carolina—Atrocities of the Red Men in New England—Ineffectual Attempts at Peace—Capture of Port Royal, in Acadie—Futile Expedition to Canada—Terms of the Treaty of Utrecht as affecting America—Decline of the Mogul Empire in India.

WHILE the English forces on the Continent were acquiring renown under the leadership of Marlborough, affairs at home were distracted by the strife of party. Godolphin, the friend of the great Duke, was the first Minister of the Crown from May, 1702, to August, 1710, and during these eight years successfully opposed the ambition of France. Personally, the Queen was under the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough; but at length the dictatorial and imperious manners of that remarkable woman offended even the weak and yielding nature of Anne, and roused her to resistance. She transferred her confidence to Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Masham, the Abigail Hill of earlier days, and a cousin of the Duchess. Chiefly by her means, the celebrated Robert Harley succeeded, in 1710, to the conduct of affairs, and in the following year was created Earl of Oxford. About the same time, the Duchess of Marlborough was dismissed from court, and her rival became openly, as she had long been secretly, the reigning favourite. The principal colleague of Harley was Henry St. John, soon afterwards made Lord Bolingbroke, one of the most brilliant figures of a singularly brilliant time. Tory principles were now in the ascendant. The old ideas of divine right and Church supremacy began once more to acquire prominence, and the Queen herself inclined to political maxims which had cost her father his throne, and her grandfather his life. Her sympathies, indeed, were always with the Tories, and Godolphin, though he developed into a Whig during his term of office, began his Administration as a member of the opposite faction. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough also changed sides, virtually if not nominally; and this was one of the reasons why Anne dismissed her old advisers, and

brought in such uncompromising Tories as Harley and St. John. She would doubtless have done so long before, but for the extraordinary influence of the Duchess, backed by the representations of the Duke himself, who was frequently in England between one campaign and another, exercising that matchless power of persuasion which was equally brought to bear on foreign courts and princes, when zeal was to be quickened, or difficulties were to be overcome.

The new direction of opinion was shown in 1710 by the extraordinary degree of popular favour bestowed on Dr. Sacheverell, a High Church clergyman, who was suspended for three years as the author of two sermons which were considered to reflect on the Queen, the Government, the Revolution of 1688-9, the Protestant Succession as by law established, and the two Houses of Parliament. Sacheverell made a sort of triumphal progress through the kingdom after this sentence, and was welcomed everywhere by shouting mobs, though his principles would have led the country back to the days of Strafford and of Laud. The Queen, while described as one of the objects of the doctor's seditious criticisms, was undoubtedly of the same way of thinking as himself; and the recent change in public opinion encouraged her to embark in secret intrigues for setting aside the Hanoverian Succession in favour of her half-brother, James Francis Edward Stuart—the First Pretender. By the Treaty of Utrecht, as the reader is aware, the Prince was to quit France; but he simply removed into Lorraine, which although nominally distinct from the French dominions, was in truth a part of them. From this retreat, he corresponded with his friends in England, where he received the countenance of

the Queen, of Lady Masham, and of several of the Tory Ministers, especially Lord Bolingbroke. It was required of James that he should renounce the Roman Catholic religion; but, although he refused this condition, he does not appear to have alienated the goodwill of his principal adherents in England. After the General Election in the latter part of 1713, the Earl of Oxford lost the favour of Lady Masham, owing, it is said, to his opposing some scheme from which she would have derived pecuniary advantage. On the evening of the 27th of July, 1714, a violent altercation between the Minister and the royal favourite broke out in the presence of the Queen, and lasted until two o'clock on the following morning, when Anne required of the Earl to deliver up the treasurer's staff of office. Three days later, she was seized with an apoplectic fit, doubtless brought on, or accelerated, by the scene of excitement she had lately passed through; and on the 1st of August she died, in her fiftieth year, after a brief but memorable reign of barely twelve years and a half.

The age of Queen Anne was remarkable in many ways. Modern English history seems to commence at that epoch. It was then that Great Britain first appeared as a military Power of importance on the Continent of Europe; it was then that the system of party government, beginning under William III., acquired form and consistency. Literature became a force in the State, and a shaping influence in social life, such as earlier times could not parallel. The reign of Anne has been called the Augustan Age of English literature; and it had in truth some affinity with the period of the first Roman Emperor in its cultured grace, its elaborate polish, its social gaiety, its town-bred wit, its urbane and courtly tone, and its self-satisfied and airy scepticism, or at least its avoidance of deep and passionate feeling. Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, Gay, Prior, Arbuthnot, Bolingbroke, Shaftesbury, Atterbury, and others of less note, shed a lasting glory on the first half of the eighteenth century, and are peculiarly associated with the fleeting sway of Anne. In domestic politics, the chief event of the reign was the legislative Union of England and Scotland, which was completed on the 27th of July, 1706, so far as the English Parliament was concerned, and on the 16th of January, 1707, as regarded the Scottish Parliament. The Act became law on the 1st of May in the latter year, and was in time productive of great benefits to both countries, though at first opposed in Scotland with a vehemence bordering on revolt. By the change thus effected, the Kingdom of Great Britain took

the place of the two former kingdoms; it was agreed that the succession of monarchs should be the same in both realms; there was to be but one Parliament; the laws of trade, customs, and excise were to be assimilated, and the coinage, weights, and measures to follow a uniform standard. The general laws of Scotland were to remain as before, unless subsequently altered by the Legislature of Great Britain; the Presbyterian Church was guaranteed; yet it was believed by many in the North that the national independence had been basely surrendered to a rich and powerful rival.

On the dismissal of the Earl of Oxford, Bolingbroke became, as a matter of fact, the principal Minister of the Queen, for the Treasury was put into commission. He lost no time in making a number of new appointments, and none but Jacobites were selected. His position as Foreign Secretary favoured his plots in opposition to the Hanoverian settlement; but the sudden death of Anne disconcerted all his schemes. The principal Whig members of the Privy Council took measures for securing the succession as established by the Act of 1701, and were even supported by some of the Tories. The Dukes of Argyle, Somerset, and Shrewsbury, were especially active in providing for the due and orderly conduct of affairs in the crisis that was evidently impending; all the Privy Councillors then in London or the neighbourhood were summoned to attend without delay; and the herald-at-arms, together with a troop of Life Guards, was kept in readiness to proclaim George I. immediately on the death of Anne. Bolingbroke, whose object was to bring over the Pretender at the earliest opportunity, was staggered by these precautions, and, before the arrival of George, the Lords Justices had dismissed him and his colleagues, and appointed another Ministry, consisting, with one exception, wholly of Whigs. The new King landed at Greenwich on the 28th of September, 1714; a fresh Parliament assembled in January, 1715; and Bolingbroke, Oxford, and their associates, were impeached for high treason. George I.—previously Elector of Hanover—was the son of the Electress Sophia, the youngest of the ten children of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I. of England. He was born the very day before that on which Charles II. made his entry into London after the restoration of the Monarchy in 1660: in 1714, therefore, he had attained the age of fifty-four. During the War of the Spanish Succession, he commanded the Imperial forces in three successive years, and, together with a certain quiet courage, which seems to have been natural to his race, possessed a

sufficient degree of solid ability to save him from gross mistakes.

George I. had not long been settled in his new dignity ere he was threatened by a rising in the North, headed by a rival claimant to the throne,—James Francis Edward, the elder son of James II. by Mary of Modena. Immediately after the death of Queen Anne, the Prince hurried from Bar-le-Duc to Versailles, but met with a chilling reception from Louis XIV., who had no inclination to repeat the mistake of 1701, when he acknowledged the Pretender as King of England and Scotland. James, nevertheless, was determined to assert what he regarded as his right, and consequently issued a declaration, maintaining his claim to the throne, and expressing his surprise that a foreign prince should have been proclaimed King. The English Jacobites were not numerous, and the more moderate and reasonable members of the Tory party were disposed to accept the Hanoverian Settlement, and gradually mould it to their own purposes. But in Scotland, especially in the Highlands, Prince James had many adherents, owing to a blind sentiment of loyalty towards the Stuarts, though it would be difficult to find a man less Scottish in his own personality than the First Pretender, who had been born in England, whose mother was an Italian, and whose education was French. The rebellion in Scotland began in 1715, and on the 6th of September the Pretender's standard was set up by the Earl of Mar. About the same time, a conspiracy was discovered in England, and for a moment the crisis looked grave. The insurgents in Scotland were engaged by the royal forces under the Duke of Argyle at Sheriffmuir. The action was indecisive, but enough had been achieved by the Duke to keep the malcontents at bay for a time. Their proceedings were also delayed by want of unanimity among the officers; but ultimately the insurgents crossed the border, and penetrated as far as Lancashire. Preston was occupied by the Highlanders, but retaken by the English on the 13th of November. On the same day, the Earl of Mar was defeated by the Duke of Argyle; and when the Pretender landed at Peterhead, on the 22nd of December, the rebellion was to a great extent subdued. James, indeed, gave himself airs of kingship, formed a court, made several peers, and knighted numerous gentlemen; but the whole affair was a mockery. In January, 1716, the Duke of Argyle was reinforced by 6,000 Dutch troops, granted by the United Provinces at the request of the British Government; and nothing now remained but for the rebel army to disperse, and for James to return

to France. The Earl of Mar had exhibited little ability or courage; the Pretender had shown a ridiculous incapacity for the part he had assumed; and the rising collapsed less from the military strength brought against it than from a certain unreality in the character of the movement itself. For the rest of his life, James lived in obscurity abroad, principally at Rome; and although he never relinquished the hope of occupying the throne of Great Britain, he made no further attempt in his own person. Shortly after the failure of the rebellion, a treaty was concluded between the Governments of England and France, by which the latter undertook to withdraw all protection from James, and to insist on his retirement beyond the Alps. Several persons of note who had engaged in the revolt were executed or attainted; but it cannot be said that the movement was punished with excessive severity, when we consider the formidable nature of its commencement, and the objects which its promoters had in view.

Before the occurrence of these events, the life of Louis XIV. had reached its close. He died on the 1st of September, 1715, after a reign of seventy-two years—the longest on record. Extending from 1643 to 1715, this reign covered one of the most remarkable periods in modern history, and was characterised by changes in political ideas, in social life, in military science, in literature, in art, and even in costume, such as the rule of no other sovereign can parallel. Nearly the whole life of Louis XIV. had been passed upon the throne, since he was not more than five years old at the death of his father; and, as he was still a youth when he assumed the actual direction of affairs, his experience in the politics of Europe was at length unrivalled. It is lamentable that so much knowledge and so much ability should not have been directed to better ends; but, on his death-bed, Louis is said to have exhorted his great-grandson, who was to succeed him on the throne, to pursue a different and a nobler course. In effect, he condemned all the leading characteristics of his reign, and begged of the Dauphin to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment of the burdens he had cast upon them, and thus to accomplish what he was unable to do himself. The speech, as recorded, seems to have been composed by the historians, especially when we consider it as addressed to a child of five; but Louis may have said something to a like effect. Misfortune had taught him what prosperity disguised. Indeed, the popularity of his earlier years was so completely dissipated by the numerous failures of a later date that the day

of his funeral was kept as a time of rejoicing and holiday. The solemn procession was greeted with indecent manifestations of triumph, and it was proposed by some to use the funeral torches to fire the houses of the Jesuits. The members of the Society of Jesus had been supported by Louis in their controversy with the Jansenists; and this was reason sufficient for the populace deriding the former. The reign of Louis XIV. was a period of

artificiality. His work was finally condemned by Pope Clement XI in the Bull "Unigenitus," dated September 8th, 1713; but the resistance of the Jansenists led to scenes of persecution which offended all moderate men.* The suppression and demolition of the convent of Port Royal des Champs, in 1709, was another occasion of scandal, and the agitation created by a body of mystics called Quietists divided opinion in France in the



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agitation with respect to matters of religion, and the opinions of the Jansenists were for many years the occasion of violent and heated controversy. Jansenius, Bishop of Ypres, had promulgated some peculiar ideas on the doctrines of grace, predestination, and free-will. His opponents obtained from Rome a condemnation of these heretical propositions; a vehement controversy followed, and the illustrious theologian, Pascal, published, in his celebrated "Provincial Letters," a sarcastic attack upon the Jesuits, which did them incalculable mischief. In 1693, and many succeeding years, the Church of France was convulsed by a new controversy, originating in the publication, by a priest named Queanel, of a work on the New Testament, which by many was considered un-

early years of the eighteenth century into two hostile camps. Such were some of the influences which, arising under the sceptre of Louis XIV., developed, during the reign of his successor, into the scepticism of Voltaire and other eminent writers, and prepared the way for the great revolutionary outbreak of a still later time.

Quitting Europe for a while, and directing our glance towards the distant continent of the West, we find the colonies of North America making great progress throughout the seventeenth century, and in the early years of the eighteenth. The

* The Bull in question derives its name from the opening words—"Unigenitus Dei Filius" ("The only-begotten Son of God").

rivalry of France and England in the Old World was destined to be repeated in the New ; and when, about 1625, an attempt was made to plant a Scottish colony on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, the French raised a claim to the whole region, to which, adopting an Indian word, they gave the title of Acadie, and of which the modern Nova Scotia is a part. When, in 1627, war broke

were not established until 1635 and 1636. Like the neighbouring colony of New Plymouth, which it ultimately absorbed, Massachusetts was of Puritan origin. The city of Boston was founded in 1630 ; the prosperity of the settlement rapidly increased ; and, before long, a species of independent commonwealth grew up in that distant region, which for some years was almost entirely free



WILLIAM PENN.

out between France and England, the northern portion of America became one of the battle-grounds of the contending nations. An English naval force, ascending the St. Lawrence in 1628, summoned Quebec to surrender, and in the following year it submitted to the rule of Charles I. The whole of Canada, which the French had colonised about a century earlier, passed for a while into English hands ; but these acquisitions were restored at the peace of 1629, and Sir William Alexander, who had founded the Scottish settlement, sold his possessions to the French. The plantation of Massachusetts Bay began, after two previous failures, in 1623 ; that of New Hampshire in the same year ; while Maine and Connecticut

from intervention on the part of the English Government. Thus left to themselves, the colonists developed to the utmost their ideas of a religion wholly emancipated from State interference, but were as little able to prevent the rise and spread of theological dissension as the Church from which they had separated themselves at home. The Quakers gave a great deal of trouble in Massachusetts, and were persecuted even to the death. The Anabaptists also were sharply handled. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians set the colony in a flame, were driven beyond the borders, and in 1638 established the settlement of Rhode Island ; while the teaching of Roger Williams led to the foundation of the town of Providence.

Williams was a Welshman, who affirmed the startling doctrine, for those days, of absolute religious toleration, even for infidels. For this and other opinions, he was expelled from Massachusetts in the latter part of 1635, and, flying through the woods in the depth of winter, began a new plantation, in June, 1636, at the mouth of the Seekonk river—a plantation ultimately united with that of Rhode Island.

A very strict and even severe system of morals was enforced by the magistrates and ministers of the Puritan colonies; but the result was such as similar attempts, in other countries and at other times, might have led the emigrants to expect. Before the middle of the seventeenth century, an extreme depravity of life had arisen in New England; politically, however, the people showed themselves apt scholars in the difficult art of self-government. The position of the colonists was irksome and dangerous in many ways. They had to provide against disorderliness in their own midst; they had to repel attacks by the Indians, which were often sudden and deadly; they had to encounter the jealousy of the neighbouring French, of the Dutch who had established themselves to the west, and of the Swedes who had formed a settlement in Delaware Bay. Some degree of combination amongst the communities of English origin became an urgent necessity; and, in May, 1643, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were linked together by a federal bond, under the appellation of the United Colonies of New England. By the articles of agreement, these four plantations entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour, upon all just occasions. Complete jurisdiction in local affairs was secured to each of the contracting settlements, while for all general purposes a Federal Government was created, and vested in the hands of eight commissioners (two for each of the colonies) deputed by their General Courts. This remarkable bond may be regarded as the prototype of the United States of America. Although the Federation did not increase the number of its members, it appears to have answered its purposes, for it lasted until 1684, when the authority of the mother-country was partially restored.

At the very time this Federation was effected, the English Parliament began to doubt the policy of leaving the American colonies so much to themselves, and a Commission was instituted for re-establishing the authority of the nation over its dependencies. Pym and Cromwell were members of this body; but the Commission does not appear

to have taken any measures for carrying out the objects in view. The Civil War, indeed, made such action impossible; yet an assertion of the Imperial right was advisable under the circumstances, and it made subsequent proceedings less difficult than might otherwise have been the case. The English Commonwealth took but little notice of the New England colonies, and even Cromwell, in all his plenitude of power, did not venture to interfere with their liberties. When, however, Charles II. ascended the throne, in 1660, several attempts were made to bring the North American settlements under the control of the Home Government. But the representatives of the King were treated with little respect, and a great deal of ill-feeling was created between the mother-country and her offspring. James II. nevertheless determined to carry out with firmness the system which his brother had rather hesitatingly approached. A Provisional Government was created, and, at the close of 1686, Sir Edmund Andros—a gentleman of good position, and of some experience in colonial affairs—arrived at Boston in the capacity of Governor-General over the territory and dominion of New England. Andros was probably a well-intentioned man; but he was placed under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and he exercised his unpopular powers in a manner the most likely to provoke resistance. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the colonists themselves were sometimes unduly stubborn and contentious; that, within their own narrow bounds, they were often tyrannical over all who differed with them, especially in the matter of religion; and that they aimed at establishing a complete independence of the mother-country, which the latter could not be expected to promote or sanction. In some of the plantations there was hardly any government at all, and public morals suffered from the weakness of the controlling authority. It was high time, therefore, that a more regular system should be established by the interposition of the English monarchy; but Andros was not conciliatory in his ways, and a sullen feeling of discontent soon ripened into a mood of rebellion. An expedition of the Governor-General against some Indian tribes was attended with ill-success; and the New Englanders, finding that the power of Andros was not so great as they had feared, assumed a position of open antagonism.

While affairs were in this state, news reached Boston that William of Orange had landed in England. The intelligence rapidly spread throughout the town, and, on the 18th of April, 1689, a revolutionary movement began, which resulted in

the seizure of Andros and his agents, and the formation of a Provisional Government for Massachusetts, under the title of "The Council for the Safety of the People, and Conservation of the Peace." On the 26th of May, a ship arrived from the old country, with an order to the Massachusetts authorities to proclaim King William and Queen Mary, and the colonists rejoiced in the prospect of better days and restored freedom. Nevertheless, the first effect of the revolution was almost to destroy the prosperity of Boston, and of Massachusetts generally. With the fall of Andros, all authority was at an end; the mob did whatever they pleased; plunder and violence disgraced the capital of the sober Puritan settlement; and the rich trembled before an outbreak which was not without communistic tendencies. The merchants complained that their trade was ruined, while decent people feared the triumph of a ferocious anarchy. The rising in Massachusetts, however, was followed by similar action in the colonies of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, where the former Governments were at once reinstated by popular votes, though without any disturbance. James II. had few adherents in the New England colonies, and the rule of William was generally accepted as favourable to the Protestant religion, and to the interests of self-government.

The representative of King William III. in Massachusetts was Sir William Phipps, a man of humble origin, who had made his way upwards by ability and perseverance. As a man of colonial birth, he was welcome to the people; but his position was not well defined, and his mental powers were unequal to the necessities of the time. It unfortunately happened that, shortly after his arrival, a war broke out between the Government of Massachusetts and that of Canada. The quarrel had arisen from certain intrigues of the French with the North-eastern Indians, who were now attacking the English colonists, and with whom, it was believed, the Canadian authorities were acting in collusion. However this may have been at first, there can be no question that it was so afterwards; for, when the war broke out between France and England, in 1689, the Governor of Canada had no scruple in openly supporting the Indians. The French claimed the whole of the North American Continent north and west of New England, on doubtful grounds of early discovery; and they now determined to maintain their alleged rights by force of arms. In this enterprise, the assistance of the red man was extremely useful, and it became necessary for the English colonies to

take some measures for their own protection. The war raged over a wide extent of territory, and in 1690 the French even penetrated as far as the province of New York; but the principal fighting was on the border-line between New England and the French possessions. At the head of seven hundred men and a small fleet, Sir William Phipps was sent against Acadie; which had remained in French hands since the Treaty of Breda, in 1667. The whole region speedily submitted, and the English colonies, now acting as a Confederation for war purposes, were encouraged to attack Canada itself. The land operations came to nothing, and an attempt on Quebec made by the fleet was equally unsuccessful. Misfortunes occurred in other directions also; in 1691, Acadie again passed into the power of the French; and the frontier towns of the English settlement suffered from attacks which they were not strong enough to repel.

Notwithstanding these calamities, the English colonies still considered the conquest of Canada necessary to their safety; and, to enforce these views at court, Sir William Phipps went to London in 1691. He was unable, however, to obtain any assistance for such an enterprise; but he took back with him a new charter for Massachusetts. The old charter had been withdrawn by Charles II., and, although the more revolutionary spirits of Boston maintained that that charter revived after the fall of Sir Edmund Andros and the accession of William III. to the English throne, there were considerable doubts as to whether this was really the law. It was therefore very necessary to place the colony upon a distinctly legal footing. The province created by the new patent included Massachusetts proper, New Plymouth, Maine, Acadie, or Nova Scotia (which was for the moment in the hands of the New Englanders), and the whole territory between Nova Scotia and Maine. The constitution was of a liberal and representative character; but the supremacy of the Crown was strictly maintained, and, in legal and criminal matters, there was to be an appeal to the King in Council, under certain defined circumstances. The new charter was a fair and reasonable compromise between the extreme demands of the colonists and the claims of the mother-country; but it was not received in New England with any great enthusiasm. The desire was for complete independence; and complete independence was granted by William quite as little as by Charles or James.

For some years longer, the Indians continued their ravages, more, however, as agents of the French than as independent belligerents; but this period of agitation was closed, in 1697, by the

Peace of Ryswick. By the terms of the treaty, so far as America was concerned, France was allowed to retain Hudson's Bay, a moiety of Newfoundland, the whole of Canada, the valley of the Mississippi, and the entire eastern coast, with its adjacent islands, from Maine to beyond Labrador. The contest between the English and French colonists was thus brought to a temporary close, and the differences with the Indians were arranged shortly afterwards, with the agreement of the conquering races. The dissensions of those races had involved the red men in many sanguinary contentions, for some adhered to the English, and others to the French. On the whole, the latter were much more successful than the former in establishing an influence over the native tribes. The Roman Catholic missionaries were either more zealous, or more fortunate, in converting the aborigines; and there would appear to be something in the doctrines and ceremonials of the Romish Church which affects the imagination of savages more readily than the severer forms of Protestantism. Certain it is, that the French priests made extraordinary progress among the Indians, who often regarded them with affectionate devotion. The ferocity with which the converts attacked the English heretics, whenever they could reach them, would have done honour to the Spanish Inquisition itself; and the French found invaluable allies in these wild children of the plains, who were always ready to scalp a Protestant, or submit themselves to the discipline of a priest.

South of New England, the English themselves had a Roman Catholic colony—that of Maryland, founded in 1634 by a company of Romanists, under the general directions of Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. The charter of the colony was distinguished, in some respects, by a remarkable toleration in matters of religion; but this toleration was not without its limits, and appears to have been designed to protect the Papists rather than to extend the principles of religious freedom. Still, the provisions of the charter worked fairly well up to a certain point, and, in days when there was as much bigotry on the one side as on the other, it was well that there should be a place of refuge for those who retained their spiritual allegiance to Rome. The country received the name of Maryland from Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., and for some years retained a more loyal feeling than many of the other colonies; but in time several Nonconformists from New England and Virginia entered the Catholic settlement, and ultimately secured a predominance in its councils. The successful Puritans persecuted the Romanists

as freely as if they had never asserted the doctrine of independent judgment in matters of religion, and, although Cromwell disapproved of this intolerance, the colony was long agitated by internal factions. It was not until the restoration of Charles II. that peace returned to Maryland.

New York was originally a Dutch colony; yet the country was first explored by the English seaman Hudson, who, in 1609, sailed up the river now called after his name, but made no attempt to colonise the land, which, so far as he could see it, consisted of nothing but interminable forests, jungles, and swamps. Hudson was acting in the service of Holland, and in the course of a few years the Dutch took possession of the territory bordering on the Hudson river. England, however, always regarded the presence of the Dutch in these parts as an intrusion on what was then considered a portion of Virginia; yet the Netherlands steadily persevered in their course, and between 1614 and 1621 numerous trading stations were formed in that wild region. A few years later, English traders settled here and there among the woods and marshes, and in 1627 the Plymouth Colony set up a claim to a part of the territory. Frequent disputes occurred between the people of New Netherland (as the Dutch plantation was called) and the New Englanders, and the settlers from Holland had in many ways a very uneasy life. Sanguinary feuds broke out with the Indians, and it was well known that the English would dispossess their rivals as soon as they could. The Dutch were successful, however, in the acquisition of Delaware, which had been settled by a number of Swedes, sent there in 1637. The right to this country was extremely doubtful. The Bay had been entered in 1610 by Lord Delaware, the Governor of Virginia, and the land was therefore claimed by the English. The Dutch, however, paid little regard to these asserted rights, and in 1655 they conducted an expedition against New Sweden, which resulted in the subjugation of that colony.

Meanwhile, the English settlers in New Netherland continued to increase, and a liberal system of Government supplanted the arbitrary forms which had been introduced by the Dutch rulers. During the war between England and Holland, shortly after the accession of Charles II., an English expedition was sent out against the Dutch possessions on the Hudson. Charles had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole territory from the Connecticut to the Delaware. The English fleet moored off New Amsterdam in August, 1664, and a camp of New England volunteers was formed on the opposite shore of Long

Island. The people were not inclined to defend themselves, and a capitulation was agreed to on August 29th. Early in October, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware gave in their submission, and the English flag then floated over the whole Atlantic coast from Maine to Virginia. New Amsterdam became New York, and the general title of New Netherland disappeared in a similar manner. When, however, in 1672, war again broke out between England and the Dutch Republic, the Hollanders once more possessed themselves of the disputed territory; but the triumph was short-lived, for, at the peace of 1674, a clause was agreed to, by which the parties to the war were to make restitution to one another of all conquered places. New Jersey, which was originally settled by the Dutch in the early part of the century, underwent much the same fortunes as New York, and was, indeed, regarded as a part of that territory until its definite separation in 1736.

The history of Pennsylvania has features peculiar to itself. The first settlements on the shores of Chesapeake Bay were made by the Swedes in 1627, passed into the hands of the Dutch in 1658, and in 1664 became possessions of the English. Numerous Quakers, who had escaped the persecution of the Massachusetts Puritans, had settled in that part of America, as well as in Maryland, Virginia, Rhode Island, and Long Island. By this time, the early extravagances of the sect had considerably moderated, and the Society of Friends was passing under the influence of two fair and rational thinkers, William Penn and Robert Barclay. George Fox, the founder of the Society, returned to England in 1673, and greatly interested Penn in the fortunes of the brotherhood beyond the Atlantic. Penn had already embraced the opinions of these people, and he gladly accepted a commission to act as trustee for a Quaker purchase in New Jersey. The first party of emigrants was despatched from England in 1677. The destination of these persons—two hundred and thirty in number—was New Jersey, which, as we have seen, was loosely united to New York; but in 1681 Penn obtained a grant of territory beyond the Delaware, and north of Maryland. This was the scene of his future labours, the country now known as Pennsylvania. The great Quaker arrived in his possessions towards the end of October, 1681, and his career in this new settlement, during some years, is one of the few things in history on which we can dwell with unalloyed pleasure and satisfaction. Whatever lands Penn required, he purchased of the Indians; he won the confidence of that ill-used race by his benevolence and equity of treat-

ment; and his government of the English colonists was marked by the utmost liberality and breadth of view. Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love," was founded in the summer of 1682, and two years later contained six hundred houses. Its prosperity rapidly developed, and, under the wise supervision of Penn, and the active co-operation of the settlers, a remarkably felicitous state of life was established among the woods of the Quaker colony. "I desire," said Penn, "to show men as free and as happy as they can be." After his return to England, in 1684, the wellbeing of the colony suffered considerable deterioration; and a few years later, William III. put all the English colonies in that part of America under the military Governor of New York—a condition which lasted from 1692 to 1694. Penn returned in 1700, and remained nearly two years; but the happy spirit of an earlier time was never completely restored. In 1709-10, dissensions arose between Penn and the colonists, and the founder of the settlement, now old and in declining health, addressed a touching remonstrance to those who had treated him with so much ingratitude. He lamented the misery which the colonists were bringing on themselves by forsaking the principles of peace, love, and unity, for a spirit of contention and opposition; and he mourned the unhappiness of his portion at the hands of those from whom he had reason to expect much better things. He died in 1718, and, although the government underwent some modifications, the principles of Quakerism remained triumphant in the settlement of William Penn.

The earlier history of the two Carolinas has been related in connection with Sir Walter Raleigh's attempts to colonise that region. The first permanent settlement was made in 1650 by adventurers from Virginia, Massachusetts, and Barbadoes. In 1663, these territories (including what was afterwards called Georgia) were granted by Charles II. to eight lords and gentlemen, among whom were George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, subsequently Earl of Shaftesbury, and Lord Chancellor Clarendon. A constitution for this new colony was formulated a few years later by Lord Shaftesbury and John Locke the philosopher. The date of this instrument was 1670; but it did not last long. Its details were complicated, its general tendencies extremely oligarchical, and, after the English Revolution of 1688-9, it was swept away by the discontented colonists, after a good deal of violent opposition to the Governor. The southern part of Carolina became rich by the cultivation of semi-tropical produce by negro labour. Large numbers of black

men were brought from the African Gold Coast by the Dutch merchants of New York, and they soon became almost the only toilers in that part of America. It is not to be denied that the first effect of this detestable system was to advance the prosperity of the Carolinas; but its ultimate results were disastrous in the highest degree. The proprietary government of these fertile regions lasted until 1719, when the two Carolinas were separated.

but peace was required to establish a high degree of prosperity. The middle settlements were but slightly touched by the struggle; but New England and South Carolina suffered greatly. The colonial war began in the latter colony, the governor of which, James Moore, led an expedition against St. Augustine, a Spanish settlement in Florida. The enterprise was a complete failure, owing to the gross mismanagement and question-



PENN'S HOUSE, SECOND STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

The cultivation of rice was introduced into North Carolina in 1695; at a later date, the cotton-tree was first planted, and cotton has ever since been the chief production of the Carolina States. The population was of very mixed origin, and climatic influences have in time formed almost a distinct and independent race.

The fresh outbreak of war between France and England in 1702 was an unfortunate circumstance for the English colonists in America, especially for those settled in the northern plantations, who came into close proximity with the subjects of Louis XIV. The several communities of New England had already, to a considerable extent, recovered from the disastrous effects of the previous war. Trade and industry were flourishing, and nothing

able courage of Moore. Subsequent expeditions against the Spaniards and their Indian allies were attended by success, and a French attempt on Charleston, in 1706, was defeated, partly with the help of Huguenot emigrants, who had not forgotten the great wrong of 1685. The New Englanders were placed in a position of extreme danger, owing to the hostility of the red men, who were much more inclined to side with the French than with the English. Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were desolated by the ferocious tribes of the north, who were well known to be incited to their work by the French officers in Canada. Neither infancy nor age was spared; men were carried into captivity; and, on the advance of any opposing force, the savages disappeared with a



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. (After the Picture by Benjamin West.)

rapidity which no people of European race could equal. So great was the general terror that the Assemblies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered a bounty of £50 for every Indian scalp, but appear to have obtained very few. The Dutch merchants of Albany, in the colony of New York, carried on a trade in arms with the Indian allies of the French, purchased their spoil, and allowed marauding parties to march through the neighbourhood of their town towards the New England frontiers. Some reprisals were carried out against the French colony of Acadie; but, after a while, both the Canadians and the New Englanders grew so weary of the struggle that, in 1705, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, sent a commissioner to Boston with proposals for a treaty of neutrality. The General Court of Massachusetts, however, refused to entertain the project, and the war continued with unabated ferocity.

A proposal by the English Government, in 1709, to subjugate Canada, with the help of the Northern and Middle colonies, was received by some of those communities with enthusiasm, but was ultimately abandoned, owing to inability to spare any of the troops then engaged on the great battle-fields of Europe. The colonists, nevertheless, made a descent on Fort Royal, in Acadie, which almost immediately surrendered, and was re-named Annapolis after the reigning Queen. Acadie was then once more called Nova Scotia, and has ever since remained beneath the English flag. When, at length, in 1711, the British Ministers made up their minds to send an expedition against Canada, it proved a ridiculous failure, owing to the gross incompetence, if not treachery, of the Admiral, Sir Hovenden Walker. The fleet consisted of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, and the military force included seven veteran regiments from the Duke of Marlborough's army, and a battalion of marines; the whole under the command of Brigadier-General Hill, a brother of Mrs. Masham, and an officer who had previously been refused a colonelcy by the great Duke, on the ground that he was totally unfitted for it. On this occasion, however, he had no opportunity of showing whether he possessed any ability or none; for Sir Hovenden Walker, when approaching the shores of Canada, mismanaged his ships with such astounding folly, though frequently warned as to what would ensue, that eight of his vessels were wrecked, and nearly nine hundred men were drowned. The conquest of Canada, which the French were not permanently to retain, was postponed for nearly fifty years.

The remaining incidents of the war on the

American continent were unimportant, and hostilities were brought to a close by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. The treaty, in the clauses relating to America, provided that Newfoundland, the Hudson's Bay Territories, and the conquered settlement of Annapolis, together with the whole province of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, should remain in the possession of England; but the French were permitted to retain their settlement at Cape Breton. Supremacy in the fisheries was conceded to the English of America; freedom of trade with the Spanish settlements was specifically secured; six of the most warlike of the Indian tribes were recognised as subjects of Queen Anne, and the French and English Governments bound themselves not to molest, or interfere with, the other Indian nations claimed as the subjects of either. The assignment to an English Company of the right to import negroes into Spanish America has been already described; but it may here be added that Queen Anne engaged that her subjects should, during the period of thirty years over which the privilege extended, transport to the Spanish Indies 144,000 negroes, on certain specified terms, and at the rate of 4,800 a year. The sovereigns of England and Spain were themselves shareholders in this abominable traffic. The English Queen had on a previous occasion interested herself in the slave-trade, by countenancing the operations of the Royal African Company for the transportation of negroes to America; and she and Philip V. now received a quarter each of the common stock created by the Treaty of Utrecht: the remaining half was divided amongst English merchants. One result of the recent war was to give England a large accession of territory in North America; but France was left in possession of the great Mississippi valley, and the name of Louisiana was given to that vast region, in honour of the King whose end was then approaching.

In the East, as well as in the West, in Asia not less than in America, the future rivalry of France and England was destined to occasion, in the middle of the eighteenth century, results affecting the condition of a large portion of mankind. From the period when we last sketched the course of Indian history to that with which we are now concerned, there had been but one conspicuous sovereign—Aurangzebe, a son of Shah Jehan, who gained the throne by treachery and hypocritical pretence, and reigned with splendour and success from 1678 to his death in 1707. In the earlier years of the eighteenth century, while the Mogul Empire of India still retained its authority, though beginning to be undermined by the usurpations of

provincial governors, and to be assailed by warlike nations arising to shake off the Mohammedan yoke, the modest pretensions of the European settlements allowed them to dwell in peace. The Portuguese at Goa, on the Malabar coast, precursors there, as in other resorts of maritime trade and tropical cultivation, of the Dutch, the French, and the English, had refrained from meddling with the internal politics of the country; and the Dutch, on the Coromandel coast, had followed their example. Commercial jealousy between the Dutch and the English, when they found themselves near neighbours in the vicinity of Madras, was the cause of some acts of ill-will, but did not, as it ultimately did with the French, become associated with a struggle for dominion in India. The English East India Company, which had in 1685 removed its earliest "factory," established at Surat, to Bombay, a former Portuguese port, given on the marriage of a Portuguese princess to Charles II., possessed also two more important establishments, those of Madras and Calcutta. It was in 1639 that the Company purchased from the local native Rajah a diminutive strip of land on the eastern coast, and built Fort St. George, with fifty houses, a Governor's mansion, and a chapel, surrounded by a wall armed with cannon. This was the origin of Madras, the name of which, like that of Bombay, is probably of Portuguese derivation. Many of that nation had been expelled by the Sultan of Golconda from a settlement of their own, and were glad to join the English, whom at first they greatly outnumbered. The Company had to pay a yearly rent or tribute to the Sultan of Golconda, and subsequently to the Nawab of the Carnatic, the feudal ruler of Southern India under the Mogul Empire. The French had a similar footing in their establishment at Pondicherry. Both Madras and Bombay, however, were prepared to defend themselves against hostile attack, to which, in the frequent outbreaks of anarchy between the reigns of different Emperors at Delhi, they were occasionally exposed. The position of the European settlements on the Hooghly, the most accessible port of navigation among the delta branches of the Ganges, was by no means equally secure. There, indeed, at Chinsura, at Chandernagore, and at Kalighat, since famous as Calcutta, the merchant venturers were permitted by the Mogul sovereign, or by his vassal, the Nawab of Bengal, to erect their factories, and to carry on trade in the cities of Patna, Dacca, and Moorshedabad, under very lucrative conditions. The manufactures of Europe, especially hardware and cutlery, found a profitable market, while the fine Indian muslins, silks, shawls, embroidery, and

jewellery, with the indigo, spices, saltpetre, and other produce of the country, were freely exported. Still, the Bengal settlements, Dutch, French, and English, were denied the same local independence that was enjoyed by those in Southern and Western India. They were forbidden to have fortifications and cannon, and lay rather at the mercy of any Mogul potentate who chose to exact pecuniary contributions from them. The fate of a Portuguese community there, which had been utterly destroyed with tortures and massacre, in 1632, for resisting Shah Jehan when he usurped the throne of his father Jehanghire, was a terrible warning to all the foreigners in Bengal.

Although, under these circumstances, the time had not yet come for the enterprising ambition of European States to find in India a subject of political contention, the spectacle then presented by India appealed powerfully to the imagination; and some writers of that day were wont to compare Aurungzebe with Louis XIV. A satirical moralist could easily discover points of resemblance in the intolerant zeal for religious orthodoxy, the severe decorum, and the ceremonious pomp, with which a calculating despot, the crowned impersonation of grasping egotism, veils the designs of unscrupulous statecraft; but history can show equally close parallels in the Roman Empire and the Spanish Monarchy, where personal dissimulation has attended the inordinate passion for absolute power. The Mogul Empire in India was largely constructed by Akbar the Great; but every despotism of foreign rulers has within it the seeds of corruption; and its rapid decay, when the rigid official system of Aurungzebe was broken up, in the fratricidal conflicts of his feeble successors, was but a repetition of that which has happened in other Empires subsisting only by military force. Had there been any virtue or real patriotism among the ancient Hindoo princes, or any vital power in their superstitious religion, or any capability of political union among the diverse nations of that vast region, the eighteenth century might have beheld, instead of a British conquest vainly disputed by the French, the rise of a new Oriental monarchy congenial to the sentiments of the native races. But this was not to be; and the advent of direct British rule, the consequences of which are still doubtful, was prepared and rendered inevitable by incessant disorders, intolerable to the view of civilised humanity, during more than fifty years.

The new native Power which actually arose, that of the Mahrattas in Western India, was a more cruel scourge, and worse agent of general oppression, than any of the northern invaders, Turk or Tartar,

Afghan or Mogul, who had descended on the plains of the Indus and the Ganges. A powerful confederacy of warrior chieftains, whose sole object was plunder, or the continual levying of money tribute, which they called "chout," from the inhabitants of every province of India within reach of their roving bands of ferocious horsemen, long defied the viceroys of the Mogul Empire, stripped and crushed the timid and unarmed population, and could not be checked, apparently, without some foreign intervention. The founder of this frightful league of hereditary banditti was the famous freebooter Sivaji, who was born in the Western Ghaut highlands, near Poonah, in 1627, and died in 1680, having perpetrated innumerable crimes, one of the least of which was pillaging the English and Dutch factories at Surat. He laid claim to a fourth part of the yearly revenue of every district which his emissaries could visit, sword in hand, and enforced this demand by the slaughter of the inhabitants, the burning of villages, and the devastation of cultivated lands. Aurungzebe, having scarcely the military power required to subdue the Mahratta plunderer, seems to have acquiesced in his malpractices so long as they were not extended to the provinces occupied by Mohammedans; and to have given up Rajpootana especially as a prey to the spoiler. Indeed, the cold-blooded and hateful bigotry of this tyrant, who affected to be a Mussulman saint, was peculiarly gratified in withholding his protection from the Hindoos of the old religion, as idolaters deserving no care of such a pious ruler. The Mahrattas, still growing richer and stronger, and enlisting the most violent and rapacious of the local chiefs in their predatory association, soon formed a permanent Federal State, presided over by a new dignitary, styled the Peishwa, who reigned at Sattara, and whose policy was directed by a Brahmin Ministry, crafty in the pursuit of territorial aggrandisement, for no patriotic object, but for the extortion of a large revenue. Several of the more independent military members of this league, the families of Scindia and Holkar, in the Malwa country, the Guicowar of Baroda, and a branch of the Bhonsla clan in Berar or Nagpore, at a later date became detached from the Peishwa's confederacy; and their descendants were among the princes who submitted to the Imperial suzerainty of the British crown.

The effects of these peculiar circumstances on the political condition of Central India, which continue to our own times, will hereafter be considered; and notice will also be taken of the situation of the more ancient Rajpoot principalities, the true representatives of early Hindoo civilisation,

which are still surviving, and are of great historical interest. Mohammedanism, after all, did not change the ideas and habits of the majority of the Indian people, less than one-fifth of whom, and these not of the purest race, profess the creed of Islam. To the wise European observer, Christian or impartial philosopher, who can regard with sympathising compassion, instead of scorn, the many attempts of humanity to reach the altitude and breadth of divine ideas, this constancy of the countless millions of Indian souls to an ancient creed, defaced by monstrous fancies, but originally allied with high spiritual conceptions, is extremely pathetic. The car of Juggernaut, the dark and fearful worship of Siva and Kali, of Death and Destruction, the horrid martyrdom of Suttee widows, the voluntary torments of devotional insanity, were not essential parts of that religion, but were the additions of a corrupting priestcraft, and of ignorance losing the way of moral truth in the despairing gloom of ages of dark and cruel oppression. Thoughtful scholars in our own day have recognised, and the present teachings of the Brahmo-Somaj among the educated classes in Bengal have apparently proved, the germs of a pure and elevated religious doctrine in the commentaries on the Vedas, as well as in Buddhist speculations. It is no disparagement of the Hindoo mind, richly gifted as it was, judging by its literature, with intellectual refinement and vast imaginative capacity, that it refused to accept a religion which, however excellent in some respects, was thrust upon it at the point of a conqueror's sword. When all else is taken from a nation, liberty, dignity, property, and security of common life, it clings fondly to its gods, whose customary worship, after the manner of their ancestors, consecrates the domestic manners of the subject people. The substantial adherence of India to Hindooism, under a Mussulman rule which grew harsh after the liberal Akbar, and was persecution itself in the reign of Aurungzebe, shows the passive pertinacity of the vanquished but mentally superior race. It has doubtless rendered more easy the task of British administrators in governing with an equitable indifference to all forms of popular belief and worship.

The Great Mogul's pageantry Court at Delhi, losing the reality of Imperial power in the feeble reigns of Bahadur Shah and Mohammed Shah and others, continued to dispense titular rank, and to receive ceremonial homage; but its viceroys and vassals, the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan, the Subadar of Oude, including what are now termed the North-Western Provinces, the Nawab

of Moorsheadabad in Bengal, and the Nawab of the Carnatic, became the actual rulers of the Moham-medan forces in India, and sometimes procured assistance from independent or rebellious Hindoo Rajahs to promote their schemes of ambition. The Empire was falling to pieces very quickly ; it was unable to repress the insurrections of the Rajpoots, of the Mahrattas, and of the Sikhs in the Punjáb ; and in 1739 it was irretrievably humiliated by a Persian invasion. Nadir Kuli Khan, a Turkoman warrior of notable ferocity, born a slave, had usurped the throne of Persia, had become the famous Nadir Shah, had subdued Afghanistan, and declared war against the Mogul sovereign of India under a religious pretext. He accused Mohammed Shah of infidelity to Islam, in having failed to levy the special poll-tax, or rather fine, which was formerly imposed on the Hindoos and other non-Moslems of the Empire ; and in having consented to let the Mahrattas levy for themselves a fourth share of the revenue. Aided by treason on the part of the Nizam, who stood aloof with his troops at the battle of Kurnaul, the army of Persia, comprising Tartars, Turks, and Afghans, defeated that of India, and entered the city of Delhi. The

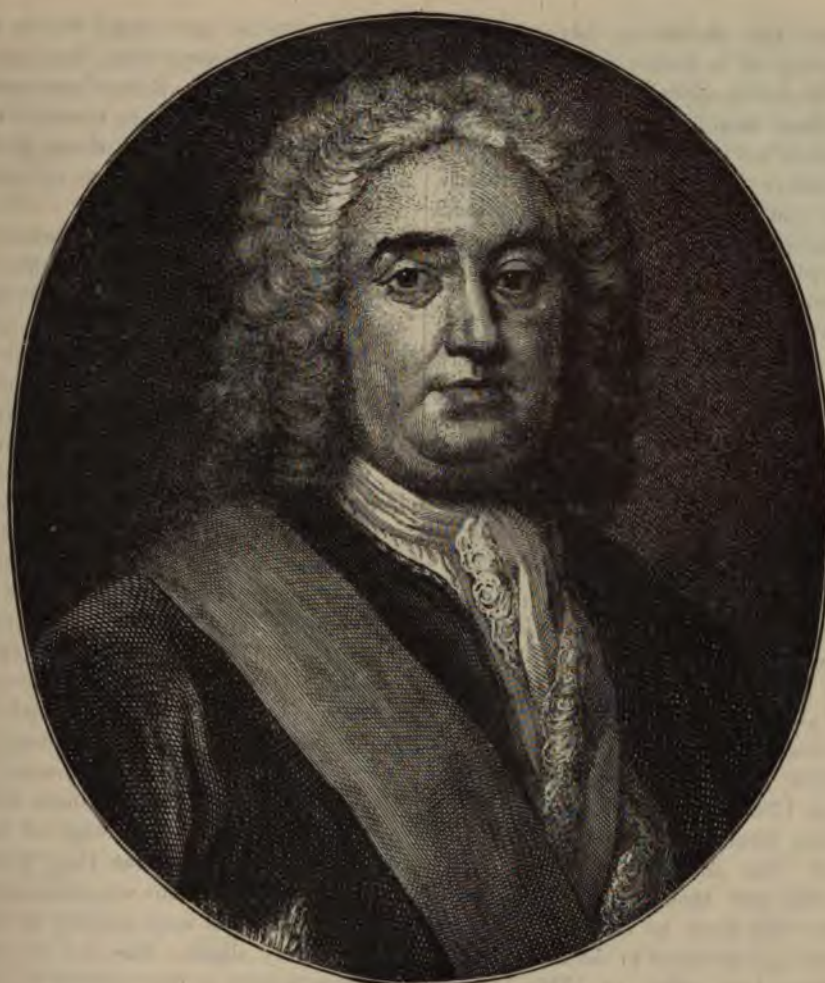
accounts that Eastern historians give of the amount of plunder, and of indiscriminate massacre in the Mogul capital upon this terrible occasion, are beyond reasonable belief. Tens of thousands of citizens, men, women, and children, were slaughtered in one day ; and the quantities of treasure, gold and silver, jewels, and costly stuffs or wares, carried off by Nadir Shah and his army, were reckoned worth several millions sterling. But Nadir Shah did not proceed farther in the way of conquering India ; he left the Mogul Emperor still reigning, though robbed of his splendid "peacock throne," made of gold, with the bird's figure set in precious gems, the proverbial ornament of the Palace at Delhi. A niece of the Mogul was given in marriage to a son of the Shah of Persia, who then withdrew to his own dominions. India suffered once more, nine years later, a brief Afghan invasion as far as Delhi ; but future Chapters of this narrative will relate the manner in which European intervention came to determine the political destiny of that part of the Eastern world, and created in the plains of Southern Asia an Empire which was ruled from England.



VIEW AT THE MOUTH OF THE HOOGHLY.



THE PALACE OF THE MOGUL EMPERORS, DELHI.



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE HANOVERIAN RULE IN ENGLAND.

England under George I.—Rise of Sir Robert Walpole—His Career under Anne—Promotion under George—Liberal Character of his Rule—Prosperity of the Country—Political Corruption of the Time—Passing of the Septennial Act—Character of Walpole as a Minister—The South Sea Bubble—Walpole in Opposition—His Return to Power—Commercial Policy—The Excise Bill—Death of George I., and Succession of George II.—Dissensions in the Royal Family—Extraordinary Power of Walpole—His Opposition to the Spanish War, and Decline in Popularity—Resignation, after a Premiership of Twenty-one Years—Latter Days and Death of Walpole—Rising of the Second Pretender—Stern Suppression of the Jacobite Revolt—End of the Stuart Family—Increase of the National Debt during the Reign of George II.—Morals and Manners at the Same Period—Rise of the Methodist Movement under Wesley and Whitefield—Good and Bad Effects of the Revival—Reform of the Calendar—General Oglethorpe, and the Settlement of Georgia—Introduction of Negro Slavery into the New Colony—State of the French and English West India Islands—Misunderstandings with the Red Indians of North America—Rivalry of the New Englanders and the Canadian French—Large Territorial Claims of France—Progress of the English and French Colonies—Power of the French in the West—Their Claims in Louisiana—Ill-success of their Enterprises—John Law, the Financier—His Proposals to the French Regent to Establish a National Bank—The Mississippi Scheme—Vast issue of Paper Money—The Madness of Speculation—Gradual Awakening of the Public Mind—Bursting of the Bubble—Subsequent Fortunes of Louisiana—The Buccaneers and Pirates.

WITH the accession of George I., the brief ascendancy of the Tory party in England came to a close. The Tories had foolishly thrown in their lot with

the Stuarts, and it was evident that the majority of the English people wished to have nothing more to do with the exiled royal family. Obviously, the

new King could not choose his advisers from among the leaders of a faction which was well known to be in deadly opposition to his claims. He therefore chose them from among the Whigs. The Lords Justices had in fact taken some steps in this direction before the arrival of the monarch from Germany, and George afterwards confirmed their acts. Excepting the Earl of Nottingham, who was removed within a year, the new Cabinet consisted entirely of Whigs, at the head of whom was Viscount Townshend, though the great directing intellect was that of his brother-in-law, Robert Walpole, at first Paymaster-General of the Forces, but afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. Walpole belonged to an old family of landed proprietors in Norfolk, but, despite his remarkable genius as a statesman, never acquired the manners or look of a courtier. To the last he was the fox-hunting squire—big, burly, unpolished, coarse in habits and in speech, jovially good-natured, tolerant and placable, yet with so poor an opinion of human nature that he declared (or at least is said to have declared) that every one had his price, and laughingly disbelieved in all exalted motives in the field of politics.

Born in 1676, Walpole was about nine-and-twenty when, in 1705, he was appointed one of the council to Prince George of Denmark, then Lord High Admiral. The administrative capacity he displayed in this post brought him into favour, and from that time forth he rose with singular rapidity to very high positions in the State. When the Tories came into office, in 1710, he was accused of corruption in the public accounts, sent to the Tower, and expelled the House of Commons. The justice of this charge is doubtful; but it rather promoted than hindered the success of Walpole. At the dissolution in August, 1713, he again entered Parliament, and George I., on his accession in the following year, was glad of such tried and faithful services. As First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Walpole acquired, in 1715, an immense command over the resources of the country, the well-being of which he promoted by his liberal and masterly finance, and by a regard to commercial prosperity very unusual in those times. Under his guidance, England became rich, tranquil, and contented, and a degree of wealth was stored up, which, in the great wars of later days, made the nation almost invincible. Population increased with the growth of trade. Manchester and Birmingham doubled their numbers in thirty years. Liverpool, from very small beginnings, became the third port in the kingdom. Agriculture underwent an immense development,

and the value of land tripled within a very short period. At the same time, the finances of the country were strictly, though not parsimoniously, managed. All taxation in restraint of trade was diminished, and, before the death of George I., in 1727, the public burdens were reduced by twenty millions.*

These advantages, however, were accompanied by a degree of public corruption which has cast an indelible stain upon the epoch. Walpole himself was not an avaricious man, and it is recorded to his honour that he left office poorer than he entered it. But he was absolutely unscrupulous in the use of corruption as a means of influencing others. The circumstances of the time were such as to favour this discreditable agency. The authority of the King, as the head of the State, had greatly declined since the period of the Revolution, and it became even less under the sway of George I., who, as a foreigner, knew little of English politics, and doubtless felt that his interference would be regarded with jealousy by the people over whom he had been called to rule. There was consequently no effectual check on Parliament, and the power of Parliament meant simply the power of the House of Commons, since, if the Upper Chamber proved obstinate in any respect, it was submerged by a deluge of new members, who knew very well what they were sent to do. The House of Commons was nominally the popular Chamber; but its responsibility to the people was in truth very slight. The Act for Triennial Parliaments, passed in the reign of William III., was set aside in 1716 by a Bill appointing seven years as the duration of the national Legislature. The excuse for the Septennial Bill, the operation of which was extended to the existing Parliament, though it had been elected for only three years, was, that the agitated condition of the country, consequent on the recent rebellion of the First Pretender, and the known existence of a strong Jacobite feeling in influential quarters, rendered a greater fixity of representation necessary to preserve the existing dynasty, together with the principles sanctioned by the Revolution of 1688-9. There was in truth something to be said, on special grounds, in favour of a measure which was otherwise extremely objectionable. But, if the Septennial Act guarded the throne and the popular liberties, it also led to a vast increase of political corruption. A lease of seven years gave to every member a feeling of indefinite security against the displeasure of his constituents; and this protection

* Green's History of the English People.

was immensely increased by the absolute secrecy with which the proceedings of Parliament were shrouded. No report of the debates was permitted to be published; no elector knew how his representative had voted; and, in the dark chambers of Parliament, any job, however disgraceful, could be carried out with safety. Members were willing to be bribed; Walpole was perfectly content to bribe them. Thus the very sources of public virtue were poisoned; and yet the extraordinary genius of Walpole, and, on the whole, his honest devotion to the interests of the country, enabled him to use this dirty instrument with results which, in themselves, it is impossible to condemn. When the Septennial Act was passed, Walpole was so ill as to be in temporary retirement; but the Bill was well known to have his concurrence. It added largely to his power, and did not contradict any feeling that was dear to his nature. The Norfolk squire was a sincere and faithful Whig; but he was not a Whig of the Revolutionary epoch. He had no belief in what are known to modern times as Liberal principles. He always declared that he was no reformer: his great ideal was to take advantage of existing facts, that he might create a strong administration, and develop the wealth and industry of the land.

The Ministry of Lord Townshend was broken up in April, 1717, by the dismissal of that statesman, and the consequent resignation of Walpole. The two political friends were out of office for the next three years; but Walpole distinguished himself by his exposure of the celebrated South Sea Bubble—a scheme for liquidating the National Debt by means of fictitious stock, issued by the South Sea Company. The infatuation was so prodigious that little heed was given to his arguments; but the event entirely confirmed his prescience and discernment. The terrible explosion consequent on a baseless mania caused the overthrow of the Administration formed by Stanhope and the Earl of Sunderland in succession to that of Townshend and Walpole. The latter statesmen now returned to power; but it was the genius and energy of Walpole which restored the public credit after the collapse and prostration consequent on the bursting of the gigantic Bubble. The result was seen in the speedy advancement of this great administrator to the highest position of the State. In April, 1721, he became Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, thus commencing a Premiership which lasted nearly twenty-one years. His earliest efforts were devoted to the interests of the national commerce. Several of the principal imports and exports of the kingdom he found

burdened with heavy taxes. These were speedily removed, and the trade of Britain, delivered from its fetters, sprang up into wonderful vigour and prosperity. A hundred and six articles of British manufacture were allowed to be exported, and thirty-eight articles of raw materials to be imported, duty-free. In 1730, Walpole permitted the southern plantations of America to export their rice directly to any part of Europe, whereas formerly the commerce of those settlements had been restricted to the mother-country. This liberal measure led to a great increase in the trade of all those colonies which were concerned in the production of rice; and in other respects the policy of Walpole towards our American possessions was that of a wise and generous statesman. As regards England itself, however, the great Minister's Excise Bill, introduced in 1733, was so unpopular that he was compelled to withdraw it. The measure was essential to enable him to carry out his favourite idea that the necessities of life, and the raw materials of manufacture, should remain absolutely untaxed. It is probable that the populace never clearly understood the objects of the Bill; but the general detestation of anything in the nature of Excise duties threatened an actual insurrection, and showed the imprudence of proceeding any further with the measure. "I will not," said Walpole, in words of noble feeling, "be the Minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood."

Walpole knew that his strength lay in the House of Commons, and, although George I. conferred a peerage on his son in 1723, the Minister himself declined any similar honour until the close of his political career, when he was created Earl of Orford. In 1724, however, he was made a Knight of the Bath, and in 1726 a Knight of the Garter. The sudden death of George I., on the 10th of June, 1727, when absent on a visit to Germany, brought with it no difference in the position of Walpole, though he would probably have been deposed but for the powerful support of Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., who always regarded him with esteem. With respect both to the first and second Georges, we propose in this Chapter to consider merely the domestic incidents of their reigns: the foreign wars and complications are detailed elsewhere. The younger George, while Prince of Wales, was at frequent enmity with his father; and after he came to the throne, the same species of vexatious opposition was shown towards himself by his own son, Frederick, the father of George III. These family differences occupy a conspicuous place in the Memoirs of the times; but they are not of sufficient importance to be

followed in a general History. It is no unusual circumstance for the heir-apparent to place himself in antagonism to the reigning monarch, as the only available means of obtaining a distinct position. His small court becomes a centre of intrigue, where all the discontented spirits of the day—all the adventurers who have failed to obtain office, and who consider their merits unjustly overlooked—are certain to congregate, to agitate, and to conspire. This was especially the case during the eighteenth century, lasting even to the time of George III.,

of which it seemed impossible to forecast. He encountered all this formidable discontent with the rugged courage and domineering self-will of his nature; but the time arrived when he could do this no longer. His opposition to the Spanish War proved the cause of his overthrow. The war was unquestionably popular, and Walpole would not conceal his dislike of its objects, his distrust of its results. The Opposition acquired tremendous force; dissensions arose in the Cabinet; and Walpole begged leave to retire, but met with a direct re-



GEORGE II.

and the early days of the Prince who afterwards became George IV.

Notwithstanding this opposition, however, the reign of George II. was one of the most brilliant in English history. Successful abroad on several occasions, the country still remained prosperous at home. For fifteen years after the accession of George II., Walpole continued to direct the fortunes of England. During ten of those years, he was at the very height of his power; but even the greatest of Ministers is certain, after a long term of office, to find that the combination of his secret and his open foes is more than he can withstand. Walpole had a bitter enemy in Frederick, Prince of Wales; and many leading politicians, not connected with the Government, thought that Sir Robert had established a species of Dictatorship, the duration

fusal from the King. In February, 1740, a motion was made for an address to the Crown, praying that Sir Robert Walpole might be removed from his Majesty's presence and counsels for ever. The motion was negatived by a large majority, but the Minister's triumph was only short-lived. At the next General Election, the number of Walpole's supporters was so considerably reduced that it was with great difficulty he could carry on the Government at all. On the 2nd of February, 1742, his majority dwindled to three; on the 9th he was created Earl of Orford; and on the 11th he resigned.

The Ministry which succeeded was headed by Pulteney; but Walpole, who still retained his influence with the King, contrived that the new Premier should be summoned to the House of Lords as Earl of Bath, in which position his

influence as a political leader was reduced to the lowest point. He also managed to fill the Cabinet with Whigs, and in 1743 induced the King to raise Henry Pelham, the brother of the Duke of Newcastle, and a steady adherent of himself, to the head of the Administration. When subsequently modified, the Government comprised all the strongest politicians of the day, both Tory and Whig, and was therefore known as the Broad-bottomed Ministry. The general policy of the country, however, underwent no important modifications, and the King pursued without check those foreign projects which by many were regarded as rather German than English. The life of Walpole was not prolonged beyond the 18th of March, 1745, when he expired from the effects of a painful illness. Shortly after his retirement from office, the conduct of the late Premier during the previous ten years was made the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry, and the Committee appointed for conducting the investigation issued a report in which they charged the former Minister with having used undue influence at elections, with sanctioning grants of fraudulent contracts, and with peculation and profusion in the expenditure of the secret-service money. The charges were never satisfactorily proved; but there can be no question, as already stated, that Walpole was not the most scrupulous of politicians.

His death was followed within a few months by the rebellion of the second Pretender, Charles Edward, who acted on behalf of his father. The rising, which proved more formidable than that of thirty years earlier, was instigated by France and Spain, and favoured by some amount of popular sympathy in Scotland and the North of England. The King's troops were beaten on several occasions, and the young Pretender, marching towards London at the head of a powerful force, got as far as Derby before his career was arrested. But his progress through the English counties, as well as through the Scottish Lowlands, had proved that his cause could reckon on very little active support amongst the people. The Highlanders, out of a misplaced feeling of loyalty to one who was a mere foreigner, clung to the second Pretender's cause with a romantic devotion not unallied to heroism; but the men of English race, whether north or south of the border, did not care to hazard their lives on so precarious an issue. Lancashire, and some of the other northern counties, were known to swarm with Jacobites; yet they would not draw a sword on behalf of Charles Edward. As a theory, nothing could be more charming than what they understood by legitimate succession; but the

national prosperity secured by Walpole was not to be thrown aside for the sake of a hare-brained alien, who masqueraded in a suit of tartan, and grimaced with pleasure when the Gaelic tribesmen hailed him as "Bonnie Prince Charlie." Even amongst the Highlanders, there were some clans which declared for King George. The situation soon became desperate. At the beginning of 1746, Charles Edward fell back towards the North, and, on the 16th of April, was utterly defeated at Culloden, near Inverness, by the Duke of Cumberland, second son of the King.

Charles Edward succeeded in making his escape, after a series of romantic adventures, which showed his capacity of patient endurance, but were hardly consistent with his position as the great-grandson, through his mother, of John Sobieski. The rising was punished with much severity; but, although in some instances this severity was carried to the extreme of revenge, it is impossible to deny that an example was needed to deter such mischievous attempts in the future. In England, fifty adherents of the Pretender were hanged; the Scottish lords, Lovat, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, were beheaded; and forty persons of rank were attainted by Act of Parliament. In the Highlands, the feudal tenures were abolished, and the hereditary jurisdictions of the chiefs were transferred to the Crown, though with a money compensation. The wearing of the tartan was forbidden by law; and in a few years the turbulent and impoverished Highlands were reduced to civilisation and order, and blessed with some degree of prosperity. The First Pretender died at Rome in 1765, and his son Charles Edward, after several years of intoxication and loose habits, expired in 1788. The brother of the latter, Henry Benedict, to whom the elder Pretender had granted the title of Duke of York, and whom the Pope afterwards made Cardinal York, was the last representative of the Royal House of Stuart. A medal is extant, dated 1788, which represents this prince in an ecclesiastical habit, with an inscription describing him as Henry IX. of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. He died at Rome in 1807; but all fear of a Stuart restoration had ceased long before that time.

Owing to frequent hostilities, the National Debt was much more than doubled during the reign of George II. Three years after the death of that sovereign, when the Seven Years' War was brought to a conclusion, the indebtedness of the nation fell little short of £139,000,000, paying interest of above £4,850,000. Before his first resignation, Walpole had submitted to Parliament a plan for reducing the interest of the National Debt,



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD'S PARLIAMENT. (After the Picture by W. D. Hols, R.S.A.)

and for establishing a sinking-fund. The resolutions were agreed to, but the Bill for giving them effect was passed by his successors. This, however, was in the reign of George I. The more warlike policy of the son entirely obliterated any good that Walpole had secured, and the national obligations increased enormously between 1727 and

Hanoverian, while others of equal power—such as Fielding, Smollett, and Johnson—arose to give a new direction to the intellectual force of our countrymen. Manners have never been depicted with a more consummate hand than that of Fielding; and the pencil of Hogarth has left enduring and visible evidence of the way in which our



CHARLES EDWARD STUART, THE "YOUNG PRETENDER."

(From the Portrait by Tocque.)

1760—the thirty-three years during which the throne was filled by George II. The annual Parliamentary grants, which at the earlier period amounted to not more than three millions and a half, had risen at the later date to about nineteen millions. Nevertheless, the country progressed in wealth, and the additional burdens were not felt by a people whom commerce had made prosperous and contented. The period of George II. was a time of great mental activity and brilliant genius. Many of the wits and poets who had arisen under Queen Anne lasted into the reign of the second

ancestors lived in that wild, tumultuous, profligate, yet masculine and witty time. The state of morals in the middle of the eighteenth century was scarcely better than its condition during the reckless days of Charles II.: the coarseness of social life was probably even greater.

One of the first reactions against this degradation of society was the religious movement originated by Wesley and Whitefield, and afterwards identified with the dissenting body called the Methodists, meaning people who methodised their time in all things. Both Wesley and Whitefield

were clergymen of the Church of England, and it is certain that they had at first no desire to do more than break up what they regarded as the sinful lethargy which had overspread the minds of men. The movement in time passed far beyond the borders of the Church, though not without producing a considerable effect within those borders. The truth is, that for many years a sort of placidity had prevailed in the religious life of England, which the more enthusiastic regarded as spiritual deadness. Since the collapse of the great Puritan uprising, after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, there had been no great excitement of the public mind on matters of faith. The Sacheverell agitation was a mere flash in the pan, and the modern Dissenters went their ways after a quiet and unpretending fashion. In the Church, there was undoubtedly a great deal of worldly-mindedness; in society at large, there was much that needed reformation. Yet, on the whole, we perceive a gentleness, an amenity, a sedate and cultured breadth of thought, in the first thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century, which are not undeserving of respectful remembrance. The graceful and scholarly tone of the best Churchmen for nearly a hundred years—the tolerant and sympathetic leanings of such Latitudinarians as Cudworth, Whichcote, Tillotson, and others—and the grave and measured scepticism of Bolingbroke and Shaftesbury, of Tindal and Toland, of Collins and Chubb—seemed to open the prospect of a true spiritual advance into domains of thought no less reverential than rational. But the fiery enthusiasm of Wesley and Whitefield unquestionably found a response in the national heart. There were many crying abuses to be denounced, and the reformers denounced them with an acrid vehemence which burnt where it did not purify. The age of indifference, as it was called by many—though it might rather have been described as the age of temperance and sanity—passed away before a tornado of fanaticism, the first outbreak of which was in 1738. The newly-born emotion swept like a whirlwind over all England, and embraced with equal facility the ignorance of colliers and the frivolity of peers. Nothing was so fashionable as religion. It took the place of card-parties and routs; it influenced some deeply, and many superficially. The open profligacy of high life was checked for a while; the brutality of the lower orders was briefly cowed by a moral force which drew tears from eyes unaccustomed to such moisture. The earnestness and self-devotion of Wesley and Whitefield are beyond question; and it cannot be denied that in some quarters they did substantial,

if fugitive, good. Yet they infected the blood of England with a gloomy fanaticism, which endured for two or three generations as a poison in the very depths of life.

Among the numerous Acts of Parliament which the reign of George II. added to the statute-book, one of the most remarkable was that which effected a much-needed reformation in the calendar. The arrangement made by Julius Caesar had brought the computation of time very nearly to an exact correspondence with the motion of the earth round the sun; but the slight discrepancy had amounted, in the course of ages, to several days. In 1582, therefore, Pope Gregory XIII. corrected the error, which was by that time not merely obvious, but embarrassing. Many of the Western nations adopted the new calendar, but some of the Protestant communities ridiculously declined to receive a benefit with which religion had nothing whatever to do, because it proceeded from the Vatican. The old misleading computation lasted in England until 1752, when, by an Act passed the previous year, the calendar was brought into correct relationship with the solar system by the omission of eleven days, which the mob foolishly regarded as an actual shortening of their lives to that extent. The Eastern countries of Europe, where the Greek Church prevails, still cling to their erroneous calendar, from the same motive that once influenced some Protestants; but it is difficult to believe that even these countries will not eventually place themselves in harmony with the rest of the civilised world, and with the natural system of things.

A new province was added to the English colonies in America during the reign of George II. Until 1732, Georgia, the last-founded of the original colonies of English America, was comprised within the limits of South Carolina. The country, which afterwards received a separate name in honour of the King, and a separate organisation of a somewhat peculiar character, was a wilderness of indefinite extent, claimed by the Spaniards as a part of Florida, and by the English as a portion of the Carolinas. Neither nation did anything towards the cultivation or settlement of the land; but each valued it as a frontier. The tract lay bare and desolate, unoccupied by any white race, and but thinly peopled by Indians. Early in the reign of George II., however, it was considered a matter of importance that the desert regions of Carolina should be saved from the Spaniards, who were advancing from the south, and from the French, who were approaching from the west. An active philanthropist at length took up the question with much enthusiasm and vigour, and

conceived the design of cultivating these wastes by plantations of distressed persons, who had fallen into poverty at home. James Edward Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, a member of a Yorkshire family, was born in London on the 22nd of December, 1696. In his youth he had served under Prince Eugene, and the character of a soldier clung to him to the last. But he was a man of active benevolence, and, seeing the miserable condition of prisoners for debt, he considered that an immense service might be done by transporting these unfortunate creatures to a new country, and giving them a fresh start in life. The southern deserts of the Carolinas were therefore, at the request of Oglethorpe, divided by the Government into a separate province, to be called Georgia.

The requisite funds were soon forthcoming, and the Royal Charter of Georgia bears date the 9th of June, 1732. A considerable body of colonists was speedily sent out from England, and these adventurers were followed by a number of religious enthusiasts from Germany, known as the Moravians, Herrnhutters, or United Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The city of Savannah was founded in 1733. The insolvent debtors did not prove the best of colonists, as might, indeed, have been anticipated; but the Moravians were steady and industrious workers, and, after a while, a colony of Highlanders was founded on the river Alatomaha, the boundary, according to British ideas, between the possessions of England and Spain. In 1735, the colony was visited by John Wesley and his younger brother Charles, himself a man of great ability. But the arrogance of John, and the somewhat wayward character of Charles, produced no other effect than to create a vast amount of religious contention and heart-burning. Both the Wesleys quitted Georgia after a brief stay, and Oglethorpe was freed from an interference which seems to have vexed him in many ways. In the subsequent war with Spain, Georgia suffered not a little by the invasion of the Spaniards from Florida; but on the whole, the colony made progress. It was at first ruled despotically, but not unjustly, by the trustees of the fund by which the settlement had been created. These managers forbade the introduction of slavery; but, after the establishment of popular government in 1752, negro bondage was speedily introduced. Whitefield, who visited the colony shortly after Wesley left, spoke strongly in favour of slavery as a means of converting the heathen. In time he was supported by the Moravians; and the greatest curse of social life sprang up in Georgia under the sanction of a sincere, but lamentable, mistake.

But England was not the only colonial power of importance in those days. France owned the whole of Canada, and also the entire region called Louisiana, a country of vast extent, stretching indefinitely towards the Pacific. She had also large possessions in the West Indies, including Martinique, Guadaloupe, and a part of St. Domingo. The cultivation of coffee was introduced into Martinique from Surinam, and formed the basis of a new branch of commerce; but even greater results were effected by the development of the sugar-cane. Valuable commercial liberties were conferred on the French islands by the regulations of 1717, which secured freedom of trade to a considerable degree. Attempts were made to form settlements on what were called the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and St. Lucia; but a dispute respecting them arose with England in 1722, and was terminated in January, 1723, by a treaty which provided for mutual evacuation. The British Colonies in the West Indies were not so prosperous as those of France. Their trade was injured by the smuggling transactions of the Anglo-American plantations with the French islands; but in time the home Government was compelled to relax the commercial restraints under which the English dependencies in that quarter had long pined and languished. We have seen that Walpole did much in this respect; but the general opinion of the age was in favour of monopoly and protection.

On the continent of North America, the proximity of the French and English settlements, together with the absence, in many parts, of a distinct line of demarcation, led to continual misunderstandings and frequent hostilities. The French, moreover, often played off the Indians (converted or unconverted) against the colonists of English origin, and thus provoked reprisals which not seldom took a character of sanguinary violence. The two nationalities struggled fiercely for a monopoly of traffic with the frontier tribes, who were willing to exchange skins and other natural commodities for the manufactures of the white man. For a long time the French succeeded in the larger degree, owing to their greater power of ingratiating themselves with the natives, and to the extraordinary influence of their priests over the wanderers of the desert. But the steady determination of the New Englanders at last prevailed in the immediate vicinity of their colonies, and trading-houses were established on the borders, which gradually encouraged a pacific disposition among the Indians. Fresh occasions of difference, however, were not slow to arise. Despite the terms

of the Treaty of Utrecht, the French of Canada asserted their supremacy in regions which they had formally renounced. In other respects, their pretensions had a show of reason. France claimed the entire basin of the St. Lawrence, and contended that Canada comprised, not only the entire region of that stream, but a part of the water-shed of New York and Vermont, as being tributary to the great river. Early discovery and possession were the grounds on which these claims were made; but the lands in question had since been so often occupied by other races, that a remote and seldom-asserted title seemed to carry with it little validity.

Gradually, but steadily, the English colonies of the North-east acquired vast tracts of land from the Indians, who every year retreated towards the western deserts, like a people doomed to extinction. Some of these acquisitions were made in 1726; others in later years. The Six Nations (originally the Five Nations) became more unequivocally the friends of the English, and constituted a barrier between the dominions of Great Britain and France. On the other hand, the French made favourable way with the Iroquois, and endeavoured to secure a monopoly of the fur-trade. The rival nations established rival forts; but the French successfully asserted their claims to the North-west, and over an immense space of land their commerce was paramount, and indeed unshared. Their pretensions were almost unbounded; at any rate, it was impossible to ascertain their exact limits, nor did the lords of Canada care to give them any precise meaning. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the French extended their sway from the valley of the Alleghany to that of the Ohio, and seized the three chief approaches from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. The immense, vague territory called Louisiana, after the great monarch who aspired to be the arbiter of Europe, was another part of North America to which the French laid claim. A Norman explorer, named La Salle, had described the country in terms of glowing yet cloudy rhetoric, and had given some indications of a vast river—the Mississippi—which flowed as a rivulet out of a small northern lake, streamed southwards with ever-augmenting volume along a course of 4,300 miles, and finally discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico. The trade of the whole province was granted by Louis XIV. to Anthony Crozat, whose subsequent partner, La Motte Cadillac, indulged in romantic ideas of mines abounding in gold and silver. The Spaniards were angry at this intrusion into the valley of the Mississippi, to which they regarded their own claim as superior; and every port along the shores

of the Mexican Gulf was closed against the vessels of France. Attempts were made to penetrate into the south of the forbidden region by land or river; but they ended in nothing save disastrous collisions. The Indians, moreover, transferred their trade to the English, and in 1717 the French had but slight hold on Louisiana.

The pretensions of France to the country watered by the Mississippi led to an extraordinary mania, which, while apparently, for a time, augmenting the national wealth to an unparalleled degree, led ultimately to losses which amounted to national bankruptcy. A certain Scotsman, named John Law, who had undoubtedly a genius for speculation, combined with an entire want of practical ability and of ordinary conscience, appeared in Paris about 1715, shortly after the death of Louis XIV., and unfolded to the Duke of Orleans, then acting as Regent to the infant King, the gigantic schemes with which his own mind was inflated. He had already propounded these or similar plans to the authorities in Scotland, in England, and in Sardinia: he had also been in Paris before; but, as long as Louis XIV. lived, his ideas excited nothing but distrust, and he himself was regarded as a dangerous adventurer. When power came into the hands of the Duke of Orleans, Law perceived his opportunity. The late King had left behind him an enormous debt, and all the financiers of the country were at a loss how to discharge it. The Regent was a man of ill-balanced and impulsive mind, and the splendid promises of Law dazzled him like a vision of boundless and inexhaustible wealth. The clever Scotsman propounded a scheme for a bank, the objects of which were to pay off the National Debt, to increase the revenue, and to diminish taxes. The resources of the State were to be multiplied by an indefinite issue of paper-money, which was to be substituted for the precious metals as the circulating medium. Law argued that gold and silver had no real or intrinsic value, but only the value which was conventionally attached to them. He therefore suggested to the Regent to establish, on the credit of the Government, a bank of deposit and discount, with an unlimited paper currency—a system which, according to his contention, would bring such riches to the State that in a little while the Government would be enabled, first to reduce, and afterwards to extinguish, the gigantic liabilities incurred by Louis XIV. The proposed bank was opened as a private enterprise in 1716; about two years later it was converted into a Royal bank, and the whole of its twelve hundred shares passed into the hands of the State. Some of the most experienced politicians

in France opposed this project, of which they clearly perceived the danger; but if at any time the Duke of Orleans had his misgivings, the weaker mind of the Regent was speedily overborne by the subtle casuistry and vigorous resolution of the Scottish adventurer. For a little while all went prosperously, as no more paper-money was issued than there was specie in the vaults of the bank to answer. The public confidence soon became extreme, and even irrational: people deposited their gold, and drew out notes. When this portion of the scheme had been sufficiently recommended to the public mind, the corresponding half was produced, and for a little while the general madness became even greater than before.

The new speculation was to set on foot, and to associate with the bank, a vast mercantile association, to be called the Mississippi or West India Company, which should possess, together with other privileges, the exclusive right of trading with Louisiana. Dazzling reports, in which a fraudulent imagination had much concern, were widely diffused, with a view to creating in the public mind a belief in the overwhelming riches of the Mississippi region. The visions of El Dorado were revived. Mines of gold and diamonds were reported to be common; a profound interest was excited in those remote and little-known provinces; and the shares of the Company rose in value with such astonishing rapidity, that, by September, 1719, they were worth five thousand francs each, though, only a short time before, they had been issued at five hundred. Vast numbers of new shares were created to meet the general demand; some financial transactions were arranged between the bank and the Regent; and the public creditor was paid in shares of the Company, taken at the prodigious and wholly artificial market-rate of the day. The popular frenzy seemed to increase with every hour, and the value of the shares continued to rise. Those who had bought at a low premium made gigantic fortunes by selling their shares when they had run up to extravagant prices. Law himself was borne away by the universal enthusiasm, and issued paper-money to an amount portentously in excess of the whole metallic coinage then existing in France.

But towards the close of 1719 the inevitable reaction set in. The more cool-headed began to suspect the solvency alike of the bank and of the Company. Law became uneasy, and obtained from the Regent an order making the currency of the bank-notes obligatory. Soon afterwards, all payments in specie were prohibited; but in the early

part of 1720 a general panic began, and the Government found itself face to face with a most alarming crisis. On the 21st of May, the Company's shares and the notes of the bank were reduced to one-half their nominal value. Alarmed at the popular exasperation caused by this measure, the Duke of Orleans revoked it shortly afterwards; but the people, awakening from their wild delusion, rushed in crowds to the bank, to obtain cash for their paper. This of course was a sheer impossibility, and payments were suspended on the 13th of July. By October, the whole visionary scheme had collapsed, to the ruin of innumerable dupes. The fury of the populace threatened the very existence of Law; but he managed to escape, and, flying to Venice, died there in poverty in 1729. Louisiana and the whole Mississippi country suffered greatly from these transactions. Attempts were made to colonise the wild regions of the West; but they met with little success. Many of the colonists were slain by the Indians; some of the Indians were exterminated by the colonists. In 1737—not much more than fifty years after the first attempt at colonisation by La Salle—the population of Louisiana scarcely exceeded five thousand whites, who were served by about half that number of negroes. The French have never understood the true art of colonisation; and, in the eighteenth century, the western tracts of America crumbled beneath their feverish grasp.

The conflict of rival interests and rival nationalities on the American Continent, created in the seventeenth century a remarkable body of sea-rovers, known as the Buccaneers—a term derived from a Caribbee-Indian word denoting a peculiar way of curing and preserving the flesh of cattle, which was adopted by these adventurous mariners. The institution of Buccaneers (for such it may really be styled) grew out of the insolent assumption of Spain to be the mistress of America. Pope Alexander VI., as the reader is aware, divided what were called the West and East Indies between Spain and Portugal; and the Spaniards always considered themselves supreme in the New World. They behaved with the utmost arrogance to the French, the English, and other nations; they endeavoured to monopolise the entire commerce of America; but pretensions so egregious were speedily disputed by all countries possessing a decent share of enterprise and spirit. Some of the noblest of English seamen—such as Raleigh, Grenville, Cavendish, Gilbert, and Drake—carried on an irregular warfare with Spanish cities and Spanish argosies, often with the well-understood encouragement of their own Government; and

out of these privateering expeditions arose the later organisation of the Buccaneers. Many of the earlier freebooters were men of gentle birth and gallant spirit; but it is certain that in time a great deal of downright piracy was committed, and that the Spaniards had real occasion of complaint.

any honourable service might have reflected lustre upon his name. William Dampier, a Somersetshire man, began life as a Buccaneer, but ultimately became a very distinguished explorer of the American seas, and on one occasion stretched across the vast expanse of the Pacific from Cali-



JOHN LAW.

Francis Lolonois, a Frenchman, was a miscreant of the deepest dye, and it was difficult to feel much pity for him when he was torn to pieces by the savage Indians of Darien. The Welshman, Henry Morgan, was also a mere brigand of the sea, who sacked Panama and many other places in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and never spared any town where he thought a good booty could be obtained. But he was likewise a great seaman and a brilliant military leader, whose achievements in

fornia to China and the Indies. The war between England and France, in 1689, broke up that coalition of the French and English Buccaneers which had been the main strength of the organisation. Buccaneering soon afterwards came to an end; but the more dignified sea-rovers of the seventeenth century were succeeded by an inferior race of men called Pirates—with but few exceptions a mere set of Newgate Calendar ruffians who infested the neighbourhood of the West Indies,

and the eastern coast of America as far as Virginia, robbing and murdering all who fell into their power. Like the Buccaneers, the Pirates chose a particular locality for their headquarters—a secure place where they stored their gains, repaired their ships, and concerted their plans of action. The

place of resort. Some of these wretches even had a species of government, by which they were subjected to some kind of law; and provision was made for those who had been disabled in the service. Yet the Pirates never possessed the organised naval and military power of the



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later freebooters selected for this purpose the island of New Providence, the second of the Bahamas in point of size. The vicinity of New Providence to the east coast of Florida offered many attractions, as the Spanish convoys carrying silver from the South American mines passed that way on their homeward voyage. The Bahamas had been taken from the English, in 1700, by the French and Spaniards, and New Providence lay waste when the Pirates, in 1716, made it their

Buccaneers, and their ultimate fate was ignominious. A strong naval force was sent out against them in 1718, and in the course of a few years the evil was very greatly mitigated. Piracy was extinguished as a system; but, until comparatively recent times, individual sea-rovers were captured under the black flag with the skull and crossed bones, and, being conveyed to London, were hanged in chains along the shores of the river below bridge.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CHANGES IN THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER.

After the Peace of Utrecht—Quiescent Attitude of France and England—State of Politics in Northern Europe—Rise of New Military Powers—Unsettled Condition of Poland, and of the German Empire—Charles XII. of Sweden—Triple League against Sweden—Denmark and the Schleswig-Holstein Question—Augustus II., King of Poland—Peter the Great, Czar of Russia—Characters of Peter and of Charles—Beginning of the Northern War—Victory of Narva—Invasion of Poland—Augustus Deposed—Continued War with the Czar—Invasion of Russia—A Fatal Mistake—Mazeppa's Invitation to the Ukraine—Disappointment and Danger—Forlorn Position of the Swedes—Their Defeat at Pultawa—Flight of Charles into Bessarabia—Turkish Hospitality—A Troublesome Guest—Personal Adventures—Return to the North—The War in the Baltic—Death of Charles XII.—Results of the Northern War—Russia and Prussia the Gainers—Policy of Austria—Her Influence used against the Turks—Austria the Paramount Power in Italy—New Kingdom of Sardinia—France and Piedmont United against Austria—Alliance to Expel Austria from Lombardy—Intended Cession of Savoy to France—The Italian Question—New Kingdom of the Two Sicilies—The Neapolitan Bourbon Dynasty—Spanish Marriages—The Hapsburg Inheritance, and the "Pragmatic Sanction"—The Polish Elective Monarchy—Austrian and Russian Intervention—The Eastern Question—Russia and Turkey on the Black Sea—Maritime War between England and Spain.

THE first part of the eighteenth century, to the year 1740, witnessed in Central Europe a series of military and political events, by which new Powers began to assert their influence in the general affairs of the Continent, favoured by the temporary exhaustion or lassitude of the chief combatants in the wars during the reign of Louis XIV. France, in the minority of Louis XV., under the Regency of his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, with his sly and artful Minister, the Abbé Dubois, and in the same reign afterwards guided by the Duke of Bourbon and Cardinal Fleury, was long constrained by her domestic situation to a pacific attitude. England, during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, embarrassed by the Tory Opposition and the Jacobite intrigues against the House of Hanover, entertained a similar disposition. The public mind of both the Western maritime nations was directed with growing interest to commercial and colonial acquisitions beyond the seas, in which they now came to supplant the declining enterprise of the Dutch Republic. Materialism was the spirit of the age; the era of wars for religion was past; and since the Netherlands, the near neighbour of England, had been delivered from the peril of French conquest, there seemed no ground for renewing the alliances formed by William III. It was not until more than twenty years later that the "family compacts" between the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon, threatening to deprive the English of commercial privileges, revived popular jealousy in our own country against France. Continental politics, in the meantime, were violently disturbed by quarrels of a very different nature. The shores of the Baltic, the plains of Northern Germany and Poland, including several countries which are now scarcely to be

recognised by their ancient names, but which were then neither Prussian nor Russian dominions, became the scenes of an adventurous warfare. The extraordinary career of the Swedish King Charles XII., the last great efforts of a martial State, which had once been the strongest champion of the Protestant cause in Germany, ended in the exclusion of Sweden from the affairs of Central Europe. Russia, by the genius of Peter the Great—more remarkable as a trainer and ruler of his countrymen than as a soldier—and the new Kingdom of Prussia, disciplined to strenuous activity, with yet higher statesmanship, by its Brandenburg sovereigns, rose to considerable importance. These Northern Powers, as they were often styled in subsequent diplomacy, found their opportunity of self-aggrandisement in the feeble and disorganised condition of Poland. That country, as we have shown in former pages, was a huge congregation of aristocratic family chiefs, vain of their feudal privileges, incapable of steadfast combination to support the State, and resorting to the expedient of an elective kingship to save their pride from a permanent subordination of rank. Poland, though abounding in brave men of warlike spirit, could never possess a regular army; and the choice of a German prince, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, to occupy a throne so little served by the nobles and the people, only postponed for a time its absorption by the surrounding monarchies.

The German princes, indeed, were at this period enabled to use their natural resources for self-defence, and often to pursue their schemes of ambition, with greater freedom and effectiveness than before. The unity of the German Empire, as a feudal confederation, had been shattered by the Thirty Years' War; and the House of Hapsburg, retaining the Imperial dignity, soon lost its

authority with the German nation by a selfish neglect of patriotic interests. It was more intent upon gaining additional territories in Italy, and on winning the favour of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church, than on protecting the rights of Germany. An example of this was seen after the War of the Spanish Succession, when the Emperor rejected a treaty of peace which would have restored Strasburg and Alsace to the Fatherland, because it did not give him Sicily, with Naples, for his own share of the gains. The presidency of the German Sovereigns being thus left in abeyance, each of them acted as he pleased in seeking foreign alliances, making himself and his army the instrument of alien designs, and profiting by any connection he could form with other States of Europe. Wars beginning elsewhere, and not properly concerning German interests, were by these means carried into Germany, so that Sweden and Denmark, Poland, Russia, Prussia, and presently France and England, fought out their quarrels on German soil. The consolidation of a secure and settled general policy for Europe was greatly hindered by this state of affairs, which continued more or less to the era of the French Revolution.

The narrative of particular events, in which these circumstances will be borne in mind, is here resumed at the commencement of the young King of Sweden's wars, in the year 1700, provoked by an unjust conspiracy of three foreign sovereigns to rob him of parts of his dominions. The first was Frederick IV., King of Denmark, whose pretext for breaking the peace was a phase of that old Schleswig-Holstein question, which has occasioned wars in our own generation. The Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law and intimate friend of Charles XII., had in Schleswig (or Slesvick, as the Danes would call it) subjects owing allegiance to the Danish Crown. There had long been a dispute about their divided homage; but the real aim of Denmark was to acquire sole command of the Sound, and to impose tolls on the Dutch and English traffic entering the Baltic. Sweden, England, and the Dutch Republic were old allies, and had jointly guaranteed the rights of the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein. The King of Denmark, in attacking the Duke, wilfully challenged Sweden to war—a step which he had preconcerted with Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, and with Peter of Russia. These two monarchs were actuated by a desire to win from Sweden the provinces along the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic and the Gulfs of Riga and Finland, which had been assigned to her in 1660 by the Treaty of Oliva. The Northern

Scandinavian kingdom was in possession of Pomerania (including the principal seaports, Stralsund and Stettin), and of Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria, to the extremity of the Gulf of Finland. The severity of Swedish rule in Livonia had excited the discontent of the population, and an exiled nobleman, John Reinhold Patkul, being in the Polish service, persuaded Augustus that they would rise in arms to re-establish their former connection with Poland.

The third member of the league against Sweden, the famous Peter the Great, has already been mentioned in this History. He was but seventeen years of age when he became absolute ruler of a vast Empire, and of a barbarous nation which he determined to civilise, as he understood civilisation, by using knowledge and skill for the increase of material power. With this object, the hardy young Czar renounced for himself all pomp and luxury, as Charles XII. of Sweden, his contemporary, did for the sake of military renown. Peter was resolved, in the first place, to become in his own person a practical shipwright, that he might instruct Russian mechanics in the work, or encourage them by his example. After spending two summers at such labour in the northern port of Archangel, in company with some Dutch shipbuilders there, Peter left his country for two years, and visited Holland and England, where he lived in a rude and simple fashion, at Amsterdam, at Saardam, and at Deptford, spending his days in the dock-yards, handling the tools of common carpenters, but studying mathematics and the natural sciences with the best professors. On his return to Russia, where he had the assistance of two foreign Ministers—General Patrick Gordon (a Scotsman), and a Genevese named Le Fort—the Czar suppressed and punished, with extreme severity, a mutiny of the Strelitz bands of soldiers; after which he began, with amazing energy, but in a despotic and peremptory fashion, his immense task of imposing on the wild Russians, at any cost of natural liberty, and regardless of human suffering, the imitation of European customs, institutions, and useful arts. He can hardly be regarded as a philanthropist, or a liberal and enlightened statesman; works of equal magnitude, and forced changes in the outward aspects of a metropolitan city, have been effected not less quickly by ancient and by Asiatic despotic rulers; but he was a great man of business, self-taught as well as self-inspired, one of the most remarkable masters of mankind.

The personal character of his rival, Charles of Sweden, though spoiled by a fatal passion for martial glory, and by extreme rashness and obstinacy, was

perhaps higher than that of Peter, whose gross intemperance, vulgar coarseness of tastes, and savage fits of rage and cruelty, forbid us to esteem him as a true hero. Charles, in his early youth, forsook the allurements of pleasure, avoided women and rejected wine, despised the splendour of a Court and the ease of a home, and to the day of his death led the hardest of lives in pursuit of fame, "that last infirmity of noble minds," which he erroneously sought in perpetual warfare. Compared with other famous warriors, Alexander, Caesar, or Napoleon, he is the example of one who loved conflict and victory simply for the honours of the strife, not for the aggrandisement of his dominion, or to gain supreme power. His disposition was chivalrous, rather than ambitious: he was the Hotspur of his time, and had no vice but an inordinate appetite for fighting. Yet he did not go forth, in the first instance, without provocation, but had contented himself with bear-hunting and bold riding at home, till the hostile league for the spoliation of Sweden called him, a boy of stern manliness of temper, and of commanding intelligence, to lead his well-trained Swedish army to distant battle-fields. It is true that he went too far, and persisted too long, in this career; that he perpetrated enormous mistakes, and incurred signal defeats and disasters, to the great injury of his country. Yet no base or perfidious act is recorded of him, which is more than can be said of some of the most famous conquerors in ancient and modern times.

His romantic adventures, during the campaigns of twenty years, in many lands between the Baltic and the Black Sea, contending against different antagonists, cannot here be related in detail. The military actions, however astonishing in their day, must from our point of view be regarded as exemplifying the relative strength of the nations engaged in them, and as contributing to permanent results in the distribution of power. The first war of Charles XII. was very quickly decided against Denmark; the allied Swedish, Dutch, and English fleets drove that of the Danes into the harbour of Copenhagen, where Charles landed with his own army, besieged the capital two weeks, and, with hardly any fighting, compelled Frederick IV. to confirm all the rights of Holstein-Gottorp, and to pay an indemnity to its Duke for having attacked his towns of Husum, Eiderstadt, and Tonningen. The Treaty of Travendahl, which brought this brief campaign to an end, was signed on the 18th of August, 1700. But the Czar of Russia had gathered a huge army of eighty thousand men, very ill-trained and rudely armed, under the Duke of Croy, to achieve

the conquest of Ingria, the south-eastern shore of the Gulf of Finland. Charles, to oppose this formidable attack, speedily landed with thirteen thousand Swedes at Revel, and marched against the Russians, who were encamped at Narva, and whom he surprised on the 29th of November, 1700, throwing their whole camp and army into confusion. Peter himself was the first to fly as the Swedes approached; twelve thousand Russians were slain, and eighteen thousand laid down their arms. Charles then took up his winter quarters in Livonia, while Peter went to meet Augustus of Saxony and Poland, to concert a new campaign. They arranged that a portion of the raw Russian troops should learn regular soldiership by serving in the Saxon army; but in the summer of 1701, Charles resumed operations, crossed the Dwina, defeated the Saxons, and occupied the whole province of Courland.

The King of Poland could not rely on the Poles, whom he had offended by keeping his Saxons among them, and by his extravagant and insolent behaviour. Contending factions of the Polish nobility had their different views, but few wished to continue the war against Sweden. Charles made up his mind to depose Augustus II., whom he regarded as his personal enemy; and the pursuit of this object was his main endeavour for several years. In May, 1702, after a previous expedition into Lithuania, he arrived at Warsaw, with only nine thousand men, and entered the city unopposed. He refused to treat with Augustus, or to recognise him as King. The Cardinal Primate, Archbishop Radziejowski, as president of the Polish aristocracy, which called itself a Republic, though it had an elective monarch, was requested to convene a Diet and to declare the throne vacant. He declined to do so, and Charles, leaving Warsaw in disgust, marched on towards Cracow, where the party of Augustus was strongest. On the 20th of July, he encountered a combined army of twenty thousand Saxons and twelve thousand Poles, and gained a complete victory, capturing the royal camp with all that it contained. A broken leg detained him two or three months in the city of Cracow, while Augustus took refuge at Thorn, in Polish Prussia. The winter of that year was spent in attempts on both sides to win the adhesion of the Polish nobles, and the opposite parties summoned Diets, respectively, at Warsaw and at Marienburg, or at Lublin. In 1703, the Swedish King was again in the field, besieging Thorn, from which Augustus had fled, and which surrendered in October. He then advanced northward, and approached Dantzic, which was a town

belonging to Poland. The majority of the nobles, assembled in their Diet, were willing to make peace with Sweden, but not to dismiss their King at the bidding of a foreigner. Their objections were supported by the opinion of the Emperor of Austria, of Holland, and of England, who were consulted upon the question as one of European public law. The personal disfavour, however, in which Augustus was held, and the management of the Cardinal Archbishop, who had now found a candidate of his own choice for the throne, finally prevailed. In February, 1704, a small Diet at Warsaw voted the deposition of Augustus. There were five or six competitors among the most illustrious native families, including the brothers Sobieski, whose father was the national hero; but Count Stanislaus Lesczinski, the one preferred by the King of Sweden, was at length chosen to reign in Poland.

The war concerning this affair, which has the aspect of an obstinate personal contest or duel between Charles and Augustus, was protracted two years longer. It was in truth a civil war of two Polish factions, supported by two foreign armies, those of Sweden and of the German principality of Saxony. In the meantime, while Charles was drawn into Galicia, and, in another campaign, to the borders of Saxony, his maritime provinces between the Gulfs of Riga and Finland were overrun by the Russian army, which Peter had now greatly improved in discipline and organisation. He had also, with wonderful industry, built and equipped a small Baltic fleet, and in those days, having barely won the banks of the Neva, he founded the city of St. Petersburg, the new capital of a vast modern Empire, which still, however, preserves, with sacred veneration, its national capital of Moscow. The fortress of Cronstadt was erected by Peter on an island at the mouth of the Neva. This great workman, singular among the heroes and monarchs of history, appeared, with characteristic simplicity, as an ordinary soldier, sailor, or labourer, wherever his example could encourage the industry of his servants and subjects. Often unjust, often cruel in his proceedings, he aimed at a grand and noble result, the elevation of his country; and though he had no legal right, as between sovereign princes, to rob the Swedish Crown of its Baltic provinces, their possession by Russia was indispensable to the task of national civilisation he had set before him.

On the other hand, the conduct of Charles XII., in persisting with the Polish war long after he had gained security on that side for his dominions adjacent to Poland, is not to be excused. The

war, as he originally began with it, was defensive, and therefore just. It was early avowed by him, as a maxim, "Never to wage an unjust war, but never to close a just one without the destruction of the enemy." He had cause to regard Augustus, who was thoroughly unprincipled, as the prime author of the attempted injuries; and he made it a matter of principle to drive Augustus out of Poland, not so much for the gratification of personal revenge, as to perform a fancied mission in chastising the wrong-doer. In this mistaken course, he lost sight of the real interests of his own country, wasted her strength, neglected her proper defence, compromised the honours that he had won, failed in his latest struggles, and left a name, which might have shone purely and brightly, "to point a moral, or adorn a tale." But the moral of Charles's career scarcely needs exposition. It is the moral of all careers which prefer the hectic glory of military success to the peaceful development of a nation's industrial and spiritual life.

A treaty of peace between Sweden and "the Polish Republic" was signed at Warsaw in November, 1705, and Augustus, as Elector of Saxony, renouncing the crown of Poland, made peace for himself in September of the next year. It remained for Charles XII. to contend with his most powerful antagonist, the Czar of Russia. The Swedish King was incomparably the better soldier; the Swedish army was composed of troops as good as Europe has ever seen, and it numbered forty-four thousand in 1707, when the war against Russia became its principal object. Charles set his face eastward, in the direction of Moscow, early next year, and marched from Warsaw through Grodno and Minsk towards Smolensk, while Peter retired northward, avoiding an engagement. The advance of the Swedes through a hostile country, where they found everything removed or destroyed that could serve for their accommodation, proved extremely difficult and fatiguing. In the month of September, having crossed the Dnieper, Charles was induced to change the plan of his invasion, and turn to the south, in consequence of an invitation from Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacks in the Ukraine. Mazeppa was a Polish gentleman, whose romantic personal history is the subject of Lord Byron's well-known poem. It is said that, in his youth, when a page in the service of some great personage, he was detected in an intrigue with his master's wife. The punishment imposed was to bind him on the back of a wild horse, which had been bred in the distant Ukraine, and let the furious animal carry him away to some probably terrible death. The steed fled back to that land of

the Tartar tribes, between the Don and the Dnieper, from which it had been fetched; it bore thither Mazeppa, still alive; and he dwelt among the Cossacks, gained their respect by his superior knowledge, and was appointed Hetman for his services to the Czar. In 1708 he was above

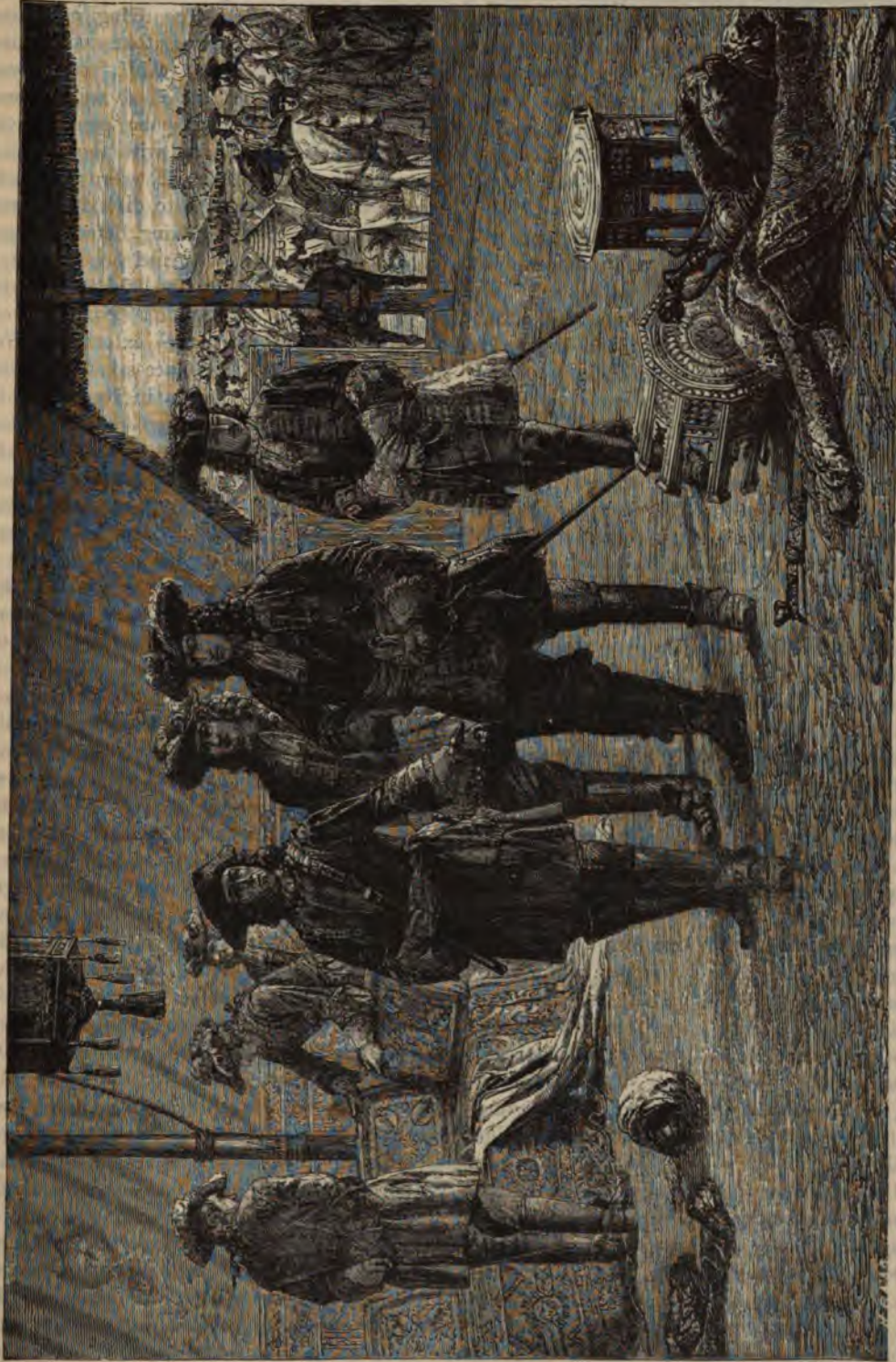
following the march of the Swedish army southward, through forests not easy to traverse, surprised and cut up detached bodies of Swedish troops, and intercepted reinforcements and convoys of supplies. At the same time, news of a Swedish defeat in Finland, in an attempt to reach and



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seventy years of age, but cherished an ambitious desire to become an independent prince. Through Stanislaus, the new King of Poland, his own countryman, Mazeppa conveyed his proposals to Charles XII., and persuaded him, against the advice of Swedish councillors, to lead his army to the Ukraine. The danger of this movement, as it would place the Czar's army directly in his rear, was utterly disregarded by Charles; and Peter did not lose a moment in taking advantage of the blunder. Within three weeks, the Russians,

destroy the rising city of St. Petersburg, aroused the patriotic feeling of the Russians. When Charles, in November, after serious losses by the way, arrived in the Ukraine, and was met by the Hetman Mazeppa, an alarming disappointment was experienced. Mazeppa appeared with only a small band of followers; his efforts to rally the Cossacks around his standard had utterly failed. The aged Hetman, the hero of the wild-horse legend, was a thorough impostor, who conducted the ardent and chivalrous King of



PRINCE EUGENE AFTER HIS VICTORY OVER THE TURKS AT BELGRADE (1717).

Sweden to his ruin. In the winter months, while military operations were suspended by the necessity of the weather, the situation of the Swedish army, diminished to less than half its former numbers, became one of great peril. The only allies that could be procured through the influence of old Mazeppa were some of the Saporogue Cossacks (a plundering tribe who dwelt on certain islands of the Dnieper), and a few Moldavian or Wallachian bands.

The Swedish army had lost its artillery, except four guns, and most of its stores and ammunition; the soldiers were barefoot and half-naked. It was still possible to retreat into Southern Poland; but Charles would not hear of it, and began, in April, 1709, to besiege the town of Pultawa. The name of that place has been rendered famous by the fatal result of a battle, fought on the 9th of July, which is of little interest as a military action. The Russian army, commanded by Scheremetoff and Mentschikoff, Peter himself serving as Colonel of the Guards, mustered sixty thousand; while that of Charles XII. hardly exceeded twenty-one thousand, of whom sixteen thousand were Swedes. They were under the immediate command of General Rhenskiöld, as the King was disabled by a wound in the foot, and was carried in a litter on the battle-field. The unequal combat was prolonged several hours. The Swedes behaved with their usual courage and fortitude, making several effective bayonet charges, but, being finally exhausted, were crushed by the Czar's artillery, consisting of sixty-two guns served by skilful Germans. Nearly half the army of Charles lay dead; the remainder were captured or dispersed; his Swedish General, his able Minister of State, Count Piper, and his companion, the Prince of Wurtemberg, were taken prisoners; the King himself escaped with a few attendants. His personal adventures make an interesting story. He got away into the Turkish province of Bessarabia, and was entertained, for some time, with a splendid show of hospitality at Bender, while he sent Poniatowski to Constantinople, to persuade Sultan Achmet III. to make war on Russia.

The Czar had returned to Moscow; a revolution in Poland, when the Swedes were gone, had driven out King Stanislaus, and restored King Augustus, the Pope having given absolution both to Augustus and to the Poles for the sin of breaking their oaths. The German princes wished to deprive Sweden of her possessions in Germany; the King of Prussia wanted Pomerania; and the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Elector of Hanover, and their allies in the Empire, joined in a league, professedly

neutral as regarding the war between Sweden and Russia, but really designed to shut out the Swedes from Central Europe. The King of Denmark again took up arms; but an attempted invasion of Sweden, in the spring of 1710, was promptly defeated by its brave people. It had become an object of general European policy, in which Great Britain and Holland agreed with the Emperor of Germany, to prevent the war between the Northern kingdoms from continuing to disturb the rest of the world. The Swedish King, defeated, but still undaunted, might have returned home quietly, but persisted in stirring up the Turks against his enemy, the Czar. In this endeavour the efforts of Charles, aided to some extent by French diplomacy, were partially successful. The Sultan declared war against Russia in November, 1710: Turkey had already been aggrieved and alarmed by Russian aggression on the shores of the Black Sea. Here we see the Eastern Question, as we have seen the Schleswig-Holstein Question, emerging at that early period of the last century in forms not quite unlike those which have appeared in very recent times. The Russians crossed the Pruth, and entered Moldavia, relying on the promised support of an insurrection among the Greek Christian subjects of the Turkish Empire. Demetrius Cantemir, Hospodar of that province, willing to make himself an independent hereditary sovereign, had invited the Russian invasion. Peter the Great set his face in the direction where a Nicholas and an Alexander were to follow in our own day. But the movement was attended with no success: the Moldavians did not rise, and the Czar's army of thirty thousand, hemmed in by a very superior force, in a situation between the river and a morass where retreat was difficult, seemed in manifest peril. It was saved by an unaccountable negotiation. The Grand Vizier, Mohammed Baltadji, who commanded the Sultan's army, numbering 150,000 men, besides 40,000 brought from the Crimea by the Tartar Khan, may have been bribed; he may have been a coward; he may have committed an amazing error of judgment; or he may have known that the Sultan was averse from war. Instead of defeating Peter and the Russians, who might easily have been destroyed or taken prisoners, he consented to let them depart in peace, after signing a convention by which the Czar was to restore to the Sultan his late conquests on the Sea of Azof, to pay an indemnity, to leave the Tartars alone, and not to support Poland in any war against Turkey.

Nothing was to be done for Charles XII., who rode in haste from Bender to Jassy, and so to

the camp, arriving just in time to see the rear-guard of Peter's army, with flags flying, set forth on its safe march back to Russia. His rage and scorn for the Turks found such violent expression, that he became a disagreeable and unwelcome guest. In the reproaches he addressed to the Grand Vizier, he said, "Why did you not send the Czar prisoner to Constantinople?" The Turkish Minister drily retorted, "What, in that case, would have become of the government of his country? In my opinion, every sovereign ought to stay at home." This was a veiled reproof of the King of Sweden, who had been absent from his own country during eleven years. It might have been well for him had he taken the hint at once. He was soon made to feel that the Sultan's Government wanted to get rid of him. After some time, his pension was reduced; he was removed to a less commodious and dignified abode, and was presently informed that arrangements had been made for his departure by way of Poland. The behaviour of Charles upon this occasion was petulant, unreasonable, and unworthy of a prince or a gentleman. He made extravagant demands for money, and for a large military escort on his journey; which being refused, he declared that he would stay in Turkey, and in effect defied the Sultan to turn him out. Without dwelling too much on this miserable squabble, it is enough to say that he barricaded his house, with the help of about three hundred servants and Swedish followers, against the authorised messengers of the Turkish Government, fought desperately when they came to put him under arrest, and was carried off wounded as a prisoner of State. The Sultan was not inclined to treat him with any severity or indignity, but he may have experienced some rudeness from Tartar subordinate officers. He was allowed his personal liberty, under needful surveillance, in a residence assigned to him near Adrianople, where he shut himself up nearly a twelvemonth, sullenly taking to his bed, and really became ill from want of exercise, and from the mental excitement of his angry mood. His friend Stanislaus, the deposed Polish King, wandered after him into Turkey, with dubious intentions, and likewise became a prisoner. At length, in October, 1714, overwhelmed with private debts by his pecuniary recklessness, and smarting under a sense of humiliation which few persons in all Europe would pity, Charles set forth on his return to Sweden, with a sufficiently handsome equipment from the Sultan's bounty, for which he was never grateful. He travelled through Hungary

and Germany unmolested, giving his German Duchy of Zweibrück to his companion Stanislaus, who had lost all his estates in Poland; but he went no farther than Stralsund, a Pomeranian seaport then belonging to Sweden, and closely besieged by the allied Kings of Denmark and Prussia.

The war, in fact, was to be finished in the Baltic, where it had begun fifteen or sixteen years before; and the Kingdom of Prussia, together with the Empire of Russia, was destined, after all, to gain by it the largest accession of territorial dominion and of political importance. Denmark had proved comparatively weak; Poland, having no confidence in King Augustus, and being anxious to avoid hostilities with either Russia or Turkey, now exacted of its ruler a strictly neutral policy. The defence of Stralsund, in which Charles XII. again showed his abilities as a commander and his martial heroism, lasted through the summer and autumn of 1715, and did not end till December; but its prospect was desperate from the beginning. Charles did not stay personally to await its termination: a few days before the town surrendered, he got on board a vessel which carried him to Sweden. He had vowed never to re-enter his capital city of Stockholm unless victorious, and he kept this strange resolution, though his presence was greatly desired and needed by the loyal and faithful Swedes. The kingdom, after losing all its dominions on the opposite coasts of the Baltic, was now threatened with a fresh attack by the Danes. Charles had no idea of maintaining a simply defensive attitude: he resolved to invade Norway, which had become a province of the Danish Crown. In the spring of 1716, he captured without much difficulty the city of Christiania; but the war languished from the mutual exhaustion of the Scandinavian Powers. Their interests had already, in the view of Europe generally, sunk into secondary consideration. The re-settlement of the German provinces was of greater importance; and King George I. of England, as Elector of Hanover, was a party to this affair, having purchased of the King of Denmark the former Swedish possessions of Bremen and Verden.

At this period, after so many years of bootless warfare, an opportunity of redeeming his position at home, if Charles had been a statesman instead of a mere warrior, came to him in the person of Baron Görtz, a German diplomatist, who suggested the plan of a compromise with Russia and Prussia. Görtz won the confidence of the King of Sweden, and was capable of great usefulness; but in secret he was fatally committed to the

Jacobite intrigues—favoured by the Spanish Minister, Cardinal Alberoni, and by a strong party at the French Court—against the throne of George I. in England. His efforts in the interest of Sweden, if they had not been complicated with foreign plots, might have had a beneficial result. France was engaged to act as mediator; and, in May, 1718, a treaty of peace was arranged, by which the East Baltic provinces were ceded to Russia, while Sweden would recover the Mecklenburg and Pomeranian territories, with Bremen and Verden. The chief loser would be Poland, the partition of which between Russia and Prussia was thus to be in some degree commenced. Charles XII. was also to be allowed to pursue his late enterprise of taking Norway from Denmark. For this purpose, with his wonted impetuosity, he for the last time collected an army, and hastened on the campaign in which he met his death. At the siege of Frederickshald, on the night of December 11th, 1718, this famous soldier, who conceived of martial courage as the only virtue of a man and a King, and who strove in that way to be virtuous, fell shot through the head, and died at the age of thirty-six. Charles, on the whole, is not to be approved or greatly admired; but he was far from being a bad man. In the Homeric age he would have been honoured as another Achilles; in that of mediæval chivalry, his conduct would have seemed worthy of a knightly prince. Victor in some memorable battles and campaigns, he was yet no conqueror. Easily befooled, he was rash and headstrong in good or evil fortune; a gallant egotist, a most unsuccessful ruler of men.

The autocratic government of Sweden, which had accompanied the rigid military organisation now worn out, was changed next year by a political revolution. A female sovereign, Ulrica, sister of the late unmarried soldier-king, and wife of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, succeeded to the throne, while an aristocratic oligarchy gained power in the State. Baron Görtz was impeached of treason, and beheaded. He was no traitor to Sweden, but was made a victim to appease the Hanoverian party in Germany and at the English Court. Two years more were spent in desultory conflicts and intermittent negotiations before the affairs of the Baltic were settled. Finally, a territorial redistribution was effected, in 1721, by which all the eastern provinces, except Finland, were annexed to the Russian Empire, while Pomerania, with the port of Stettin, became Prussian. Dantzic remained to Poland, Stralsund and a piece of Mecklenburg coast to Sweden, and Denmark preserved its claim to Holstein. The two new great Northern Powers,

Russia and Prussia, had secured their future growth, with such ultimate consequences as we see at the present day.

In other parts of Europe, after the Peace of Utrecht, the Austrian Monarchy, having a policy of its own distinct from that of the German Empire, standing on its guard against the Turks on the Transylvanian frontier, and being jealous of acquisitions by the Bourbon dynasty of Spain in the Italian peninsula, became engaged in wars of some importance. Austria was intent on confirming that ascendancy in the affairs of Italy, which continued to be one of her main objects until within the memory of middle-aged persons in our own generation; at the same time, her geographical position obliged her, then as now, to take an active interest in the Eastern Question. The early aspect, however, of that difficult European problem was rather of a defensive character. Venice, the outpost of Christendom in the Adriatic, and among the Grecian shores and isles, was fiercely attacked by the Turks in 1715; the Morea was quickly wrested from the hands of its Venetian masters, and the Ionian Islands were endangered. The Austrian Emperor, Charles VI., was exhorted by Prince Eugene of Savoy to be the champion of Europe against Mussulman aggression. He raised three armies and sent them across Hungary, to meet the great host led by the Turkish Grand Vizier into Transylvania. The Turks were defeated at Peterwaradin, and Temeswar was captured; in the following year, 1717, still larger forces were in the field, and Eugene inflicted another signal defeat on the Turks, and took the commanding fortress of Belgrade. The Venetians had meantime successfully defended Corfu; but when peace was made, in 1718, the restoration of the Morea to them was not insisted upon. The Levant was thenceforth abandoned to the Ottoman Empire.

Austria was at heart more concerned to put a stop to the Spanish advances in Italy, which were due to the ambition of an Italian princess, Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of the weak-minded Philip V. of Spain, and an Italian Minister, Cardinal Alberoni, from Parma and Piacenza. The Spaniards had seized the island of Sardinia, upon a frivolous pretext, in 1717; they coveted Naples and Sicily, in violation of the terms of Utrecht. The Emperor appealed to France and England, as guardians of treaty rights; and an arrangement was made that the Duke of Savoy, instead of being King of Sicily, should be King of Sardinia, while Sicily was to be annexed to the crown of Naples, under the title of the "Kingdom of the Two Sicilies," as it has been in modern times. It was to be a posses-

sion, however, of the House of Austria, not of the Spanish House of Bourbon. The Court of Madrid resisted this arrangement, though accompanied with a promise that one of the sons of the Parmesan Queen of Spain should eventually have the Duchies of Tuscany and Parma. A short but decisive war ensued, in which, for a wonder, France and England co-operated with Austria to compel the assent of Spain. While Piedmontese troops were opposed to the Spaniards at Palermo and Messina, Admiral Byng almost destroyed the Spanish fleet in a battle off Syracuse; while the French, under Field-Marshal the Duke of Berwick, invaded the north of Spain, and captured St. Sebastian. This singular combination soon forced Philip V. to dismiss Alberoni, and to accede to the settlement above described, which is known as that of the Quadruple Alliance.

But, before long, there were family arrangements in progress between the French and Spanish Courts, which might have disturbed the good understanding of the Powers which had obtained this satisfactory result. A contract was made, in 1722, for the marriage of Louis XV., then near his legal majority, to the infant daughter of Philip V., while two daughters of the Regent Duke of Orleans were affianced to the two sons of that King, the heirs of Spain, Tuscany, and Parma. Fortunately, in the year following, the full execution of this scheme of "the Spanish Marriages" was prevented by the death of the Regent, and that of his Minister, Dubois: the young heir to the Spanish Crown died of small-pox in the very next year. Louis XV., who was crowned King of France in October, 1722, married, three years later, Marie Leeczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland, to the great displeasure of the Court of Madrid. The Spanish princess they would have given him was then a very little child. The birth of a Dauphin, in 1729, put an end to hopes of uniting the crowns of France and Spain. Cardinal Fleury, who became Minister in 1726, was desirous of peaceful relations with the British Government, and Sir Robert Walpole showed the same disposition towards the French. But in the previous year a war had broken out, owing to the alliance formed between the Austrian Emperor and the King of Spain by the Treaty of Vienna, to which England, France, and Prussia, and afterwards Sweden, responded with the Treaty of Hanover. Gibraltar was unsuccessfully besieged by Spain in 1726, and, in the same year, Admiral Hosier's fleet was sent to the West Indies, where, owing to contradictory orders, it remained inactive until the chief commander and nearly all

his crew perished of disease. Preliminary articles for a general pacification were signed at Paris on the 31st of May, 1727, and ten days later George I. expired.

The causes of many pernicious disputes lay in two often recurring problems: the absurd constitution of the elective monarchy in Poland; and the doubtful legality of the arrangements made by the Emperor Charles VI., so early as 1713, twenty-seven years before he died, for the bequest of what remained of the hereditary dominions of the House of Hapsburg. The latter were embodied in an instrument curiously styled "the Pragmatic Sanction," to which he was always extremely solicitous to obtain the collective guarantee of the European Powers. He had no sons, but in the course of his life daughters were born to him, none of whom, he undertook, should be married to the Bourbon Princes of France or of Spain, which would, in any case, have been resisted by England, and by other States, as destructive of the balance of power; but he would bestow Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, with the Crown provinces in Lombardy and in the Netherlands, on his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who in time married the Grand Duke Francis of Lorraine and Tuscany. The continual anxiety of Charles, during a long reign, to provide external securities for the fulfilment of this arrangement, was a ruling motive of Austrian policy. In January, 1732, he brought the matter before the Diet of the German Empire, and the Pragmatic Sanction was ratified and guaranteed by the votes of a majority of the German States. The Elector of Bavaria, who had married a daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., elder brother of Charles VI., the Elector of Saxony, Augustus, King of Poland, who married his son to another daughter, and the Elector Palatine, were still protesting against it. Charles VI. could not but fear that one or all of them, upon his death, would set up claims to the Austrian succession by right of matrimonial connections with the elder brother's heiresses, and they might probably expect powerful support either from France, from Prussia, or from the Polish alliance with Russia. A few months after this, in February, 1733, Augustus of Saxony and Poland died. His son, Frederick Augustus, succeeded him as Elector of Saxony, and became a candidate for election to his father's throne in Poland. It will already have been perceived that Polish national independence, though retaining its old constitutional forms, had become merely nominal, and that the election would go at the bidding of the most powerful foreign sovereigns. Now, the Saxon candidate, himself not very strong,

had two formidable competitors: namely, Stanislaus Lecszinski, whom Charles XII. of Sweden had made King for a short time, who was a Pole, and who was now father-in-law to Louis XV. of France; and a candidate selected by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, merely to oppose Stanislaus—a Portuguese prince, of whom little need be said. It occurred to the Elector of Saxony's advisers that he might, by renouncing his claim to the Hapsburg inheritance on account of his wife, and by giving his assent to the Pragmatic Sanction—thus sacrificing a distant and uncertain, though splendid, reversionary chance—get the Emperor of Germany on his side.

This overture was successful. Charles VI. readily accepted the accession of Saxony in the German Diet to the Pragmatic Sanction, threw the Portuguese candidate overboard, and undertook to support Frederick Augustus in every way, though he pretended not to force the votes of the Polish nobles. As for Russia, Peter the Great had died eight years before, and the woman now reigning—the Empress Anna, Peter's niece—was soon persuaded to adopt Frederick Augustus as the candidate of her recommendation. King Frederick William of Prussia was rather inclined to earn the goodwill of France by transferring his support to Stanislaus Lecszinski, and did not like the prospect of having a Poland dependent on Austria half surrounding his own kingdom. He would sooner forego the profit of the bargain offered to him by Russia and Austria, who would have procured for him the Duchy of Berg, while he desired also the reversion of Courland. No time, however, was lost by the two great Empires in compelling Poland to receive the Elector of Saxony as King. A Russian army entered that country, while an Austrian army was collected in Silesia. Meantime, the long-exiled Stanislaus, travelling from France through Prussia in the disguise of a merchant, arrived at Warsaw, and was hailed with delight by his countrymen. Sixty thousand Poles assembled in September on the open plain of Vola, and re-elected him by acclamation: the Primate, Archbishop Potocki, proclaimed him King once more. Three weeks later, at Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, an assembly of some three thousand others, headed by the Bishop of Cracow, elected the Saxon Prince as King Augustus III. Stanislaus, attacked by Russian and Saxon troops in 1734, was driven to Dantzic, and thence to Königsberg, in the Prussian dominions, where he found personal safety; but neither the King of Prussia nor the King of France would risk a war in Poland for his sake.

A French war against Austria was nevertheless

impending; but France had other views in it than to assist the King's father-in-law, and would not embroil herself with the German Empire, still less with Russia. The restriction of Austrian dominion and influence in Italy has always been an aim of French politics. It is interesting to notice, in the affairs of the last century, examples of very similar combinations and contentions to those of our own age; and we, who have seen the Italian war of 1859, must be struck with the fact of a King of Sardinia, one of the House of Savoy, allying himself with France, in 1733, to drive the Austrians out of Milan. The parallel has other remarkable points: the Milanese territory was to be annexed to Piedmont, and the allies were to get Mantua, if they could; but Savoy was to be ceded to France, by a particular convention which does not appear in the text of the treaty. The French, under Marshal Villars, aided by the Piedmontese troops of the King of Sardinia, speedily won the western part of Lombardy; but Mantua, one of the four fortresses afterwards known as the Quadrilateral, resisted their approach. Spain had joined the alliance, and the Spanish fleet and army, bringing Don Carlos of Bourbon to found a new reigning family at Naples, had an easy task; for the Italians did not like the Austrian rule. On the Rhine and the Moselle, the Duke of Berwick led another French army, which overran Lorraine. But the eminent military commanders in the French service died in these campaigns—Berwick at Philipsburg, Villars at Turin. On the other side, Prince Eugene, opposed to Berwick, had lost by age his former vigour. A Russian corps was lent to the aid of Austria; but the Emperor's cause did not prosper, while the Duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine, and other German princes on the French frontier, determined to stand neutral. Peace came in May, 1736, but the definitive treaty was not signed until November, 1738. It gave the Two Sicilies to the Bourbon Prince from Spain, whose descendants were expelled, in recent times, by Garibaldi. Duke Francis of Lorraine was to have Tuscany, on the death of the last Grand Duke, and was to yield Lorraine to France; but Stanislaus, who abdicated the crown of Poland, was to hold Lorraine during his life. Austria recovered Milan, obtaining also Parma and Piacenza, Lombard districts, while the King of Sardinia had to be content with those of Novara and Vigevano, on the Ticino. It was agreed that Poland should be cleared of foreign troops, leaving Augustus III. to reign there.

Wars between Russia and Turkey—in the Crimea, and on the Asiatic shores of the Black

Sea—took place during the period included in this Chapter. Austria and Russia joined, in 1738, in the war against Turkey to which Austria had committed herself, with bad success, the year before. It went on till September, 1739, the Turks generally having the best of the encounter; and, by the final terms of peace, Austria relinquished to the Ottoman

the Spanish Crown beyond the eastern and western oceans, with their valuable trade, seemed to promise French enterprise much profit from an exclusive partnership. Mutual complaints had arisen between the English and the Spaniards in the working of the agreement made in 1713 for the negro slave-traffic with Spanish America, and



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Empire all the Lower Danube, Belgrade, and Servia, while Russia was bound to maintain no fleet on the Sea of Azof or the Black Sea, and her commerce was to be carried on only in Turkish vessels. It is here convenient to dismiss briefly one incident of the year 1739. This is the maritime war provoked by Spain, with the encouragement of France, for the purpose of depriving England of her commercial and colonial advantages. The French navy and mercantile marine were then diligently fostered and improved by the Government of Louis XV.; and the large possessions of

for the annual trading visit to Vera Cruz. The English were accused of smuggling, while they resented having their vessels stopped and searched by the Spanish cruisers. The King of Spain made demands on the South Sea Company; which not being paid, he revoked the "Asiento," or international compact, and ordered the confiscation of much English property. A merchant-captain, named Jenkyns, declared that one of his ears had been cut off by the Spaniards, with many insults to the English King; and the general indignation forced even Walpole to draw the sword.

In the naval war which ensued, France took no direct and active part, but had secretly engaged to procure the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain. Hostilities were carried on, at the outset, mostly by privateers, which inflicted a large amount of loss on English shipping and merchandise; but the British squadrons of Admiral Vernon and Commodore Anson, on the coasts of Darien, and on the Pacific coast of South America, more than recompensed the national injury. Similar causes of quarrel, however, with France as well

as with Spain, and contests expressly for territorial dominion in remote colonies, were destined to give much future employment to the forces of Great Britain, as we shall shortly have occasion to relate in full. The capture of Portobello by Vernon, in November, 1739, was one of the most notable achievements of the war; but in 1741 the Admiral was defeated at Carthagena, in Columbia, South America, and the general results of the struggle were in no degree equal to the sacrifices it imposed.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

Death of the Emperor Charles VI.—His Daughter, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary—Conspiracy to Deprive her of the Dominions of the House of Hapsburg—Conduct of Frederick II., King of Prussia—His Annexation of Silesia—Battle of Mollwitz—Louis XV. of France, and the Coalition against Austria—Invasion of Bohemia—Charles Albert of Bavaria Elected Emperor of Germany—Loyalty of the Hungarians and the Tyrolese—Assertion of her Rights by Maria Theresa—Dissensions among her Enemies—Peace made by Prussia and Saxony—The French Driven out of Prague—Ill-success of the Spaniards in Italy, and of the Swedes in Finland—English Sympathy with Maria Theresa—King George II. takes the Field in Germany—Battle of Dettingen—Frederick II. again Joins the League against Austria—Invasion of Bohemia, and Capture of Prague—Subsequent Retreat of Frederick—Death of the Bavarian Emperor—New Alliance to Settle the Affairs of Germany and Poland—Election of Francis of Hapsburg-Lorraine as Emperor—French Victories in Flanders—Battle of Fontenoy—War in America between the French and English—Death of Philip V. of Spain—Dissolution of the Alliance against Austria—Defence of Holland by the English—French Defeats at Sea—Strength of Austria and her Allies—Conclusion of Peace by Louis XV.—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748—Provisions affecting France, Prussia, the Spanish Bourbons, and Maria Theresa—Obligations of the Empress to George II. and to England.

THE selfish alienation of the Austrian Monarchy from the Federal interests of Germany, which had been observable since the Thirty Years' War, and the exclusive devotion of the Emperor Charles VI. to his cherished aim of securing, by the Pragmatic Sanction, the female inheritance of the various dominions of the House of Hapsburg, finally brought to pass a long and terribly wasteful conflict, sooner or later implicating almost every nation of Europe. The first agent in stirring up this strife was moved by the desire of a particular object, the acquisition of Silesia, which might, under other circumstances, have been either attained or defeated without causing a general war. The acquisition of that province for the kingdom of Prussia was sought by Frederick II., who succeeded his father, Frederick William I., in 1740, without any original intention of furnishing occasion for a great combination of foreign and German Powers to effect the overthrow and partition of the Austrian Empire. Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., and wife of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francis of Lorraine, had every reason

to expect, when her father died in October of that year, that her title to the hereditary dominions, as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and sovereign of many German, Flemish, and Italian principalities, would be recognised by nearly all the sovereigns of Europe. The King of Prussia, in the late reign, was one of those who had formally assented to the Pragmatic Sanction; and Frederick II. joined with Russia, Great Britain, and the Dutch States-General, in greeting the accession of Maria Theresa with assurances of friendship and goodwill. The only excuse that has been made for his soon afterwards taking part with those who impugned her title, is that the assent of King Frederick William, in 1728, to the guarantee by which it was secured, had been conditional on the late Emperor's performance of a promise which was not fulfilled—the assignment of certain Rhenish duchies to the Crown of Prussia. It is obvious that the legality of Maria Theresa's inheritance, and the validity of the transactions in the Imperial Diet of Germany by which it had been solemnly affirmed, could not be affected by the non-payment of a price stipulated for with

Charles VI. by one of the consenting witnesses. The King of Prussia was never, like the Elector of Bavaria and the Elector of Saxony, in the position of having any claim of his own to the Hapsburg inheritance. The Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., King of Poland, had already renounced his claim, as we have seen, for a valuable consideration; and there remained only that of Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, in right of his wife, second daughter of the Emperor Joseph I., and further derived, more remotely, from the marriage of Albert V., Duke of Bavaria, to a daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I., and the dubious terms of that Emperor's testamentary bequest. The last-mentioned pretext for the Bavarian claim was not only antiquated and obsolete, but entirely unfounded, as was seen by inspection of the documents: while the consort of Charles Albert herself had signed, like her elder sister, the Queen of Poland, a renunciation of all right to the Austrian inheritance as from their father Joseph. Notwithstanding these facts, which were notorious to all Europe, it suited the policy of some foreign Courts to dispute the title of Maria Theresa, after having assented, in her father's lifetime, to the arrangement made on her behalf; and Frederick of Prussia did not scruple to ally himself with them, as the means of gaining his own special object.

He began by suddenly taking what he wanted, and simultaneously put forward some show of a right to have it. In December, 1740, he broke into Silesia with a Prussian army of thirty thousand regular soldiers, whom his father, a military martinet, though not a warrior, had drilled with minute accuracy, and had equipped to perfection, according to the science of warfare in his time. Little resistance was made, for no invasion was apprehended. Frederick gave notice to Maria Theresa that he claimed four Silesian duchies and two other feudal lordships there (the better part of the province), by virtue of titles inherent in branches of the House of Brandenburg a century before, part of which had been forfeited to the Empire, part exchanged for other possessions, and the rest waived or left dormant. He offered the new Queen of Hungary, if she would give him Silesia, his active assistance to maintain for her the Hapsburg succession, and to procure the election of her husband as German Emperor, with a considerable advance of money. She flatly refused, and sent an Austrian army, inferior to the Prussian in infantry and artillery, but stronger in cavalry, to defend Brieg, on the Oder, south-east of Breslau. The battle of Möllwitz, fought on the 10th of April, 1741, though Frederick quitted the field early in the

engagement, resulted in a Prussian victory. The news of this soon reached Paris, where the pacific and unambitious policy of the aged Cardinal Fleury had fallen into discredit. Louis XV. was an idle and debauched voluptuary, utterly devoid of prudence and of honour, who could be turned any way by the persuasion of any unchaste woman he happened to fancy. The female who ruled him at that moment was a Madame de Vintimille, and her influence was purchased by the leader of the war-party, the Marshal de Belleisle. He procured the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Diet of the German Princes, and quickly got up a conspiracy of crowned heads to rob Maria Theresa and the Hapsburg-Lorraine family of the best part of their dominions. By this nefarious French scheme, the Bavarian prince, who was to be elected German Emperor, was to take Bohemia, Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and the Breisgau; the Elector of Saxony, King of Poland, was to have Moravia and Upper Silesia; the King of Prussia would keep Lower Silesia; Spain was to have Lombardy; while France would conquer the Rhenish provinces and the Austrian Netherlands. Maria Theresa would be left Duchess of Lower Austria, with Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and Queen of Hungary. The Kings of Poland and of Prussia, violating their repeated pledges and professions of maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction arrangement, soon agreed, with some haggling about their own share of booty, to join this league of plunderers; and Sweden was incited to war with Russia, in hopes of regaining her lost provinces on the Gulf of Finland, lest the Russian Empress should help Maria Theresa; while in Italy, the King of Sardinia revived, under French encouragement, his pretension to the Milanese. George II., Elector of Hanover and King of Great Britain—Sir Robert Walpole's peaceable Administration being overthrown by this impulse of national enthusiasm—expressed his sympathy with the injured Queen of Hungary, and carried with him the Republic of Holland. Thus began, in June, 1741, the War of the Austrian Succession.

The Elector of Bavaria, joined by a French army, marched without opposition into Upper Austria, assumed its sovereignty, and then turned into Bohemia, where he had the co-operation of the Saxon troops, numbering twenty thousand, sent by King Augustus III. of Poland. This prince would not be content with Moravia, his allotted portion of the spoil. He alleged several grievances of his own against the Hapsburgs, and against Maria Theresa; he reasserted his wife's title to their inheritance, and demanded on his own account the Duchies of Lower Austria and Styria, through

his descent from the ancient Margraves of Meissen in the thirteenth century. The Bavarians and Saxons, acting together, captured Prague in November, and Charles Albert procured his coronation as King of Bohemia: in January, 1742, he was elected Emperor by the Diet at Frankfort. This election was carried without a dissentient voice; even the Elector of Hanover, our George II., was induced to vote for the Bavarian candidate, thenceforth entitled the Emperor Charles VII. Hanover did not, in so doing, abandon or compromise the cause of Maria Theresa's inheritance, but was for a time deterred from an active part in the war, being threatened on both sides, by a French army in Westphalia, and by the Prussian army on the Elbe. The efforts of George II.'s Government, as a mediator friendly to the Queen of Hungary, were directed, and successfully, to the separation of Prussia from the alliance which had been formed against her. It was the policy of England, at all times if possible, and it was especially the endeavour of Carteret, Lord Granville, who had succeeded Walpole as Minister, to cultivate peace with both the great German Powers.

The power of Austria, indeed, was but partially German: the representative of the House of Austria, without the Imperial dignity, was sovereign of a few minor German States; but her main dominion was Hungary, and it was by the enthusiastic burst of loyalty which her wrongs and perils excited among the gallant Magyars, in their national Diet at Pressburg, that her fortunes took a brighter complexion. The Tyrolese, equally loyal and brave, the Croats and other Slavonic subjects of the Hungarian Crown, rallied to her standard in great numbers; and it became apparent that the Austrian Monarchy would not easily suffer dismemberment.

English diplomacy was at work during some months, on the one hand, to persuade Maria Theresa to give up Silesia to Frederick II., whom she could not dislodge from the position he had gained there; on the other hand, to obtain from him at least neutrality, if not direct support, in the war concerning all the rest of her dominions. A private arrangement was made by which the Austrian generals at Neisse—a Silesian town and district which yet remained free from the Prussian conquest—retreated across the border, after a little sham fighting. The forces of Austria and Hungary were then made ready to drive out the invaders on the western side; Upper Austria was recovered by twenty thousand men under General Khevenhiller. The Grand Duke Francis, with another force, augmented by those withdrawn from

Silesia, entered Bohemia from the south; the Austrians next carried the war into the enemy's country, invading Bavaria, and taking possession of Munich. The French, with the Saxons, were still in Bohemia, but were making little progress in the campaign. There was, happily for Austria, a want of mutual understanding and co-operation between the allies, which prevented their marching on Vienna. Frederick, continuing the war, pushed on through Moravia; and Augustus, who, by the compact with which it had been undertaken, was to have obtained Moravia and part of Silesia, distrusted the intentions of the King of Prussia. The Saxons would go no further than Znaim, on the southern boundary of Moravia; the Prussians advanced to the Danube, within twenty miles of Vienna, but, finding themselves unsupported, were obliged to turn again northwards. They passed into Bohemia, where, on May 17th, Frederick engaged Prince Charles of Lorraine in a battle near Czaslau, which gave the advantage rather to the Austrians. Belleisle, with the French troops, much diminished and fatigued, shut himself up in Prague when the Saxons had left him. A campaign so ill-conducted, with no common plan of action, disgusted Frederick, who discovered also that the French Court was playing false with him, and in its negotiations with Sweden had been willing to give away Pomerania at his expense. These circumstances induced him at length, in June, 1742, to listen to English counsels, and make peace with Austria. Of course, he was to retain his conquest of Silesia, excepting some highland places near the sources of the Oder and the Vistula, on the north slope of the Carpathian Mountains, and also the county of Glatz, near the Bohemian frontier. His example was instantly followed by Augustus of Saxony and Poland, who did not get Moravia after all, and agreed to leave the French troops in Bohemia to shift for themselves. The King of Great Britain, the Empress of Russia, the King of Denmark, the Dutch, and those of the German States which had favoured the cause of Maria Theresa, admitted Prussia and Saxony to the peace as neutrals.

The war, however, was by no means yet concluded, and was destined in subsequent years to draw the neutrals into its vortex. France had already two armies in the field in Germany: the one which had invaded Westphalia and the Rhineland, under Maillebois; and that of Marshal Belleisle at Prague. The former now moved into Bavaria, and helped the Emperor Charles VII. to clear that State of the Austrians. But, in the meantime, Prague was bombarded and long besieged.

till Belleisle, with sixteen thousand Frenchmen, the remnant of his army of sixty thousand, contrived to escape, and returned to France, the men suffering grievously in a long winter march. In Italy, a Spanish fleet and army, escorted by a French fleet, had arrived at Leghorn and Spezzia, and the troops had landed, under Don Philip de Bourbon, second son of the King of Spain. His elder brother, Don Carlos, already made King of the Two Sicilies, was prevented from aiding him by a threat of bombardment from the English Admiral at Naples. The King of Sardinia, though he had joined the French alliance, did not relish the prospect of a Spanish conquest of North Italy. He therefore changed sides, as the House of Savoy was apt to do, and joined the Austrian party, engaging to defend Maria Theresa's provinces in Lombardy, including Parma and Piacenza. The Spaniards attempted to invade Piedmont and Savoy, getting as far as Chambéry by the Mont Cenis Pass, but were speedily driven out. Their efforts in Lombardy were equally unsuccessful, and the Austrians pursued them into Modena and the Romagna. In the North of Europe, French intrigues among the members of the ruling oligarchy in Sweden, under the feeble reign of Ulrica Eleonora and her husband, the King-Consort (Frederick of Hesse-Cassel), had instigated a foolish and disastrous war against Russia. It was carried on in Finland, in the year 1742, with a blundering rashness which for ever deprived the Swedes of that position as a Baltic Power which they hoped to regain. When their throne became vacant, by the death of Ulrica, there was a grand "Scandinavian idea" of linking Sweden, Norway, and Denmark together by electing a Danish prince; and Christian VI., King of Denmark, offered naval and military aid to contend with Russia. But the Russian Empress Elizabeth obliged the Swedes to elect a King of her own choice, Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp—a connection of the unfortunate prince, her nephew Peter, whom she had made Grand Duke of Russia, and heir to the Empire. The time was soon to come when Russia and Prussia would reduce all the other Northern Powers to comparative insignificance. But it is more particularly with the fortunes of Austria that we are now concerned, and with the manner in which they allowed an enterprising Prussian King to accomplish the aggrandisement of his realm.

The prolongation, in 1743, of this obstinate contest between Austria and the Western Continental Kingdoms—France and Spain making Bavaria their political instrument for the spoliation of the Hapsburg-Lorraine family—brought England

more directly into the field. Maria Theresa, who was crowned Queen of Bohemia at Prague on May 12th of that year, had become a heroine in popular esteem, and her cause was ardently supported by many English of all ranks and classes. A body of troops, under Lord Stair, had been sent into the Netherlands to assist the Dutch, in case of need, against a French attack. England was at war with Spain; and in the spring of 1743 Louis XV. declared war against this country, and himself accompanied his army of eighty thousand men, commanded by Marshal Noailles and Maurice of Saxony, called Marshal Saxe, an illegitimate son of Augustus II., the late King of Poland. This army quickly captured the barrier fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands. The King of England likewise hastened in person to join his own army, which was augmented by his Hanoverians, and by Hessians in English pay, to a strength of forty thousand. It was to advance into the western parts of Germany, and to cut off Bavaria from military communication with France. Maria Theresa, elated by the change in her prospects, now entertained the vain design of becoming mistress of Bavaria, and further of regaining Alsace and Lorraine, the former as a province of the German Empire, the latter as being the hereditary possession of her husband. She would not allow the title of Emperor to the Bavarian Elector, and was bent on procuring it for her consort, Francis of Lorraine. King George and his Ministers were disposed to aid in recovering Alsace and Lorraine for Germany, and the Austrian movements in that direction were to be facilitated by those of the English army. With this view, in the month of June, George was manœuvring on the banks of the Main, twenty or thirty miles above Frankfort, where, on the 27th, he fought and won the battle of Dettingen. The French, who were unskilfully commanded by the Duc de Grammont, lost six thousand men, but retired into the Palatinate and Alsace; and the combined English, Dutch, North German, and Austrian forces confined themselves in the autumn to occupying the right bank of the Rhine, and defending Flanders. Yet the Emperor Charles VII., still holding his Court at Frankfort, had little direct military support. The French Court, renewing and extending its "family compact" with that of Spain, was now more eager for the conquest of the Netherlands, for the dethronement of the Hanoverian Protestant King of England, and for the destruction of English maritime connections in the Mediterranean and the colonies; while the Spanish Prince Philip, to please his mother, Elizabeth Farnese, was to get

Milan, Parma, and Piacenza. This intrigue gave rise to the second Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, headed by Prince Charles Stuart, the leading circumstances of which have been described in a previous Chapter. It was preceded, in 1744, by naval preparations at Brest for invading Great Britain, and by encounters

The King of Prussia, whatever historical and biographical apologists may say for him, was solely actuated by his royal ambition. His recent acquisition of Silesia, achieved by wrongful means, could doubtless have been secured by fidelity to his engagements with the House of Hapsburg.



RAUCH'S STATUE OF FREDERICK THE GREAT, BERLIN.

at sea with the British fleet, which prevented the French expeditions leaving Brest and Toulon. The Spaniards, however, were enabled once more to throw fresh forces into Italy; but Genoa forbade them to pass the Riviera, and they were again repulsed in Piedmont. The Austrian invasion of Alsace, in 1744—Prince Charles of Lorraine and Field-marshal Traun crossing the Rhine, and threatening Strasburg, while Louis XV. lay ill at Metz—did not prove effectual. It was stopped, indeed, by a new danger to Austria, owing to the conduct of Frederick II.

Lorraine, which had the respectable guarantee of England; but he coveted additional gains at the expense of his neighbours, Saxony and Austria, and aspired to become the leading German Power. He professed, therefore, to be indignant that the Queen of Bohemia and Hungary should deny the valid election of Charles VII. as German Emperor, and that she should keep that prince out of his Bavarian dominion. The restoration of Bavaria to its rightful owner was indeed a desirable object, which could be attained by a general peace. The non-recognition of the Imperial title by Maria



GEORGE II. AT THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

Theresa was no sufficient pretext for war on the part of Prussia; and Charles VII. had his revenge in treating her as no Queen, but as mere "Grand Duchess of Tuscany." Frederick II., however, did not scruple at any time to invent occasions for quarrel when he fancied there was something to be got by it. He now made a secret treaty with France, stipulating that, if he joined again in the war against Austria, certain districts in Bohemia should be retained by him when conquered; and he formed an alliance with the Emperor, the Elector Palatine (cousin of Charles VII.), and the King of Sweden as Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, for the ostensible objects above mentioned. But there was also a secret agreement that the Emperor, besides recovering his Bavarian principality, was to take Upper Austria and the greater part of Bohemia, while Frederick was to take what he wanted for himself. In August, 1744, he commenced what has been called the Second Silesian War, but which was really the invasion of Bohemia. Three columns of Prussian troops, commanded respectively by the King, Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, and Field-marshal Schmettau, marched by different routes into that country, and their united forces besieged and captured Prague in the middle of September. Meanwhile, more in cynical mockery than hypocrisy, Frederick assured Maria Theresa that he was only rendering due liege-service to the Emperor, and meant to observe all his engagements to her. The Austrian army, now withdrawn from Alsace, was joined in Bohemia, at Eger, by twenty-four thousand Saxons. Augustus III. had sent them, being now thoroughly alarmed by the behaviour of the King of Prussia, and determined to seek safety in an Austrian alliance. The Bohemian population, as Catholics, were, unlike the people of Silesia, averse from the Prussians; and Frederick, without risking a battle, found it expedient to retreat. He had gained nothing, and his ill-success invited the Austrians to pass into Silesia, and to stir up there an insurrection against the Prussian rule, which was speedily quelled. The only advantage of this year's campaign was attained by the Emperor, who recovered Bavaria by the withdrawal of its Austrian garrisons, while Freiburg, in the Breisgau, was taken for him by the French. But Charles VII. lived only two months after regaining his capital of Munich. He was succeeded, as Elector of Bavaria simply, by his son Maximilian, a youth of seventeen; and the Imperial dignity was again vacant.

The outrageous attempt of Prussia, which was thus deprived of its formal pretext, had already led to a

new alliance, settled at Warsaw in January, 1745, and completed afterwards by a separate compact of Austria with Saxony, to secure a definitive arrangement of the affairs of Germany and Poland. The title of Emperor was to be conferred on the Grand Duke Francis, and to be vested in the Austrian House of Hapsburg-Lorraine; while the Crown of Poland was to be made hereditary in the Saxon line, if agreeable to the Poles. Augustus, in return for the latter promised benefit, was to vote for the election of Francis in the German Diet, and to furnish thirty thousand troops for the defence of Maria Theresa's kingdom of Bohemia; while England and Holland were to pay subsidies in money. By a private understanding with Austria, some dominions of the House of Brandenburg were to be given to Saxony, and Silesia was also to be taken from Prussia. As the young Elector of Bavaria was soon persuaded to make peace with Austria, Frederick was left without any ally but France. He stood on the defensive in Silesia, defeated the Austrians at the battle of Hohenfriedberg, and, when they retired into Bohemia, followed, and won another victory at Sorr. The Grand Duke Francis was elected and crowned German Emperor, with two dissentients among the German princes. The King of Prussia found he had made a great mistake, but hoped to avoid his punishment, which in fact was postponed for some years. Yet he was not inclined to submission, and in November broke into Saxony, occupying Leipzig, and driving Augustus from Dresden, which surrendered to him in December. The superiority of his talents as a military commander had been amply demonstrated; but his resources for the time were exhausted, and he was obliged by the end of the year to make peace. He exacted money from Saxony, and obtained the final cession of Silesia, including Glatz, under a British guarantee, but gave his adhesion, as Elector of Brandenburg, to the choice of the Austrian candidate as Emperor. The dispute was settled for the present, so far as Germany was concerned.

In Italy and in the Netherlands, war raged two or three years longer. The Spaniards and French, by a treaty with the Republic of Genoa, were permitted to cross the mountains from the sea-coast to the North Italian plain. They formed an army of seventy thousand, which the Austrians and Sardinians could not oppose; the whole country between Parma and Milan was occupied by them before the end of the year. In Flanders also, now known as part of Belgium, the French were victorious: the battle of Fontenoy, won by Marshal Saxe over the English, Dutch, and Germans, com-

manded by the Duke of Cumberland, brother to George II., and by Marshal Königseck, was fought on the 11th of May. It yielded to the French, as a military consequence, the possession of Tournai, Ghent, Bruges, and several other towns. In the following year, they captured Mons and Namur, and advanced to Brussels and Antwerp. While these events were occurring on the Continent of Europe, France and England were at war in America, where, in 1744, the French made attacks on Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the island of Canseau, but with little success. The New Englanders retaliated by sending an expedition against Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The siege of the town, which was conducted in a most irregular fashion, lasted from the 11th of May, 1745, to the 28th of June, when the whole island surrendered. The operations were assisted by a British fleet under Commodore Warren; but the land forces were those of the New England colonies, and their enterprise reflected great credit on the spirit of those small commonwealths. The French, in their turn, made many hostile attempts on the English possessions; but fortune did not declare in their favour.

The death, in July, 1746, of King Philip V. of Spain, the grandson of Louis XIV., put an end to the baneful political authority of his Italian Queen, who was stepmother to his eldest son and successor, Ferdinand VI., and so dissolved the active alliance with France designed for the ruin of the Austrian Monarchy. It had, indeed, become a point of honour with the Court of Madrid to maintain its Bourbon princes, not only at Naples, but at Parma. Yet Don Philip had been forced to relinquish Milan; and the Spaniards retreated before the Austrians and Piedmontese along the Ligurian coast. In the city of Genoa, during its brief occupation by the Austrians in the winter of that year, an insurrection of the townspeople, caused by the insolent cruelty of the invaders, cost much fighting and loss of life. Genoa, however, recovered her liberty, and, with some foreign assistance, was enabled to defend it. The latest phase of the long war, in 1747, was a French attack on Holland, the government of which Republic by its States-General was evidently too weak to meet such a formidable foe. A change was therefore made in its

Constitution, and William IV. of Nassau was raised to the position of Hereditary Stadtholder. England was again ready to help the Dutch, and the Duke of Cumberland once more took the field, with the allied forces, on the line of the Meuse, to prevent Marshal Saxe investing Maestricht. The British fleets, under Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke, defeated the French at Cape Finisterre, and at the Isle of Aix; while the French efforts to recover Cape Breton proved entirely unsuccessful.

Great Britain and Austria were fully able to go on with the war against France, if necessary, and had secured, at the beginning of 1748, the active co-operation of Russia and Sardinia, as well as of the Dutch, with military forces which on paper look very large, exceeding altogether 220,000 men. England was to pay largely towards the expense, with subsidies to Austria and Sardinia, and was to provide a fleet, which, aided by the Dutch navy, should "ruin the commerce of France." Russia had actually sent an army, under Prince Repnin, marching through Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia, for a campaign in Western Germany. These preparations finally induced Louis XV. to conclude the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed on the 18th of October, and terminated the War of the Austrian Succession. France gained nothing whatever by the war. She had seized Madras, but was obliged to restore it to England, while Cape Breton was restored to her; she also gave up conquests in the Netherlands. Prussia gained Silesia, with Glatz, and had to pay dearly for it, as will be seen at a later period. The Spanish Bourbon family gained Parma, with Piacenza and Guastalla, for one of its junior branches. These were the original aggressors, with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, whose hopes of gain were totally disappointed. On the other hand, Maria Theresa, now Empress, had parted with Silesia, and with some of her Italian territories, but had been delivered from the enormous spoliation with which she was threatened at the beginning of her reign. She ought to have been more grateful than she was to England and to King George II., whose conduct throughout was marked by perfect integrity, by honourable and friendly intentions, and by discretion, as well as courage and perseverance, in a cause that was undeniably just.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

An Interval of Peace—Disagreements between France and England as to Boundaries in America—Want of Unity in the English Cabinet—A Peace Party and a War Party—Irregular Hostilities in America—First Appearance of George Washington—Uneasy Relations of the English with the French Government—Defeat of General Braddock in the Valley of the Ohio—Plans of Maria Theresa and the Empress Elizabeth of Russia against Prussia—Arrangement of an Alliance between Austria and France—Disputes with England—Treaty of Neutrality between Frederick of Prussia and the English Court—Combination of France, Austria, and Russia against England and Prussia—Commencement of the Seven Years' War—Capture of Minorca by the French—Execution of Admiral Byng—Victories of Frederick the Great in Saxony—Hanover Conquered by the French—Reverses of Frederick in Bohemia—Subsequent Recovery of his Fortunes—Silesia Re-taken from the Austrians—Feeling in England—Rise of the Elder William Pitt—The Convention of Kloster-Seven, and its Repudiation by George II.—Character and Position of Pitt—Hearty Support of Prussia by England—Campaign of 1758—Present from the Pope to Marshal Daun—Successes of the English at Sea and in America—Campaign of 1759—The Battle of Minden—Defeat of Frederick at Kunersdorf—Course of Events in 1760—Vigorous Measures of the English Government in America in 1758—Early Services of General Wolfe—Successful Operations against the French Forts—Washington at Fort Duquesne—Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst (1759)—Surrender of Fort Niagara and of other French Posts—Wolfe before Quebec—The Battle of the Heights of Abraham—Surrender of Quebec, Montreal, and all Canada—Death of George II.—Campaigns of 1761-2—Peace Concluded in 1763—Commencement of the Reign of George III.—His Dissensions with Pitt—Influence of Lord Bute—Conduct of Pitt during the Latter Part of the Seven Years' War—His Retirement from the Ministry—Affairs in Portugal and Russia—Foundation of the British Empire in India.

SEVEN years of peace succeeded to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and they were years of great prosperity and repose. With the cessation of exhausting struggles and the revival of commerce, literature and art acquired a fresh impulse, and it almost seemed as if the world were entering on a new era. But some burning questions between France and England still remained unsettled, or were settled only in such a way as to leave abundant opportunities of subsequent disagreement. In particular, a quarrel arose with respect to the boundaries of Acadie, or Nova Scotia, which, by the twelfth article of the late Treaty, had been ceded to England, "conformably to its ancient boundaries." The question naturally arose as to what those boundaries were, and it was not easy to determine the point. In the view of the French Government, Nova Scotia comprehended nothing more than the peninsula extending from Cape St. Mary to Cape Canseau; according to the English contention, it included all that territory, reaching northwards to the river St. Lawrence, which is now described as the Province of New Brunswick. There were also disputes about the western limits of the British settlements in North America, which the French placed far more to the east than their rivals. To maintain their pretensions, they established a hecat of forts from Louisiana to Canada; some others were erected by the English colonists; and the antagonists watched each other jealously across the intervening space.

Commissioners for the settlement of these questions met at Paris in 1750 and the five ensuing years; but nothing was arranged, and a series of

collisions in America itself rendered war a constant probability. The foreign affairs of England were then managed by two principal Secretaries of State, called the Secretaries of the Northern and the Southern Departments, of which the latter was responsible for the colonies as well. For some years, the action of the English Government was hampered by dissensions among the Ministers. The two Secretaries—the Dukes of Newcastle and Bedford—were at issue with one another as to how the colonies should be handled. Bedford, who held the seals of the Southern Department, and was therefore Minister of the Colonies, desired to assert the authority of the mother-country over the plantations in a stern and despotic fashion, while Newcastle was for leaving them very much to themselves. At the same time, the Duke of Bedford dreaded the expense of a war with France, and hoped for a compromise. Some Ministerial changes took place in 1751, when the Earl of Holderness succeeded to the Southern Secretaryship; but the Earl of Halifax, President of the Board of Trade and Plantations, received an assurance that the whole patronage and correspondence of the colonies should be vested in him. Halifax was strongly inclined to an aggressive policy with respect to the French in America, and in these views he was supported by his colleague on the Board, the witty and gifted Charles Townshend, who was generally regarded as the greatest master of American affairs then living. The policy of the Government now inclined to war, and directions were sent to Virginia to

maintain by force her claim to the valley of the Ohio. But no military or naval assistance accompanied the order, and everything was left to the chances of haphazard encounters.

Towards the end of 1753, the English Ambassador at Paris required in peremptory terms that satisfaction should be afforded to the injured subjects of Great Britain, and that no further encroachments on the American colonies should be sanctioned or committed. Nothing but civil and evasive answers could be obtained in response to these representations, and the French continued their offensive movements. Unfortunately, the power of resistance was weakened by disagreements between the Home Government and its colonies, and by the disinclination of the latter to enter into any federal union, or to take other measures against the threatened danger. To this rule, Virginia formed almost the only exception. A small body of Virginian troops was in the field, and one of the principal officers in that force was a man afterwards to be illustrious—the great George Washington, then in the very spring-time of his life. The first collision of the coming war was between these colonial troops and the French on the banks of the Ohio. This was in 1754, and in 1755 General Braddock was despatched from Ireland with two regiments of infantry. A French squadron was soon afterwards attacked and partially captured by Admiral Boscawen; yet all this while there had been no declaration of war, and the diplomatists still talked of peace. A change of Government in the spring of 1754, when, owing to the death of Henry Pelham, the Duke of Newcastle became Premier, led to no marked change in the policy of the hour. The English people urgently demanded hostilities; but their enthusiasm was for a time somewhat daunted by the miserable rout of Braddock's force by a party of Indians in ambush, while the British were marching, in July, 1755, from Will's Creek to Fort Duquesne, in the Ohio valley.

At the time these events were happening in America, the great military Powers were being drawn into a European struggle, which, from the time of its duration, is called the Seven Years' War. Maria Theresa was deeply wounded by the loss of Silesia, which had in truth been taken from her by an act of brigandage. She secretly brooded over plans of revenge, in which she was encouraged by Elizabeth of Russia, who had been offended by some remarks of the Prussian monarch. With great skill and address, Maria Theresa succeeded in forming an alliance with France, although Austria had been at enmity with

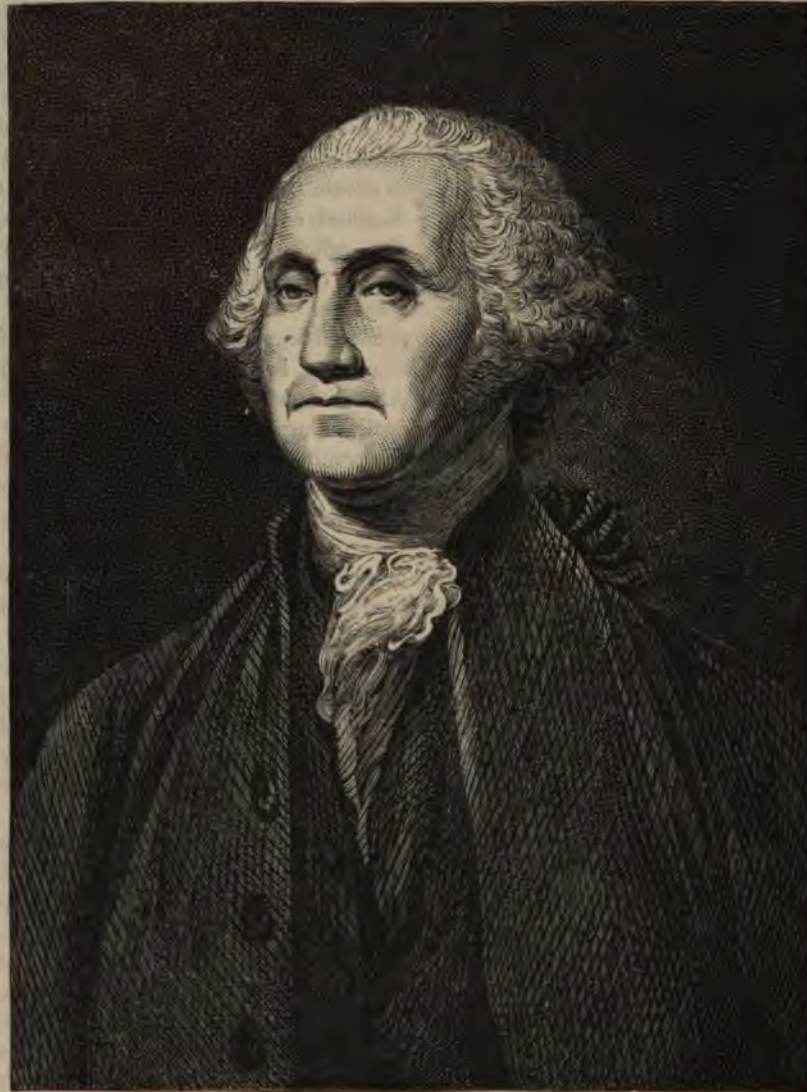
that country for about two centuries. This arrangement was effected by Count Kaunitz—a minister of extraordinary vigour and penetration, in whom the Empress-Queen placed great reliance. Simultaneously with the plot between Austria and France, was a scheme for provoking disagreement with England. Causes of quarrel, touching on commercial privileges, and other matters arising out of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were speedily discovered. Maria Theresa professed to be fearful of a renewed attack by Prussia; but what she really contemplated was a war with that Power, to obtain the restoration of Silesia. George II. of England, as the guarantor of the Pragmatic Sanction, called on the Austrian sovereign to fulfil her treaty obligations, but met with no satisfactory response. Meanwhile, Frederick of Prussia was rendered anxious by the difficulty of his position, since he had good reason to suspect that the Austrian and Russian Empresses were forming a coalition against him, with a view to neutralising the results of the late war. His alliance, nevertheless, was solicited both by France and England, but finally he chose the latter, as the friend on whom he could more probably rely. On the 16th of January, 1756, therefore, he signed a Treaty of Neutrality with England, the object of which was to preserve the peace of Germany, and prevent foreign troops from entering the Empire. It was this treaty which finally settled the question of an active alliance between Austria and France. The majority of French statesmen were opposed to any combination of their country with its hereditary rival; but Louis XV. himself, and his mistress, Madame de Pompadour, were in favour of throwing in the national fortunes with the cause of Maria Theresa. With this view, two treaties between France and Austria were signed on May 1st, 1756. Russia afterwards acceded to these treaties, and the Powers principally threatened by the confederates were Prussia and England.

The Continental War between France and England had broken out towards the close of 1755. The period was one of great agitation and alarm, for the English army was but small, and the resources of the country were chiefly directed to the maintenance of its fleet. Treaties for the hire of troops had been concluded by the English Cabinet with some of the petty German States; but it was still feared that, in the event of an invasion by the numerous and well-appointed hosts of France, the result would probably be disastrous. Louis XV., however, did not contemplate a descent upon these shores. He sent his armaments into the Mediterranean, where they attacked Minorca,

then in possession of the English. The defences of the island had been greatly neglected, and the garrison of Port Mahon numbered scarcely 3,000 men, who were now confronted by a French army of 12,000. A fleet of ten ships, under Admiral

dereliction of duty. The attack on Minorca by France took place before any formal declaration of war, either by that Power or by England; but this followed in the early summer of 1756.

With respect to Prussia, a league, consisting of



GEORGE WASHINGTON. (After the Portrait by Stuart.)

Byng, was despatched for the defence of Minorca; but before its arrival the French had captured Port Mahon, and General Blakeney had withdrawn into Fort St. Philip. On the 20th of May, 1756, the day after his appearance on the scene, Byng cannonaded the French fleet from a distance, and then retired to Gibraltar. The English garrison in St. Philip's capitulated on the 28th of June, and on the 14th of March, 1757, Admiral Byng was shot in Portsmouth Harbour for cowardice and

Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Sweden, was formed in course of the same year, and Frederick, resolving to anticipate, rather than to be anticipated, began the war in August, when his army entered Saxony in three divisions, amounting altogether to 60,000 men. At Dresden he seized the State papers, which contained proof conclusive of the confederation that had been formed against him, and these he published as a justification of his conduct in commencing the war. A battle between the



LOUDON'S CAVALRY CHARGE AT KUNERSDORF (1759).

Prussian and Imperial troops took place on the 1st of October, near Lowositz, a small town in Bohemia. The event was on the whole favourable to the Prussian sovereign; but the victory was not so decisive as he had desired and anticipated. Still, he became soon after the complete master of Saxony, and, in January, 1757, concluded a treaty with Great Britain, the object of which was to counterbalance the alliance between France and Austria. The campaign of 1757 was distinguished by many important actions. The French under Marshal d'Estrées crossed the Rhine, and invaded Hanover, where they were opposed by the Duke of Cumberland with 40,000 Hanoverians and Hessians—a force, however, which was only half that of the enemy. The hero of Culloden was entirely defeated in July, and driven across the Weser; but d'Estrées, though he had distinguished himself on this occasion, and, indeed, ever since his passage of the Rhine, was shortly afterwards superseded by Marshal Richelieu, to whom the conquest of Minorca was due.

The French were now supreme in Hanover, and the cause of Frederick and his ally seemed far from hopeful. The Prussians, however, entered Bohemia in four divisions, the fortunes of which were somewhat chequered. That commanded by the Prince of Brunswick-Bevern obliged the Austrians to retire from Reichenberg; and this division, uniting with one under Marshal Schwerin, and another led by Frederick himself, gained a victory over the Austrians at Prague. The Imperialists were then besieged in that city by the Prussian forces; but General Daun advanced to the relief of the Bohemian capital at the head of a superior army. In his recent victory, Frederick had lost 12,000 men, and he was now defeated by Daun, after a sanguinary struggle. The blow was extremely serious to the Prussian King. His soldiers began to murmur, and unfriendly critics averred that the campaign had been badly conducted. It was no longer possible to take Prague; the entire plan of operations was disconcerted; and not only was the siege itself raised, but the whole of Bohemia was abandoned. By this time, the Austrian and French armies had united, and entered Saxony. The high spirits and self-confidence of Frederick deserted him for a time; he became melancholy and distrustful, and, resolving never to be taken alive, carried poison about with him, for use in any extreme crisis of his fortunes.

The dominions of Frederick were now simultaneously attacked by a French, a Swedish, and a Russian army. Austria had sent her Croats into Berlin itself, and the assistance of Great Britain

had broken down under the defeat of the Duke of Cumberland. But the energies of Frederick soon revived under the stimulus of calamity and the necessity of action. He hastened to Dresden, rapidly brought together an army on which he could depend, and marched against the French at Rosbach. The ensuing action was fought on the 5th of November, 1757, and ended in a brilliant victory for the Prussians. Seven thousand prisoners and seventy-two guns fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the rugged Germans made great sport out of the parrots, hair-powder, and pomatum which they found in the French camp. Elated by his success, Frederick turned upon the Austrians, who, having invaded Silesia, defeated the Prince of Brunswick-Bevern, near Breslau, seventeen days after the Prussian sovereign's great exploit at Rosbach. Having compromised his character as an honest ruler by the shameless annexation of Silesia, Frederick could not afford to relinquish a possession which he had made such efforts to secure. After a brief rest, therefore, he hurried into the disputed territory, where he found himself confronted by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Daun, to whom Maria Theresa had confided an army of 80,000 men. The Prussian forces did not exceed 30,000; yet Frederick determined to attack, even against the remonstrances of his own generals. The memorable battle of Leuthen, near Lissa, followed on the 5th of December, when Frederick, despite the weakness of his force, obtained a victory which, according to the opinion afterwards expressed by Napoleon, was a masterpiece in the art of war. The fruits of this brilliant action were most important. Breslau, which had been captured by the Austrians on the 24th of November, was re-taken by the Prussians on December 19th. Prince Charles and Marshal Daun found their army reduced to a shadow by the terrible losses they had suffered, and, with the exception of one town, the whole of Silesia was evacuated before the end of the year.

The reputation of Frederick as a successful warrior was now advanced to the highest pitch. The rejoicings over his victory were as enthusiastic in England as in Prussia itself, and the feeling of despondency which had existed for some time past vanished before more confident anticipations. The unpopular and incompetent administration of the Duke of Newcastle had given place, in December, 1756, to a Government under the nominal Premiership of the Duke of Devonshire, but of which the most powerful member was the elder William Pitt, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Chatham. The office to which this rising politician was appointed

was that of Secretary of State for the Southern Department; but his position was insecure, owing to the personal antipathy of the King. Pitt resigned in March, 1757, and for nearly a quarter of a year the country was without any settled Government. At length, George II. was compelled to form an administration in which the Duke of Newcastle was again at the head of affairs, while Pitt resumed his late position as the Southern Secretary. The chief offices were filled by supporters of the latter, so that the conduct of the war, both in Europe and America, was to a large extent under the influence of "the great Commoner," as Pitt was called. The future Earl of Chatham was at that time regarded as the chief exponent of popular principles in Parliament, and as the most vigorous assertor of the national spirit in all dealings with foreign countries, but especially with France. Owing to reverses, want of ability in the military commanders, and lack of spirit on the part of the Government, the reputation of England had, during the last few years, fallen so low that Lord Chesterfield, despite his usual placidity and self-command, exclaimed, in a sudden access of despair, "We are no longer a nation!"

The occasion of this passionate outcry was the conclusion, in 1757, of what is called the Convention of Kloster-Seven, by which the Duke of Cumberland, after his defeat on the Weser, undertook to disband his forces. The accession of the elder William Pitt to what was really, although not nominally, the Premiership of England, at once infused a more vigorous and manly spirit into the counsels of the nation. The new Secretary of the Southern Department was the son of an unpretending Cornish gentleman, but, on his mother's side, was connected with the family of the Earls of Grandison. In 1757 he was in the forty-ninth year of his age, and was therefore at the most favourable time of life for exhibiting that union of vigour and discretion which is essential to the effective conduct of affairs. His honesty and freedom from corruption were conspicuous in an age of very general venality; yet George II., when talking with his personal favourites, was not ashamed to denounce his Minister as a scoundrel. The greatest drawback from his usefulness as a working politician was the feeble condition of his health; but this seldom prevented him from working with absolute self-devotion at the duties of his office, or exercising an effective control over the policy of the Government. One of the first consequences of his accession to power was that the King was persuaded to repudiate the Convention of Kloster-Seven, which had already been

repeatedly violated by the French, so far as they were bound by it. In April, 1758, a treaty was concluded between the Kings of England and Prussia, by which the two Powers agreed to support one another in the war with the Continental allies. A subsidy of £600,000 sterling was to be paid by Great Britain to the Prussian monarch, and a British auxiliary force was sent to his assistance. Frederick, therefore, commenced the campaign of 1758 under hopeful conditions, especially as, towards the close of the previous year, the Russians had retired from Prussia for want of provisions, the Swedes had been driven under the walls of Stralsund, and the Hanoverians had risen against the French.

In the spring of 1758, the army of Hanover, commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, compelled the French to cross the Rhine, and, following on their footsteps, drove their dispirited regiments before it. Count Clermont, who had recently succeeded Marshal Richelieu, was defeated by Prince Ferdinand at Crevelt on the 23rd of June, and the Hanoverians, continuing their advance, obliged the French to retreat to Neuss and Cologne. Meanwhile, the Prussian sovereign had recovered Schweidnitz from the Austrians, and invested Olmütz. The approach of a large Russian division forced him to raise the siege; but at Zorndorf he overthrew the enemy with great slaughter. He was himself defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen, but subsequently obliged the Imperial forces to retire into Bohemia. Shortly afterwards, Frederick entered Dresden in triumph, Marshal Daun being unable to defend the Saxon capital from attack. The Austrian commander was a faithful son of the Church, and Pope Benedict XIV. signified his approval of so much devotion by sending him a consecrated sword, a hat of crimson velvet, and a dove of pearls, the last of which was to be regarded as a mystic symbol of the Divine Comforter. On the whole, however, the Roman Catholic cause was not very prosperous. At sea, the English Admirals, Rodney, Hawke, Anson, and Boscawen, gained several victories over the naval armaments of the French, and even inflicted damage on the coasts of France itself. In America, the islands of Cape Breton and St. John's were taken by General Amherst, while in Africa the settlements of the French were conquered by the arms of England. On the other hand, the French obtained some important successes in the campaign of 1759. Minden, Münster, and some other places, were reduced by their forces; but on the 8th of August they suffered a defeat at Minden, when their centre, composed of sixty-

three squadrons of cavalry, was broken by the charge of six English battalions of infantry—an exploit which drew expressions of astonishment, and apparently even of admiration, from the French general, Contades. Yet the victory was not so decisive as it might have been, and blame was laid on the commander of the British cavalry, Lord George Sackville, who is said to have neglected the orders of Prince Ferdinand.

In Silesia, the Russians defeated the Prussian general, Wedel, on the 23rd of July, 1759, and, what was of more importance, Frederick himself was worsted, on the 12th of August, at Kunersdorf, whither he had marched to attack the united hosts of the Russians and Austrians. The allied forces on this occasion amounted to 96,000 men; Frederick's army reckoned only half that number; and to attack under such disproportionate conditions showed more of rashness than of generalship. Frederick, whose losses were very heavy, acknowledged that Prussia would have been lost, had the Russians pursued their victory. But from this crowning misfortune he was saved by the disinclination of the Czar's commander to incur further sacrifices on behalf of the Austrians. Nevertheless, his situation was perilous and distressing in no ordinary degree. With great difficulty he rallied his shattered ranks, but was again defeated on three subsequent occasions. His commissariat gave him the utmost trouble, for, being in a country occupied by the enemy, he could obtain little that he required. His troops were obliged to be contented with potatoes and rye-bread, and the resources of the Prussian State fell so low that, although Frederick debased the coinage, his civil functionaries were left unpaid in any currency whatever. In the campaign of 1760, the Prussian monarch was greatly overmatched in numbers, and accordingly thought it prudent to remain on the defensive. The general course of events was unfavourable to the Hanoverians, and the French achieved some important successes, both in Hanover and Hesse. The Austrians and Russians entered Prussia itself, and Frederick was nearly defeated in his camp at Liegnitz. The Prussian general, Fouqué, was defeated near Landshut, on the 23rd of June, by the Austrian general, Loudon—a commander who derived his origin from a Scottish family settled in Livonia for about four hundred years. Some two months later, Loudon was defeated by Frederick in Silesia; but the Russians soon after entered Berlin, which, however, they quitted, after an occupation of three days, on hearing of the approach of Frederick. On the whole, the

campaign terminated in favour of the Prussian monarch; but his losses were sufficiently serious to counterbalance his gains.

The course of military affairs in North America had been long extremely discouraging. A succession of incompetent generals trifled away the resources both of the mother-country and of the colonies, and the French advanced with so much rapidity that, at the beginning of 1758, a large part of the disputed territories seemed hopelessly lost to the English. In that year, however, a change took place for the better. Amherst, Howe, and Wolfe, were all men of ability: the last, indeed, had in him the quality of genius. It is thought to have been by his suggestion that Pitt raised for service in America two regiments of Highlanders, which greatly distinguished themselves. In the division commanded by Amherst, Wolfe held a subordinate position; but, though only two-and-thirty years of age, he soon displayed unusual capacity. The British forces in America were now considerably strengthened by Pitt. No fewer than 50,000 soldiers, of whom 22,000 were regular troops, confronted the diminished forces of France. Canada was afflicted by a famine, and the French commander, the Marquis de Montcalm, wrote to his Government at home that, notwithstanding all their successes, New France must sooner or later fall into the hands of the English, unless peace could be obtained. Active operations soon commenced under the general superintendence of Amherst and Abercrombie, the latter of whom held the chief command in North America. By the former, Louisburg was taken in the summer of 1758; on which occasion, the chief honours fell to the daring young soldier, Wolfe. The great object was now to dislodge the French from the forts which they had erected in the western country; but Abercrombie's attempt on Ticonderoga and Crown Point ended in complete failure, and Lord Howe fell while leading on his men. The total unfitness of Abercrombie for his post was so apparent on this disastrous day that he was superseded by Amherst, who had shown great caution and skill in handling the division to which he was first appointed. Forts Frontenac and Duquesne were taken, chiefly by the efforts of American volunteers. At Duquesne, Washington greatly distinguished himself, and on the 25th of November planted the British flag on the ruins which the French had abandoned.

The greatest events of the American War occurred in 1759. Pitt was determined to attempt the conquest of Canada, and he placed the command of one of the divisions appointed for

this purpose in the hands of General Wolfe, who had for a time returned to England. The campaign began in May, when Amherst transferred his headquarters from New York to Albany; but some weeks elapsed before he could cross Lake George, and it was not until the 22nd of July that he reached the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The fort was abandoned by the French on his approach, and, some days later, Crown Point also was abandoned to the English. Montcalm, whose troops were few in number and depressed in spirit, continued to retire before his adversary, and Amherst followed closely on his steps, though with all his characteristic caution. In the meanwhile, Wolfe had arrived before Quebec, near which city Montcalm was stationed with the main body of his army. Amherst, however, was unable to effect a junction with his subordinate, and found it necessary to establish his troops in winter-quarters at Crown Point. Fort Niagara capitulated to Sir William Johnson on the 25th of July, and the surrender of this stronghold, followed by the abandonment of all the French posts as far as Erie, severed the communication between the two French possessions of Canada and Louisiana. General Wolfe and Admiral Saunders arrived before Quebec on the 26th of June, 1759, and the troops encamped on the Isle of Orleans, situated in the St. Lawrence, a little below the Canadian capital.

Quebec, which occupies the summit of a lofty promontory formed by the junction of the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, is one of the strongest positions in the world; and, before the arrival of Wolfe, Montcalm had retired within his fortifications. Wolfe endeavoured to entice his adversary into some open place where he could be effectually attacked; but the French commander refused to be thus tempted. The English army wasted away with inaction and sickness, and Wolfe himself, whose constitution was far from strong, was reduced for a while to a condition of despondency almost bordering on despair. The English commander shifted his quarters, without bettering his chances in the future; but at length it occurred, either to him or to one of his subordinates, that an attack on Quebec might possibly be carried out by crossing the St. Lawrence to the lower part of the Heights of Abraham, which rise, westward of the fortifications of Quebec, to an altitude of more than three hundred feet. The project was indeed desperate; but a narrow path, leading to the summit of the Heights, had been recently discovered, and, although the ground was rugged, precipitous, and covered with trees and shrubs,

it appeared not absolutely impracticable. The passage of the St. Lawrence was effected during the evening and night of September 12th, in the midst of a profound silence, broken only by the voice of Wolfe, repeating to his officers Gray's famous Elegy, then but recently published. The towering cliff was scaled early the next morning by a party of Highlanders and other troops, and in a little while three brigades, under Wolfe, Monkton, and Murray, had formed in military order on the level plain which crowns the Heights. Montcalm at once saw that he must give battle, and endeavour to crush his enemy before mid-day. A desperate encounter followed, in which the French were thrown into disorder, and driven back into Quebec. Both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded on the field of battle: the former perished in the very moment of victory; the latter survived but a few hours. The surrender of Quebec took place forty days later, and, although an attempt was made to recapture the position, the Canadian capital remained permanently in the possession of the English. Montreal, the last-remaining stronghold of French ascendancy in Canada, capitulated on the 8th of September, 1760; and the great French province of North America now passed, without further resistance, into the hands of a stronger Power.

George II. died suddenly at Kensington Palace on the 25th of October, 1760, when, owing to the previous decease of his son Frederick, the crown descended to his grandson, George III., then about two-and-twenty years of age. He was the first monarch of English birth who had occupied the British throne since the death of Queen Anne in 1714, and it soon appeared that the new sovereign was disposed to attend rather to the interests of England than to those of the Hanoverian Electorate. The latter years of his predecessor had been irradiated by an extraordinary burst of military glory in many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; but the young King evinced from the first a desire to bring the war to a close, as soon as it could be effected without sacrifice of the national interests and honour. Nevertheless, the struggle continued throughout 1761 and 1762. The first of those years was on the whole unfavourable to Prussia, which suffered many disasters at the hands of the Austrians in Silesia, and of the Russians in Pomerania. The resignation of Pitt was a great misfortune to Frederick, for it substituted, for the ablest and most resolute of War Ministers, one who was strongly disposed to a pacific policy. The subsidies which Frederick had received from

England were now withdrawn, and the great conqueror had difficulty in meeting the expenses of the war. In 1761, a family compact was concluded between the Courts of Versailles and Madrid, and in 1762 war arose between England and Spain. Portugal, on refusing to join the alliance, was invaded by the Spaniards, who, however,

alarmed Frederick for a brief space, as he had no means of divining the policy of Catherine; but before the close of the year he found that the Empress was well inclined to continue the peace. His fortunes once more recovered. He again acquired Silesia, ravaged Bohemia and Franconia, and extorted a cessation of arms from Saxony;



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

were speedily driven out, with the assistance of a British force. In the same year, an unforeseen circumstance relieved the embarrassments of Frederick the Great. Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, expired on the 5th of January, and her successor, Peter III., speedily made peace with the warlike sovereign of Prussia, whose character he greatly admired. Peter was soon afterwards deposed, and died under tragical circumstances. He was followed by his consort, Catherine II., who, whatever her vices, was a ruler of extraordinary power and spirit. This circumstance

while the British fleets and armies took Martinique and the Havannah in the West Indies, and Manilla in the Philippine Islands. France and England, being utterly tired of the war, arrived at a separate understanding, and a definitive peace was signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. In the same month, another treaty was signed at Hubertsburg between Maria Theresa and the King of Prussia. According to the settlement thus arranged, England, while restoring all her other conquests, obtained the whole of Canada, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, a large part

of Louisiana, her conquests on the Senegal, and the island of Granada. Austria derived no advantage from the struggle; but Prussia was left in the enjoyment of Silesia, for which she had made such prolonged and terrible sacrifices.

The peace was to a great extent due to the desertion of Prussia by England, and that was attributable to the personal initiative of George III., guided by his favourite, the Earl of Bute. The new monarch disliked William Pitt, as indeed his grandfather had done before him, until the brilliant services of the Minister had taught him

wishes, he really prompted them, as to the particular lines of policy that should be adopted. To the youthful and inexperienced mind of George, Pitt appeared too independent and dictatorial. The courtly manner of Newcastle seemed to him more fitting in a servant of the Crown, and he neglected the other members of the Administration that he might show particular honour to the Duke.

The King's first speech to the Privy Council was drawn up by the Scottish Earl, on whose advice the young monarch so unfortunately relied. In the



GENERAL WOLFE. (After the Portrait by Benjamin West.)

better. He hated the entire body of Whig politicians, by whom, in his estimation, the prerogative of the Crown had been unduly lowered. The Whigs had held office, with but slight intermission, since the death of Queen Anne, and George III. resolved that the Tories should again share in the honours and privileges of the State. The sterling qualities of this sovereign will always be recognised by the English people; but he was a man of narrow intellect and of obstinate character. He had been brought up with high ideas of kingship, and, when the opportunity arrived, he was not the man to shrink from putting those ideas in practice. The next morning but one after his accession, he made Lord Bute a Privy Councillor. Bute was a Scottish Peer, whose deepest wish was to establish the supremacy of the Crown; but, while seeming to obey the royal

original draft, the sovereign had been made to declare that he had ascended the throne in the midst of an expensive war, which, however, he would endeavour to prosecute in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace. Pitt had not been consulted in the production of this address, and he felt greatly annoyed at expressions which assuredly conveyed some condemnation of his policy. With considerable difficulty, he obtained the King's consent that the passage should run thus:—"As I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, *but just and necessary*, war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in a manner most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, *in concert with my allies*." While agreeing to these modifications, George cherished a feeling of bitter resentment that they had been forced upon him by an imperious Minister. Pitt,

indeed, remained at the head of his department for about a year longer; but his influence declined with every month. He desired to prosecute the war with redoubled energy, so as to break the power of France; but in these designs he was checked, not merely by the more distant influence of the King, but by the immediate pressure of his superior, the Duke of Newcastle, who now began to act with greater regard to his position as Prime Minister. Pitt had still the support of Parliament, and of a large part of the nation; but the secret coalition against him was very strong. Parliament was dissolved on the 21st of March, 1761, and at the same time several changes in the Ministry were announced in the *Gazette*. Adherents of the Scottish favourite were promoted to higher offices, and, four days later, Bute himself was appointed to the Northern Secretaryship, from which the Earl of Holderness was removed.

The new Parliament was elected by the most disgraceful arts of corruption, and the result was a House of Commons blindly subservient to the King. The desire of George, and of his counsellor, Lord Bute, to conclude a separate peace with France, was encouraged by a corresponding wish on the part of the French Government, which had suffered too much by the war to desire its continuance. Proposals were made by the Ministry of Louis XV. on the 25th of March—the very day on which Lord Bute became the Northern Secretary. Pitt, however, was still strong enough to infuse into the Government a spirit of determined opposition to any terms which should not be entirely advantageous to England. He delayed the conclusion of peace, that further triumphs might be obtained over his antagonist. His manner became imperious to an extent which no nation of spirit could tolerate; and the war blazed out again with redoubled fury. Some of the great Minister's own colleagues—notably the Duke of Bedford and Earl Granville—opposed his policy, as being at once vindictive and dangerous; and the capture of Belleisle, on the coast of Bretagne, led to that family compact between France and Spain to which allusion has been made. Pitt, who seems by this time to have become almost frantic with the love of power, and with the extraordinary successes of which he had certainly been the principal author, rejected with scorn the terms of peace suggested by France in the middle of September, 1761. He desired to enter into a contest with the allied courts of Paris and Madrid, and conceived that he might destroy the power of France in the West Indies, and

reduce the whole of Spanish America to a dependence on Great Britain. But the opposition to his schemes, on the part both of his own colleagues and of the King, became at length so great that his resignation followed as a matter of course. We have seen that Pitt's absence from the Ministry did not prevent the breaking out of war with Spain in 1762; but it removed the chief incentives to a belligerent policy, and it is probable that peace would not have been concluded in 1763, had Pitt continued in his former position.

The war between England and Spain called attention to the kingdom of Portugal, of which little had been heard for several years, but which, as we have observed, was now protected by England against the dictation of her powerful neighbour. The Portuguese throne was at that time occupied by Joseph I., who, in 1750, while still a minor, succeeded his father, John V. Until he came of age, the young prince was under the guardianship of his mother, an Austrian princess, and both were greatly influenced by a Portuguese nobleman named Sebastian Joseph of Caravalho and Melo, afterwards known as the Marquis of Pombal. For several years, indeed, the affairs of Portugal were entirely in the hands of this remarkable Minister, who instituted many needful reforms in Church and State, but carried them out with an arbitrary sternness which equalled the worst of despotisms. The dungeons of Portugal were filled with prisoners who had ventured to resist his innovations. The ends at which he aimed were in themselves admirable, but the methods by which he enforced them constituted an abuse of power which only a people accustomed to the caprices of despotism could tamely have endured. When, after the appalling earthquake of 1755, which destroyed the city of Lisbon, numbers of persons took advantage of the confusion to commit acts of rapine, he hanged, without trial, all who were found with property about them for which they could not satisfactorily account. On the other hand, it is to the honour of Pombal that he abolished *autos da fé*, and diminished the power of the Inquisition. He procured the banishment of the Jesuits from Portugal, although the King himself was deeply devoted to the Order. To the same vigorous Minister were due certain reforms in the Portuguese army; but little could be effected in this respect amongst a people who had lost all sense of honour, of manliness, and of decency. Pombal encouraged manufactures and commerce, promoted printing and agriculture, improved the course of education at the University of Coimbra, established an efficient police throughout the kingdom, and introduced into

Brazil the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, and cocoa. He died in 1782, leaving behind him a reputation which some have extravagantly compared with that of Richelieu.

The course of Russian history since the commencement of the century had exhibited an extraordinary progress both in military and political importance. The wars of Peter the Great have already been sketched, but some of his internal

tory, bordering on the Gul of Finland. Peter the Great died on the 28th of January, 1725, in the fifty-third year of his age. He was succeeded on the throne by his widow, the Empress Catherine I., originally the wife of a Swedish dragoon. Her reign lasted little more than two years, and, from her death in 1727 to the accession of the Empress Elizabeth in 1741, little of importance occurred in the internal history of Russia. The policy of



GEORGE III.

reforms may here be briefly mentioned. It was after the peace of Neustadt, in 1721, that the Czar assumed, both for himself and his successors, the superior title of Emperor, and it was then that Peter directed his mind towards that internal development of trade, manufactures, and art, which he justly regarded as necessary to the prosperity of the realm. He therefore united several of the navigable rivers by canals, erected mills, opened hospitals, founded colleges, academies, libraries, and printing-offices, established a uniformity of weights and measures, and organised a system of police. The ancient capital of Moscow shared his favours; yet it was he who established the present capital of St. Petersburg on newly-acquired terri-

Elizabeth was mainly directed by a succession of favourites; but the foreign events of the reign, as we have had occasion to record, added to the grandeur of Russia as one of the great European Powers. The Empress Catherine II., who succeeded her weak husband, Peter III., in 1762, was a daughter of the Prince of Anhalt-Zerbst, a petty German sovereign; but her character speedily took the true Russian type, and harmonised with all the aspirations of the country. Her marriage with Peter III. was productive of nothing but unhappiness, and soon after the accession of that sovereign she determined on seizing power for herself. On the 8th of July, 1762, Catherine left the palace of Peterhof, where for some time she had been living

in retirement, proceeded to St. Petersburg, and induced one of the regiments of the Guards to declare in her favour. Other portions of the army immediately followed this example, and Catherine was proclaimed Empress before nightfall. Peter signed an act of abdication on the following day, and was sent a prisoner to Ropscha, a small palace twenty miles from the capital. About a week later he was dead, having, while engaged in a drinking bout, been strangled by Alexis Orloff, a man of gigantic stature and enormous strength, who is said to have afterwards boasted of the crime he had committed in association with other Russian noblemen. The reign of Catherine was long and important; but in the present connection we take note only of its commencement.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, India was approaching one of the most remarkable crises of her fortunes—the foundation of the British power by Clive. The progressive decay of the Mogul Empire has been related on an earlier page; but its actual fall has yet to be described. On the death of Nadir Shah, the sovereign of Persia, who was assassinated in his tent near Meshed in 1747, one of his generals, named Ahmed Abdallah, seized on Afghanistan, together with the neighbouring provinces of India, which had been ceded to his predecessor by the Mogul Emperor, Mohammed Shah. Having proclaimed himself King of the Afghans, under a title signifying “the Pearl of the Age,” he subdued Candahar, Caubul, and Lahore, and in 1748 advanced to Delhi, but, owing to a misadventure, was obliged to retreat from the vicinity of the Imperial city. The old Emperor—the last representative of the Mogul line who had any considerable power—died immediately after, and was followed by his son, Ahmed Shah. The reign of this monarch did not last more than five years, and they were filled with misfortune and disgrace. His dominions were rapidly curtailed, and the Mahrattas, though called in as allies, possessed themselves of much valuable territory. In 1753, Ahmed Shah was seized by an enemy, blinded, and deposed. His successor endured numerous degradations, and was assassinated, in 1759, by his own Vizier. From that time forth, the Great Moguls can scarcely be said to have existed.

It was in the interval between the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War that the celebrated Robert Clive first came forward as the great assertor of English power in India. Clive was the son of a lawyer, of no great ability or large practice, living near Market Drayton, in Shropshire, where the family had been settled for many centuries. Young Robert was a boy of a daring,

spirited, and quarrelsome nature, inordinately fond of fighting, extremely disinclined to study, and so little fitted for a regular life, that his father thought he could do no better than accept for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company. In the distant settlement of Madras, he laboured wearily at his desk, bickered with his companions, grew sick for home, and on two occasions attempted to commit suicide. Twice did the pistol miss fire; the second time, he threw aside the weapon, exclaiming that he was surely reserved for something great. Curiously enough, one of his schoolmasters had made a similar prophecy of the boy, though there was little in his youth to indicate the possession of extraordinary powers. The man, however, was simply awaiting an opportunity for the development of his genius; and this came with the wars between France and England in the latter years of George II.

On Clive's arrival in India, about 1744, that vast and populous land was in a state of general disruption. The trading companies of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English, held considerable portions of the country, and regarded each other with jealous distrust. One of the principal settlements of the English was at Madras, in the Carnatic—a province lying on the south-eastern or Coromandel coast of Hindoostan. Bombay, on the western coast, had, however, a nominal superiority; and Calcutta, the capital of Bengal, situated near the mouths of the Ganges, was likewise an important city. Each of these possessions was called a Presidency; but there was not much cohesion of the several parts. The chief settlement of the French was at Pondicherry, about eighty miles south of Madras, and therefore in dangerous proximity to that place; the Portuguese were at Goa, on the western side of India; while the Dutch had established themselves in Malabar, the Carnatic, Ceylon, and the Moluccas. The Danes also had a trading-post at Tranquebar, on the Coromandel coast; but it made no great figure, and was finally sold to the English in 1845. In addition to Pondicherry, the French had acquired valuable dependencies in the Mauritius, or Isle of France, and the Isle of Bourbon; and all three possessions were controlled by the two Presidencies of Pondicherry and the Mauritius. The native States were for the most part the wrecks of the Mogul Empire. In many cases, it was difficult to say whether these territories were really dependent, or absolutely separate. They were ruled by Nizams, Subadars, Nabobs (more properly, Nawabs), and Zemindars—all of them

Viceregal positions in the first instance, though afterwards rising into complete sovereignty.

At the outbreak of the war between England and France, in 1743, the French Presidencies of India were governed by La Bourdonnais in the Mauritius, and Dupleix at Pondicherry — men of genius and experience, animated by a constant desire to increase the power of their country in those Eastern regions. The former conducted an expedition to the Indian continent, evaded an English squadron which had been sent out to guard our possessions, and, appearing before Madras, obliged the town and fort to capitulate. He does not appear to have contemplated the permanent retention of that place, for he promised to deliver it up, on payment of a moderate ransom. Dupleix, however, did not approve of this engagement, and, asserting the superior power which undoubtedly resided with him, declared that Madras should be destroyed. The Governor of that city, and several of its principal inhabitants, were taken under a guard to Pondicherry, and treated with considerable insolence. Clive escaped in the disguise of a Mussulman, and found refuge at the small English settlement of Fort St. David. While there, he obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and now began to display those mental qualities which afterwards carried him triumphantly through a striking and brilliant career. About a year after this change in his position, which took place in 1747, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the war to a conclusion. Madras was restored to the English, and for a little while Clive resumed his clerical duties.

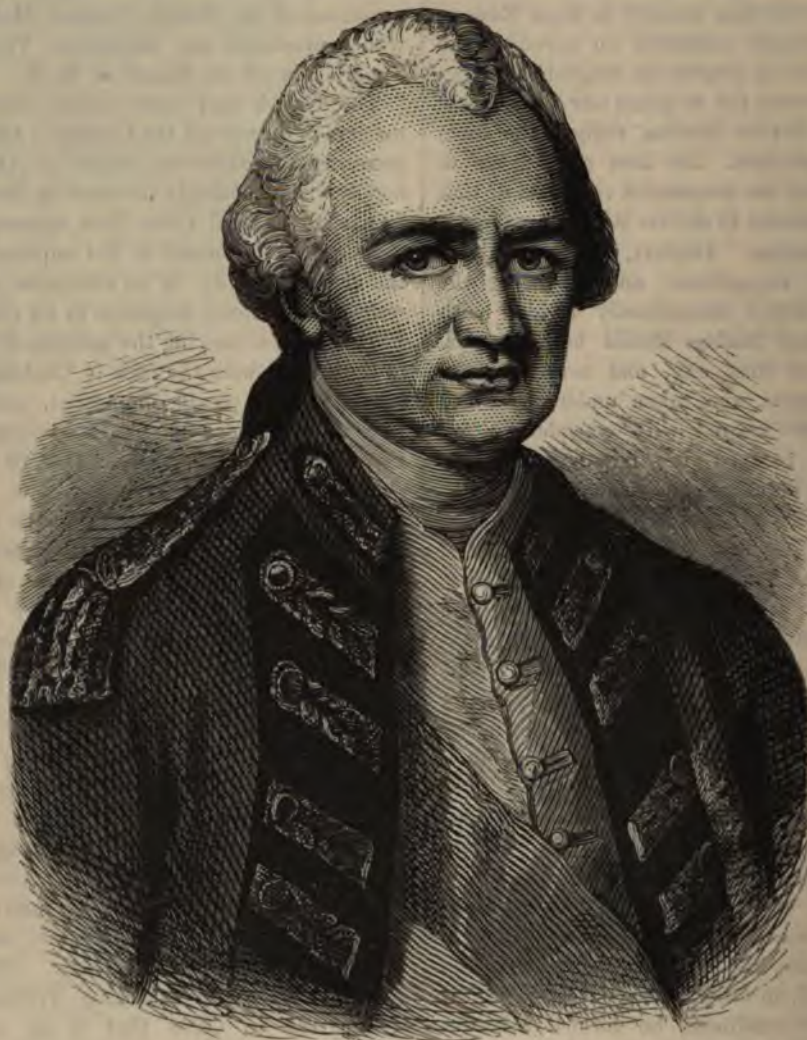
Before this time, La Bourdonnais had returned to France, where he died from the effects of imprisonment in the Bastille, and Dupleix had now no French rival to interfere with his ambitious projects. He conceived the idea of founding a vast Indian Empire, and expelling the English from the Carnatic; and, in order to carry out this project with the greater readiness, he formed alliances with some of the native princes, and proposed to raise an army of Indian soldiers, who, after being subjected to the military discipline of Europe, would probably form as good fighting material as any that the Western kingdoms could produce. The death of the Nizam al Mulk, in 1748, furnished Dupleix with the opportunity which he sought. Al Mulk was nominally Viceroy of the Deccan, where he represented the authority of the Mogul; but in reality he was an independent prince, ruling over a large and splendid territory. A question arose as to who should be his successor. Several claimants entered the field, and two of these

applied to the French for assistance. By the help of Dupleix, one of them, named Mirzappa Juy, obtained the Viceroyalty, and the representative of the French Company was gratefully honoured with the command of seven thousand Indian cavalry, and rewarded with a present of £200,000. Trichinopoly, in the Carnatic, remained in the possession of the Nabob of Arcot, Mohammed Ali, who represented the hereditary Viceroy, Nazir Jung, a son of the Nizam al Mulk.

The French and their native allies were now masters of nearly all the Carnatic; but it was still necessary to reduce the Nabob of Arcot. Trichinopoly was accordingly invested by the French and Indian forces, and Clive, then scarcely twenty-six years of age, proposed to his superiors to relieve the threatened city by an enterprise which might well have appeared desperate in its character. In 1751 he was occupying the position of Commissary to the troops, with the rank of Captain, so that his functions were partly commercial, partly military. The strength of the French Company was advancing with rapid strides; that of the English Company was dwindling to a shadow. The native Indians, always disposed to side with the stronger, looked with contempt upon the representatives of British power, and joined the forces of Dupleix in great numbers. The managers of the English settlement were alarmed at the aspect of affairs, which, indeed, seemed to threaten nothing less than complete ruin. Yet the older heads were devoid of any plans for the rescue of the English dependencies. It was the young Shropshire gentleman, not yet in the full maturity of life, and quite inexperienced in the realities of warfare, who now came forward with definite suggestions for meeting the peril of the hour. Arcot had been conferred by Dupleix on a native adherent of his cause, one Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic. Chunda Sahib and Dupleix were besieging Trichinopoly, and it occurred to Clive that if an attack were made on Arcot—the capital of the Carnatic, which Chunda Sahib claimed as his own—it might have the effect of drawing off the investing force from before Trichinopoly, and thus save the Nabob whose cause was supported by the English. The plan being approved, Clive was provided with a force consisting of two hundred British soldiers, and three hundred Sepoys who had received the discipline of European armies. Four out of the eight officers had until then occupied commercial positions in the Company; but they were animated by the spirit of Clive, and were willing to share his fortunes in the perilous attempt.

At the head of his valiant little party, Clive pushed on through a tropical thunderstorm, and unexpectedly appeared before the gates of Arcot. The sudden and daring character of the movement struck terror into the minds of the garrison, who evacuated the fort in an uncontrollable panic. The

Clive attacked them during the night, and, having slain large numbers, put the rest to flight. News of these disasters was conveyed to Chunda Sahib in his camp before Trichinopoly. The circumstances were far too grave for delay, and he at once despatched a force of four thousand men,



LORD CLIVE.

assailants entered the city without the necessity of striking a blow; but there was every reason to believe that the adherents of Chunda Sahib would speedily recover from their dismay, and Clive therefore lost no time in throwing up defensive works, and collecting provisions against a siege. These preparations had scarcely been completed ere the craven garrison, now heavily reinforced, returned to the neighbourhood of Arcot, and established themselves beneath its battlements.

who, being afterwards augmented by many others, including a few French soldiers sent by Dupleix from Pondicherry, commenced a regular siege. With all his zeal and industry, Clive had not had time to strengthen the defences of Arcot to such a degree that they might defy the assaults of a large army, whose operations were directed by French engineers. The walls were ruinous, the number of guns was but small, and the defence was in the hands of three hundred and twenty men, for the



THE BATTLE OF PLASSEY.

rest were dead or disabled. The siege was long and severe; but Clive, who had now only four officers under his command, conducted the defence with such amazing courage and spirit that the assailants, though they had opened a large breach in the walls, were unable to effect an entry. At length a force of Mahrattas marched to his assis-

tance. A desperate attempt to take the fort by storm was repulsed by the English, and the arrival of the Mahrattas, shortly after, compelled the enemy to retreat. Trichinopoly was saved by the genius and energy of one man, and the triumph of Clive at Arcot was the foundation of the British Empire in India.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

Operations of Clive in the Carnatic—Predominance of the English Power in that Part of India—Second Visit of Clive to the East, with a Commission in the Royal Army—Chastisement of the Pirate Angria—Declaration of War against the English by the Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah—The Black Hole of Calcutta—Expedition of Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson against the Bengal Ruler—Negotiations with Surajah—Duplicity of Clive—Intrigues with Meer Jaffier, the Commander of the Nabob's Army—Services of Omichund, the Bengalee Merchant—The Great Victory of Plassey—Defeat and Death of the Nabob, Surajah Dowlah—Melancholy End of Omichund—Mercenary Conduct of Clive—Revolutions in Northern India—Meer Jaffier solicits Aid of the Dutch, who are Defeated by the English—Proceedings of the French under Lally—English Successes in the South—Clive again in England—Grant of an Irish Peerage—Disturbed State of India during the Absence of Lord Clive—Defeat of Native Princes—Reforms instituted by Clive after his Return—His final Departure for England, Charges against him in Parliament, and Death—Appointment of a Governor-General for British India—Early Life of Warren Hastings—Condition of Hindoostan at the Period of Hastings's Arrival—Chief Provisions of the Regulating Act—Alliance between the Great Mogul and the Mahrattas—Warren Hastings Sells the Rohillas to the Nabob of Oude—Cruel Oppression of the People—Harsh Treatment of the Mogul by Hastings—His Vigorous and Effective Management of the English Possessions—Persecution of various Indian Rulers—Return of Hastings to England—His Impeachment, Trial, and Acquittal—Rise of Prosperity, and Death of Hyder Ali.

If any intelligent bystander had been asked, immediately after the relief of Arcot, whether the chances of the struggle lay with the French or the English Company, he would probably, notwithstanding the brilliant achievements of Clive, have given his judgment on the side of the former. Dupleix, though discountenanced by his own Government, had the support of native princes and native armies, and possessed immense riches, with which he bribed in every direction, and procured active enemies to the English power among those who might have remained neutral if left to themselves. The Government of Madras had but few allies, and very slight and inefficient forces of its own for military service. But the abilities of Clive were equal to every emergency. The Indians and the French were several times defeated, and Chunda Sahib, having fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, was put to death. These exploits were performed with a small army of ill-disciplined troops. Clive had under his command only five hundred newly-levied Sepoys, and two hundred recruits from England, who had been swept out of the lowest dens of London, and whose cowardice was so excessive that, until disciplined by the stern genius of their commander, they could not be

brought to face the enemy, and trembled at the sound of every gun. Yet with this miserable rabble Clive took the forts of Covelong and Chingleput; the latter, one of the strongest places in India, and both garrisoned by the French. When the young conqueror returned to England, for the benefit of his health, in 1753, he had established the predominance of the East India Company over the greater part of the Carnatic.

After a stay of some two years in his native country, where he lost a large part of his fortune in an attempt to get into Parliament, from which he was ejected on petition, Clive returned to India in 1755, taking with him the Company's appointment to the Governorship of Fort St. David, a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in the British army, and three companies of Royal Artillery, together with a small body of other troops. His instructions were to join the Mahrattas on the western coast of Hindoostan, in opposition to the French; but, in the first instance, he engaged, together with Admirals Pocock and Watson, in an attack on the pirate Angria, who occupied a fortress on a rocky promontory almost surrounded by the ocean. The fleet of this corsair was destroyed by the naval force, while Clive took the stronghold

by direct assault, and was rewarded by a booty of £150,000, which the victors divided amongst themselves. From his government of St. David's, Clive was summoned to Madras, to take command of a force for service in Bengal, where the Nabob, Surajah Dowlah—a youth of nineteen, who had recently succeeded to the sovereignty—had declared against the English, burned their factories, and seized Calcutta. It was after the capture of that place that the tragedy of the Black Hole occurred. The Nabob promised the prisoners their lives, but confined them for the night in the dungeon of the garrison—a space only twenty feet square, with two small and partially obstructed windows. Into this narrow cell, a hundred and forty-six Englishmen were thrust on the evening of June 18th, 1756, in all the terrific heat of an Indian summer. The horrors of that night will not bear examination. It was one wild struggle for air, in which the stronger trampled down the weaker, and the greater number perished from suffocation. In the morning, twenty-three miserable creatures—all who remained alive—emerged from the charnel-house, with looks so ghastly and distraught that it might almost have seemed as if a few hours had changed living men into the phantoms of some underworld. Decomposition had already set in amongst the corpses, and a pit was hastily dug, in which a hundred and twenty-three dead bodies, but recently in the prime of strength, were buried out of sight. Surajah Dowlah then placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade all Englishmen to live in the neighbourhood, and changed the name of Calcutta into one signifying “the Port of God.”

When intelligence of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, it roused a tempest of indignation, and steps were immediately taken to avenge the injury. No better man than Clive could have been selected for the command of the land forces. The naval armament was placed under the directions of Admiral Watson, and the expedition sailed in October. Adverse winds delayed its arrival at the shores of Bengal until December; yet Surajah Dowlah was taken by surprise when at length confronted by his enemy. The operations of Clive were characterised by all his accustomed rapidity and spirit. Calcutta was recovered early in 1757; Hooghly was stormed and sacked, and the Nabob, struck with sudden dismay, offered to restore the factory he had destroyed and to make compensation to the sufferers from his tyranny. The personal desire of the English commander was to hold no terms with such a miscreant; but he was overruled by the Government of Madras, who, hearing that war had again broken out

between France and England—the Seven Years' War, of which the reader is already informed—feared an attack by the French, and therefore desired the return of the forces. Clive accordingly commenced negotiations with the Nabob. These parleyings were mainly conducted by Mr. Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee merchant named Omichund, who had long resided at Calcutta, and was one of the principal losers by the recent operations of the Nabob. Omichund was a man of ability, skilled in all the resources of Oriental craft; but some such agent was needed to counteract the bad faith of Surajah Dowlah. That potentate intrigued against the English at the very time he was carrying on negotiations with them. He entered into relations with the French officer Bussy, whom he invited to drive the English out of Bengal, and it became necessary for Clive and Watson to make an immediate attack on Chandernagore, where Bussy held command. The expedition was prosecuted with such wonderful celerity and vigour that the fort speedily fell into the hands of its assailants, when nearly five hundred European troops were taken prisoners, and a large amount of artillery and military stores rewarded the activity of the joint commanders.

In the meanwhile, the youthful prince of Bengal vacillated from day to day in his conduct towards the English. The two motives which swayed his mind were hatred and fear, the alternate promptings of which gave to his actions a character of almost ludicrous caprice. Amongst his own subjects, a powerful confederacy was formed against him, and, on the advice of Clive, it was determined by the Managing Committee at Calcutta to give support to the rebels, with the object of supplanting Surajah Dowlah by Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the Nabob's army. The deposition of a sovereign such as Surajah was in itself perfectly justifiable; but Clive proceeded to carry out his design after a fashion that was disgraced by all the dissimulation and deliberate bad faith of an Asiatic despot. He presented one face to Surajah Dowlah, and another to Meer Jaffier. The former was led to believe that Clive was his earnest and well-meaning friend; the latter knew very well that he was his settled enemy. After a while, the Nabob acquired some inkling of what was contemplated; but Omichund soothed him with fictitious representations, which the youth and inexperience of Surajah induced him to accept for truth. The greatest danger, however, lay with Omichund himself, who knew that the lives of Jaffier and Watts

were in his hands, and who accordingly demanded £300,000 sterling for his services, under threats of disclosing the whole conspiracy. The situation was appalling, and the committee were at a loss how to act. Omichund insisted that an article recognising his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English. Moreover, he must see this with his own eyes, or he would not be satisfied. Clive therefore drew up two treaties—one on white paper, the other on red. The latter, which was the only one shown to Omichund, contained the required stipulation; the former made no mention of his name. When Admiral Watson hesitated as to signing the red treaty, on the ground that it was inconsistent with English honour, Clive forged his name, and Omichund, completely outwitted, gave his abilities unreservedly to the cause of the conspirators.

Feeling safe for the time, Clive now adopted a haughty tone towards the Nabob. He set his troops in motion, and marched towards the capital of that sovereign—a sovereign in reality, although in name a Viceroy of the Mogul. On the other hand, Surajah Dowlah went forward to meet his opponents; but Clive calculated on the promise of Meer Jaffier to abandon his master, with the whole of the division under his orders, as soon as the two armies should come face to face. The Indian commander, however, hesitated at the last moment; it became evident to Clive that his co-operation was not to be depended on; and a period of terrible anxiety ensued. The English were stationed at Cossimbazar; the Bengalese lay a few miles off at Plassey; and between them flowed a river. Even Clive felt nervous and depressed. For the only time in his life, he called a council of war, and the majority decided against fighting. The forces of the enemy were twenty times superior to the English; victory seemed impossible; and Clive agreed in the decision of the majority. After the council had broken up, however, he retired under the shade of some trees, and when he emerged from that retreat it was with the fixed resolution to cross the river on the morrow, and to give battle to the multitudinous Asiatics. The memorable battle of Plassey was fought on the 23rd of June, 1757. It was a brilliant success, notwithstanding the extraordinary disproportion of numbers; and, at the close of the action, Meer Jaffier came over with a large body of troops, and completed the rout of his countrymen. The Nabob fled to his capital (Moorshedabad), and was soon afterwards betrayed, and put to death. Meer Jaffier, notwithstanding his equivocations,

was appointed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and the unfortunate Omichund was bluntly informed that the red treaty was a trick, and that he was to have nothing. He fell insensible into the arms of his attendants, and, on recovering consciousness, passed gradually into a state of mental alienation, from which he never recovered. The duplicity of Clive in this matter is wholly incapable of defence.

The good fortune of the English resulted in an access of enormous wealth. Jaffier paid his allies the sum of £2,750,000 sterling, and added to their territorial possessions. Clive himself was led through the treasury of Moorshedabad, crowned with diamonds and rubies, and dazzled by the vast masses of gold and silver coin which he beheld on every side. He accepted a present of £210,000 from Meer Jaffier; but this transaction was severely condemned in Parliament sixteen years later. It must be remembered, however, that, amongst the English officials in the East in those days, the sense of honour on such points was not very nice. The Company itself had no strict ideas as to the acquisition of riches, and Clive probably thought he was not bound to be more scrupulous than his employers. It was certainly he who had placed Meer Jaffier on the throne, and he took his money as payment for the service done. Still, the whole affair was discreditable, and the example pernicious.

The continued support of Clive was necessary to the safety of the new sovereign. The Viceroy of Oude—himself an independent sovereign in all but name—threatened to invade Bengal, and many of the chiefs of that province were in insurrection against the nominee of the English. Clive was appointed Governor of the Company's possessions in Bengal, and Meer Jaffier leant on him as the only prop which could save his power from a sudden and precipitous downfall. Other dangers, however, had to be encountered. The Governor sent out an expedition against the French occupying the country north of the Carnatic, and this was attended with as much success as if the chief commander himself had been there in person. But, while the army was engaged in its distant enterprise, a revolution in Delhi resulted in the Great Mogul being imprisoned by a subject. His son, Shah Alum, enlisted on his father's side the good offices of several Indian princes, and the young man soon found himself at the head of so large an army that he resolved on driving the English out of Bengal, and establishing his own authority. Meer Jaffier would have endeavoured to buy off the enemy, but Clive persuaded him to an armed resistance. The

English general advanced to the relief of Patna, which was being invested by Shah Alum and his motley forces; but these fled on the approach of Clive, without daring to risk a battle. The result was increased wealth to Clive; yet Meer Jaffier dreaded the power of the Governor, and feared he might some day depose him from the exalted seat to which he had been raised. He began to intrigue with the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, and the Government of Batavia was persuaded to fit out an expedition against the English possessions in Bengal. The Dutch company had some garrisons in those parts, and the pretext for the enterprise was that it was needed for their reinforcement. On the newcomers attempting to proceed up the river, they were strongly opposed, and their troops, on landing, were attacked by Colonel Ford. Nearly the whole force was captured, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Dutch agreed to pay all expenses, on the understanding that their property should be restored.

While Clive was thus engaged, the French had not been idle in the Carnatic, where, in 1758, their commander, Count Lally, an Irishman, attacked the English, and gained possession of Cuddalore and Fort St. David. Next year he failed in an attempt on Madras, and the British, having taken the field in force, reduced Masulipatam and Conjeveram. Wandewash fell before the arms of Colonel Coote, who afterwards defeated an army conducted by Lally for its recovery. Surat was taken by an English force from Bombay, and Clive returned to England in 1760, with the consciousness that he left the cause of his countrymen in the highest condition of prosperity. At London, honours and flattery were showered upon him in abundance, and nobody cared to inquire how far his successes had been tainted by dishonourable acts. In 1761 he was raised to the dignity of an Irish peerage, with the title of Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey; but his absence from India was soon attended by unfortunate results. Meer Jaffier disagreed with Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, who now acted in Clive's place as Governor of Bengal; and in 1760 it was determined to transfer the Nabobship to his son-in-law, Cossim Ali Khan. The change, however, was attended by no beneficial results, for the monopolies and usurpations of the English traders were so extreme, that the native merchants were ruined, and the Nabob's revenue was almost annihilated. Cossim, adopting a policy much more enlightened than that of his European oppressors, declared the trade of the country free to all. This sealed his fate. In 1765 the Company deposed him, and restored Meer Jaffier to the

position of gilded dependency from which he had been formerly cast down. Cossim appealed for assistance, not only to the Great Mogul, but to the Nabob of Oude, who made an effort to support his cause. For a time he was successful: Patna was captured, and the English residents were put to the sword. This, however, was only a temporary gleam of fortune. Defeated in the open field, Cossim was obliged to take refuge with Sujah-ul-Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, but, even under the protection of that sovereign, was unable to escape the vengeance of the British. Major Adams totally defeated Sujah-ul-Dowlah, and compelled him to sue for peace; Cossim Ali Khan was driven forth as a fugitive; and the insurrection was entirely broken.

When news of these events reached England, the Directors of the East India Company looked to Clive as the only man capable of restoring their affairs. He was requested to assume the Presidency of Bengal, with the command of all the troops stationed in that province, and, in July, 1764, embarked for India, in company with four associates whom the Directors had given him for assistance in his councils. On arriving at Calcutta, in May, 1765, he found that the worst difficulties of the situation had been overcome. All he had to do was to settle terms with the native rulers; and this he effected with so much address that he secured for the East India Company the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the exception of £325,000, payable to the Mogul. During the absence of Clive, the managers of affairs at Calcutta had, in effect, set up the throne of Bengal for sale, and had received enormous bribes for conferring the position of Nabob on an infant son of Meer Jaffier, after the death of that puppet. Clive declared, in a letter to a friend, that he would put down the growing evil of bribery—a promise which he appears to have carried out, though at the cost of infinite trouble and vexation. This should be remembered to the credit of a man whose reputation is not entirely free from stains of a like nature. The opposition he encountered from the civil service was hard to overcome; but a still more formidable obstacle was encountered in the army. Clive had to deal with a conspiracy in which two hundred British officers were engaged. Being resolved not to yield to their demands, he issued commissions to mercantile agents who were ready to embrace the military life. The common soldiers, including the Sepoys, were all on the side of their commander, who, acting with the quickness and unhesitating force which were the most conspicuous qualities of his genius, caused the

leaders of the plot to be arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest admitted their evil intentions, and sought for pardon and mercy.

Having at length re-established the supremacy of his countrymen, and placed matters generally on a more satisfactory footing, Clive finally returned

of the vilest corruption, and in 1773 a motion was brought forward in the House of Commons (of which he was then a member), declaring that, "in the acquisition of his wealth, Lord Clive had abused the powers with which he was entrusted." The author of this motion was the celebrated Colonel



MAP OF INDIA, SHOWING THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN 1780, 1800, AND AT THE PRESENT TIME.

to England in January, 1767. But this time he was received, not with honour, but with obloquy. It was generally supposed that he had enriched himself to an incredible extent by the basest arts and acts; although it is certain that, on his third visit to India, he had persistently refused the many bribes that were offered him, and had exhibited a degree of probity not always conspicuous in his earlier years. Clive often declared that his last administration had actually reduced his means; and there is reason to believe that this was the fact. Nevertheless, the opinion grew that he had been guilty

(afterwards General) Burgoyne, who subsequently met with so grave a misfortune during the War of Independence in America. Burgoyne had supporters even amongst the Ministry; but Clive's defence was generally held to have been extremely effective, if not absolutely complete. Ultimately, the House resolved "that Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country;" but it is obvious that this amendment was an evasion of the direct point at issue, and left it an open question whether the hero of Plassey had or had not abused his powers in the acquisition of his wealth. Clive

understood it in the worst sense, and from that moment his spirit was broken. His health had long been failing; he suffered from a painful disease; and a certain brooding melancholy, to which he had been subject in early life, but which

to escape some paroxysm of anguish which was almost insupportable.

By the exertions of Clive, the East India Company had been transformed from a mere corporation of merchants into a mighty Imperial Power,



WARREN HASTINGS.

the constant activity of later days had dissipated, again settled heavily on his mind. Almost from the time of his first arrival in India, he had been in the habit of taking opium, the proportions of which he gradually increased. His death, on the 22nd of November, 1774, at little more than forty-nine years of age, was due to one of these overdoses of a most dangerous poison. It is generally supposed that his end was suicidal; but this does not appear certain, and it is possible that the result may have been due to accident, in the endeavour

possessed of vast revenues, and holding sway over a territory to which many of the European kingdoms were insignificant. Calcutta became an important capital, and soon increased in size and dignity. Shortly after the final retirement of Clive from the field of Indian politics and warfare, the constitution of the Company underwent a considerable change. A Regulating Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1773, and a Governor-General appointed over all our Indian possessions. The first of these functionaries was one whose name

is almost as conspicuous in Anglo-Indian history as that of Clive himself. The celebrated Warren Hastings was descended from a very ancient family long settled at Daylesford, in Worcestershire, and was born on the 6th December, 1732. The family had been impoverished in the civil commotions under Charles I., and young Warren (who had been left an orphan at a very early age) resolved, when only seven years old, to recover the manor and estate which had long passed out of the family. Refined in temperament, and cultured by education, Warren Hastings was sent to India, when a youth of seventeen, in the same capacity as that which had commanded the first services of Clive. He visited England in 1764, but five years later again returned to India on his appointment as member of the Council at Madras. Having formerly been appointed by the East India Company to act as their agent at the Court of Meer Jaffier, Hastings had already acquired considerable experience in Indian politics; and in 1772 he was made President of the Supreme Council of Bengal.

At this date, the English in India held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi, acting nominally as the agents or servants of the princes who sat upon that throne. With respect to Bengal, it is true that the Nabob enjoyed no real power; but he was the apparent monarch of all that region which the adventurous audacity of Clive had added to the possessions of the Company, and above him loomed the dim, but still impressive, phantasm of the Great Mogul. The Regulating Act of 1773 placed matters on a totally different footing, and the functionary then established under the title of Governor-General was, for the time being, an absolute sovereign, both in fact and in name. The internal government of Bengal was delegated to a native minister stationed at Moorshedabad, who, in the exercise of his power (which, as regarded internal affairs, was considerable), acknowledged his responsibility to the English Company. Warren Hastings was the first person appointed to the new office of Governor-General, and his council consisted of four gentlemen, the most celebrated of whom was Mr. Francis, afterwards the celebrated Sir Philip Francis, whose name has been identified with the letters of "Junius." The Act also established a Supreme Court of Judicature, consisting of a Chief Justice and three inferior judges, who were all independent of the Governor-General and council, and whose authority was viewed with the utmost dislike by Hastings, until, in 1782, the special powers of the Court were abolished.

The territories owning a species of subjection to the Great Mogul had long been in a state of

extreme disturbance. The Mahrattas and Rohillas contended for mastery, and Shah Alum, the titular sovereign of Delhi, was compelled, through sheer weakness, to make himself the agent of the former. Rendered insolent by their military power and its successful results, the Mahrattas extorted from the Emperor a grant of the provinces of Korah and Allahabad, in which he had been established by the British. Having thus satisfied their cupidity for a time, they recrossed the Ganges, and the Mogul was left to make such arrangements for the future as might be possible, in the hope of averting further spoliation. Sujah Dowlah, the Nabob of Oude, who called himself the Vizier of the monarchy of Hindoostan, besought the assistance of the Company in enlarging his territories; but, although this was granted, nothing was done to restrain the rapacity of the Mahrattas, who overran a large extent of country, destroyed cities, and effected considerable damage before they retired. The scene of these exploits was the Rohilla country, which the ruler of Oude coveted for himself. Sujah Dowlah accordingly requested the assistance of the English in taking possession of that country, and Hastings consented to furnish the required aid for a money consideration, of which he was himself to have a share. The Rohillas were sold to the Oudeans for a stated price; the council of the Governor-General sanctioned the bargain; and in 1774 a brigade under Colonel Champion was sent to carry the order into execution. The Rohillas, a martial race of Afghan origin, resisted the invaders with admirable courage and resolution; but their leader, Hafiz Rahmet Khan, at length fell in battle, and the struggles of the unhappy people came to an end. The Oudeans then spread themselves over the whole of Rohilcund, reducing it to a desert, slaying many, and forcing others to quit their homes for distant parts. Colonel Champion, who commanded the English detachment, was thoroughly disgusted with his allies, and, in an account which he has left of the transaction, speaks in indignant terms of Sujah Dowlah and his troops. Korah and Allahabad, which, although granted by the Mogul to the Mahrattas, remained in possession of the English, were made over to the Nabob of Oude for fifty lakhs of rupees. The Great Mogul was at the same time (on the pretext that he had become the tool of the Mahrattas) deprived of the tribute or pension of twenty-six lakhs of rupees which the Company had agreed to pay him out of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. The whole business was infamous to all concerned, and the war with the Rohillas can only be described as an unprovoked

attack upon a gallant and laborious race. The dealings of the Company with Shah Alum, the phantom sovereign of an extinct Empire, were also hard and discreditable; but with respect to him it may at least be said that, in a treaty with the Nabob of Oude, he had given his sanction to the reduction of the Rohillas, on condition of receiving a share of the plunder, and half the conquered territory. The promise of the Nabob was of course evaded in the hour of victory; but the Mogul was powerless, and nobody considered it obligatory to respect an engagement with one so weak and fallen, whether its character was honourable or not.

Such were some of the earliest acts of Warren Hastings in his administration of India. They have left an ineffaceable stain upon his reputation; but we must not forget that he was a man of remarkable genius, and that his government of the Company's possessions was in some respects advantageous to the English settlers. He managed the finances of Bengal with unusual ability, and increased the resources of the Company without laying additional burdens on the people. It is to be feared, however, that these results were effected chiefly by means of extortion and cruelty, of which the native rulers and people were the victims. Hastings exacted enormous sums from the Rajah of Benares, and at length confiscated all his possessions. He concluded a treaty with Asaph-ul-Dowlah, the son of Sujah Dowlah, in accordance with which the mother and grandmother of the Nabob of Oude, called Begums or Princesses, were deprived of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company. These transactions (which were carried out by the agency of prolonged and deliberate torture) occurred in the year 1781, and were followed by similar proceedings in other directions. On two occasions, Hastings visited the city of Lucknow, the favourite residence of Asaph-ul-Dowlah. The second time was in the early part of 1784; and, in passing through the province of Benares, the Governor-General, according to his own account, was "followed and fatigued by the clamours of the discontented inhabitants." On every side were visible the traces of recent devastation; and all this misery resulted from the oppression of administrators whom the English rulers had set up. In November, Hastings returned to Calcutta; but his reign was now almost at an end. In February, 1785, he resigned his office, and sailed for England. He left India in a state of complete tranquillity, though it must be confessed that in many districts this was the tranquillity of despair. He had restored the internal

peace of the country, had removed many dangers to the predominance of England, had organised a system for the better administration of justice, and had dispensed a liberal patronage to Asiatic learning.

These results, however, though excellent in themselves, will not suffice to condone the flagrant crimes of which Warren Hastings had been guilty. A feeling to this effect animated some of the most considerable members of the British Parliament, and, on reaching England, Hastings found himself confronted by the most serious accusations, urged, indeed, with a great deal of party violence, but having sufficient basis in fact to be truly formidable. The charges were brought forward by the Opposition; but Hastings was at first protected by the influence and the eloquence of the younger William Pitt, then First Minister of the Crown. By a majority of 119 to 67, it was voted that the treatment of the Rohillas involved no criminality on the part of Warren Hastings. The Opposition, however, had advanced only a part of their case, and fourteen days later a charge respecting the treatment of the Rajah of Benares was urged with great confidence by the leaders of the Whig party. This time, Pitt showed a disposition to abandon the accused, and concurred in a vote for his impeachment. Hastings had been received with distinction by George III., and the Directors of the East India Company had acknowledged his services by an unanimous vote of thanks. But public opinion declared against him, and it was very generally agreed that nothing but an open trial could satisfy the demands of justice. The investigation, however, did not begin until the 12th of February, 1788, when this memorable cause was commenced in Westminster Hall by the managers of the impeachment—Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, and Charles Grey, afterwards the eminent statesman, Earl Grey. The opening speech was delivered by Burke, and extended over four sittings. It will remain to the latest age one of the most splendid achievements of English oratory; but it was only one amongst several brilliant displays of the like nature. Burke was followed by Fox, Grey, and Sheridan—all of them consummate speakers, whose gifts were on this occasion directed by a passionate ardour, not altogether free from the bias of personal or of party enmity. By these extraordinary displays, the public interest was excited to fever-heat; but a feeling so exalted, and so dependent on the stimulus of rhetoric, could not long be maintained at its full height, and attention flagged when the minute and complicated details of a difficult question began to unfold themselves.

Ultimately, a strong reaction in the bent of public sympathy became manifest. People were found to declare that Hastings had been hardly used, and that, even if guilty in some respects, he was being made the victim of a relentless and not very scrupulous antagonism. During rather more than seven years, the trial dragged on its wearisome course; but at length, on the one hundred and forty-ninth day of the investigation—viz., April 23rd, 1795—a majority of twenty-three to six of the Lords who sat in judgment pronounced Warren Hastings “not guilty” of the crimes laid to his charge. An annuity of £4,000, dating backwards from June, 1785, and a loan of £50,000, without interest, for eighteen years, were granted to the late Governor-General by the East India Company, as an indemnification for the legal expenses he had incurred, and a reward for his services. The last years of his life were passed at Daylesford, which he was enabled to re-purchase; and here he died on the 22nd of August, 1818, wanting only a few months of eighty-six. Next to Clive, Warren Hastings is the most conspicuous figure in the early years of Anglo-Indian history; but he represented a race of administrators whose very successes shed disgrace upon their country, and whose lives it is a pain and a humiliation to record.

In following the deeds of Clive and Warren Hastings, we have found it expedient to set aside for separate consideration the remarkable series of events connected with Hyder Ali. This distinguished prince was the son of a general employed by the Rajah of Mysore, who ultimately obtained Bangalore as a fief, and transmitted it to his son. Commencing his career as a volunteer in the army of the Rajah, in 1749, Hyder Ali soon gave proof of his great abilities. At that time, Mysore was under a Hindoo dynasty; but the monarch was a lay figure in the hands of others, and there was abundant opportunity for a man like Hyder to obtain power and influence. It was not long ere he became a military chieftain, whose operations were generally fortunate, and whose services were appreciated by the two brothers of the Rajah, who had usurped the actual sovereignty of the State. The vigour with which he repelled an invasion of the Mahrattas, in the beginning of 1750, placed him in the highest rank of Mysorean generals, and opened the way to future predominance. The elder of the Rajah's brothers was now dead; and if the younger, Nunjeraj, could be removed, there would be no obstacle to Hyder Ali becoming the actual dictator of the State, although the ceremonial position would still remain with the Rajah. A revolt was excited amongst the troops; Hyder

placed himself at their head, and Nunjeraj consented to retire, upon receiving compensation. Hyder had still to encounter many enemies; but his genius was equal to the demands that were made on it. The Rajah himself was disposed to withdraw his favour; but the rapidity of the rebel's movements, and the terror of his name, restored his fortunes, and before the close of 1761 he was the virtual master of Mysore.

The rise of Hyder was coincident with renewed hostilities in the north, where Ahmed Shah, the Afghan, joined the chiefs of Rohilcund in expelling the Mahrattas from Delhi. Those marauders, led by their principal generals, Ragonaut Row, Shumsheer Bahadur, and Holkar Mulhar, sustained some severe defeats at the hands of their adversaries, and vast numbers of their oldest and most experienced troops were put to the sword. Recovering themselves after a while, they again seized on Delhi in 1760, and, having plundered it, according to their usual custom, conferred the Imperial dignity on a son of Shah Alum. Their success, however, was but short-lived. The forces of Ahmed Shah once more confronted them, and presented so formidable an appearance that the Mahrattas retired to a plain near Paniput, where they formed an entrenched camp. Famine and pestilence soon devastated their ranks, and, on offering battle to the enemy, they were vanquished with enormous loss. Three chiefs of rank, and a miserable remnant of troops, were all who found their way back to the Deccan. The Mahratta power had now greatly declined, and, as every influential chieftain claimed a species of independence, internal wars were frequent. All the military leaders, indeed, acknowledged a certain degree of subjection to the general government founded by Sivaji, the originator of the Mahratta dominion; but the central authority was weak. The Rajahs were assisted by a council of eight Brahmans, the chief of whom was called the Peishwa, or Leader. The position of this functionary was similar to that of the Mayors of the Palace under the early kings of France: as a matter of fact, his power was greater than that of the sovereign. In time, the office became hereditary, and in 1761 it passed to Madhoo Row, who, being a minor, was for a time represented by his uncle, Ragonaut Row. Some years later, Ragonaut succeeded to the post. He was a man of ability as a soldier; but the internal anarchy of the Mahratta State continued, and the Peishwa fled before a successful conspiracy.

The Mahrattas were Hindoos, both by religion and by race, and it was unfortunate for their

dominion that it should be encountered by so powerful a Mohammedan soldier as Hyder Ali. The territory of the Mahratta chieftain, Morari Row, was subjected by the virtual ruler of Mysore, together with several other large and important provinces. In 1764, however, Hyder received a severe check from the Peishwa, Madhoo Row, who compelled him to relinquish all the dominions he had wrested from Morari Row. But the martial spirit of Hyder Ali could be checked only for a time, and in 1766 the country of the Nairs—the military class of Malabar—submitted to the arms of this enterprising warrior. His fortunes were once more in the ascendant, when he learned that the East India Company had entered into an alliance with his enemies, and that two British armies were advancing against his dominions. Undaunted by these combinations, Hyder Ali, in 1767, sent a force against Madras, which almost fell into his power; but in 1768 the English obtained so indisputable an ascendancy that they even meditated the conquest of Mysore. Nevertheless, the energies of Hyder quickly reasserted themselves, and before the close of 1768 he had recovered all the districts which the allies had torn from his possession. The Carnatic was ravaged in 1769, and the English forces could do nothing to check the progress of the Mysorean commander. Again he penetrated to the neighbourhood of Madras, and imposed a treaty on the rulers of that Presidency. The price of East India Stock fell 60 per cent. in consequence of these disasters, and of the general condition of affairs in Bengal. Further contentions ensued with the Mahrattas, in which the advantage lay with the Hindoo Power. Hyder's frontier was pushed back towards the south, and, in retreating to his capital, Seringapatam, after being attacked by the Mahrattas near the hills of Chercoolee, the troops of the Mohammedan chieftain were seized with panic, and so completely routed that the Mahrattas might have captured Seringapatam itself, had they followed up their advantage.

The war continued for several years with varying success; but, on the whole, Hyder Ali maintained his authority, and recovered much that he had lost. In these contentions between the Mysorean and the Mahratta chieftains, the Supreme Council at Calcutta behaved with singular weakness and inconsistency. Its members were at issue with the Bombay Presidency on some important matters of policy, and the English power in India was threatened by the quarrels of antagonistic administrators. The Mahrattas, after being supported for a while, were ultimately abandoned,

and in 1778 their forces inflicted a severe defeat upon a British army. In the following year, Hyder Ali entered into a vast confederation with several native Powers to expel the English from the whole of India. The united armies of the two Mahratta chieftains, Holkar and Scindia, set out towards Surat, where the forces of General Goddard were stationed; but the English commander proceeded by rapid marches against the enemy, surprised Scindia in his camp on the 3rd of April, 1780, and utterly discomfited his numerous array. Scindia and Holkar accordingly withdrew into their own dominions, and the territories of the Bombay Presidency were extended along the coast to a considerable distance. In another direction, some brilliant successes were obtained by Captain Popham, who expelled the Mahrattas from Gohud, and, forcing his way into their own territory, took the fortresses of Lahore and Gwalior by assault. These achievements restored the credit of the British arms; but the political anarchy in the several Presidencies grew worse than ever. The Nabob of the Carnatic, Mohammed Ali—a man noted for his faithless and infamous character—was invested with special powers, as if his friendship were necessary to the British rule. But the Nabob was the ally rather of the Government at home, who sent out a Special Commissioner to Madras, than of the East India Company, whose influence it was sought to restrain and humiliate. The evils of divided sway were not long in making themselves felt.

Hyder Ali would gladly have concluded an alliance with the English, but the latter procrastinated until the Mohammedan leader threw himself into the arms of the French. His indignation against the East India Company was now roused to the utmost; for not only had they neglected his advances, but, according to his contention, they had persistently evaded the treaty of 1769. He therefore entered into a correspondence with M. Bellecombe, the Governor of Pondicherry; and a formidable war soon broke out, in which Hyder had the benefit of French support. The Supreme Council of Calcutta, acting with unusual promptitude, took possession of all the French settlements, which yielded with little resistance, but were afterwards restored. In 1780, Hyder Ali marched a third time into the neighbourhood of Madras, and an army of 100,000 troops menaced the very existence of the English power in the Carnatic. The Madras Government acted with the weakness it had frequently exhibited since the days of Clive, and, after renewed English defeats, matters became so serious that the Governor-General of India, Warren

Hastings, found it necessary to interfere. He sent Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal with independent powers; and that distinguished commander, who had already acquired a great name in Indian warfare, took the field in January, 1781. His army

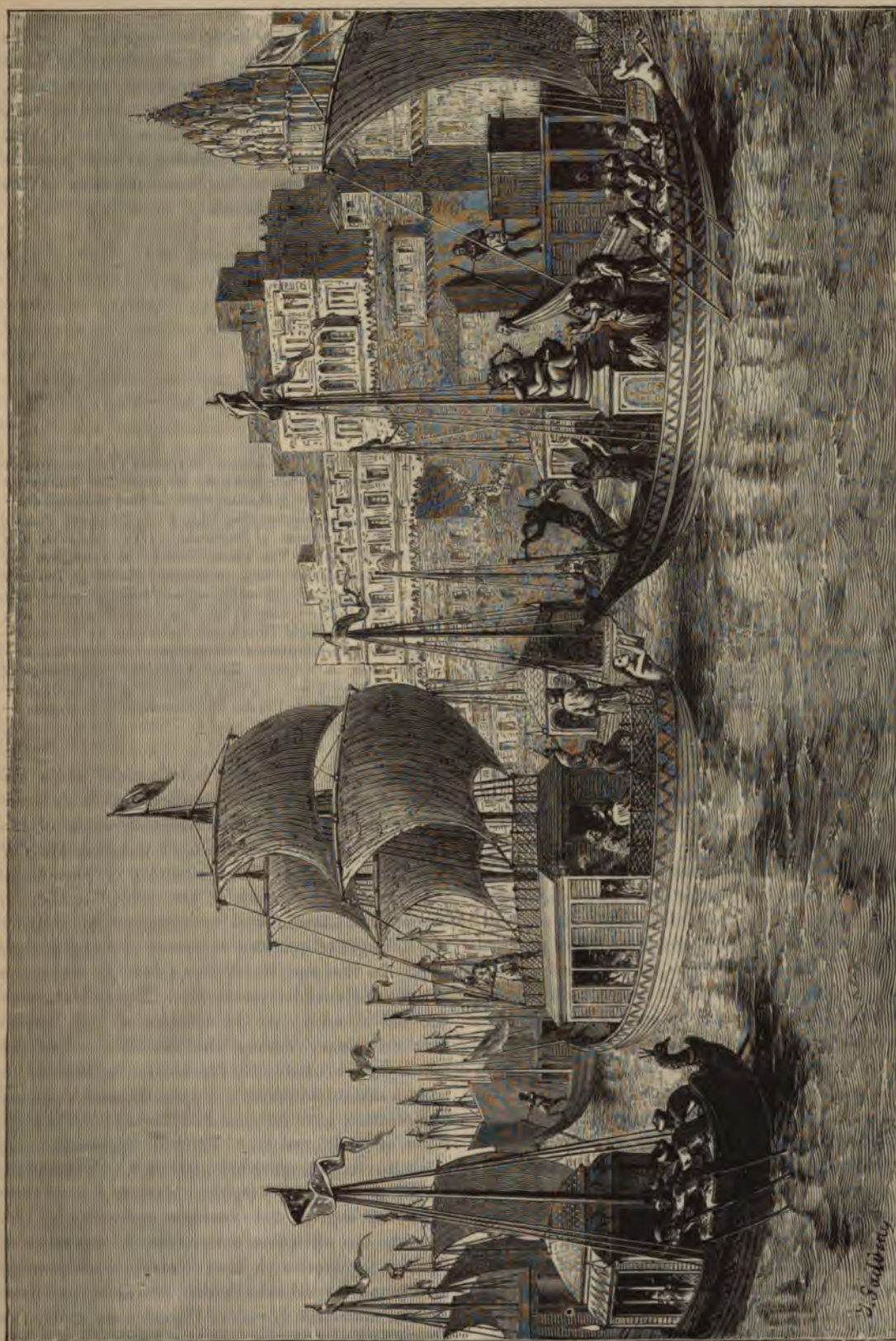
being materially injured, and the dissensions among the Presidencies continued with disastrous results. An expedition was conducted by Lord Macartney, the Governor and President of Fort St. George, against the Dutch settlements in India; and this



HYDER ALI.

did not exceed seven thousand men, of whom less than two thousand were Europeans. The force, moreover, was badly provisioned and equipped, and Hyder adroitly managed to avoid a battle, in which even his large numbers might have been worsted by superior discipline and resolution. In the meanwhile, he overran and plundered a large extent of country, but at length, after gaining a slight advantage over General Coote, was defeated by that officer near Porto Novo, on the 1st of July, 1781. Still, the power of Hyder Ali was far from

was attended by great success. But in 1782 Hyder Ali received important assistance from the French commander, Lally, and the English sustained several reverses. Madras was devastated by a famine, and the enterprise of Hastings was checked by want of funds. In the previous year, under pretence of granting protection against the Nabob of Oude, the Governor-General had plundered the sacred city of Benares—a place remarkable for its accumulated wealth; and in 1782 the adjoining territory was appropriated by the



RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL AT BENARES

Company, in consequence of an insurrection which had been provoked by previous extortions. Hyder Ali, who was now old, died in December, 1782; but the struggle against the British was continued for several years by his son and successor, Tippoo Saib. The character of Hyder presented many strong contrasts. He was an excellent soldier, and in many respects a good administrator. But his

passions were violent, his habits depraved; he was an intriguer and a despot; and, although it is impossible not to admire his courage, his self-reliance, and the justice which often distinguished his rule, we must reckon him among those military chieftains who have proved an affliction to large portions of the world, by a too exclusive devotion to the doubtful glory of the sword.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The English in America—British Dominion in the New World—Project of Taxing the Colonists—Suspected Plan to abrogate Colonial Self-Government—Resistance of the Colonial Legislative Assemblies—Their Congress in 1765—The Stamp Act Repealed—Other Infringements of Colonial Rights—Conduct of Royal Governors—Massachusetts treated as Rebellious—Customs' Duty on Tea—Temper of the Americans—New York and Boston—The Boston Tea Riot, 1773—Proposed Punishment of the Citizens—Arrival of General Gage—American Indignation—Congress of September, 1774—Declaration of Rights—Massachusetts prepares for Defence—Lord Howe and General Howe—The First Conflicts, at Lexington and Concord, April, 1775—Capture of Ticonderoga—Formation of an American Army—Siege of Boston—Battle of Bunker's Hill—General Washington—Expeditions to Canada—General Clinton at New York—Washington delivers Boston—France helps the Revolution—American Declaration of Independence, 4th July, 1776—Course of the War—Washington at New York—His Retreat—Struggles in New Jersey—Battle of the Brandywine—General Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga—Washington in Pennsylvania, and on the Hudson—Sir Henry Clinton—Lord Cornwallis—Campaign in South Carolina—Treason at West Point—Benedict Arnold and Major André—The War in Virginia, 1781—Lafayette—Proceedings of Washington—Arrival of French Fleet and Troops—Difficult Position of Cornwallis at Yorktown—Success of the Besiegers—Surrender of the British Army—Virtual Termination of the War—Negotiations for Peace—New Government in England—Cost of the Struggle—The United States of America—Washington the First President.

AMONG the changes in the course of Modern History that have most powerfully affected the progress of mankind, one of great moment is the rapid growth of the English race, with the broadest institutions of self-government, on the continent of North America. The latter half of the eighteenth century, down to the era of the French Revolution, beheld events which not only altered the political condition of that vast region, but kindled by example a democratic spirit in several nations of Europe. This movement, though its outbreak was immediately occasioned by particular disputes with the Government of George III., had long been preparing itself in the minds of the English colonists. It came naturally to the descendants of the Puritan settlers of the seventeenth century. The emigrants from the Eastern Counties of England—a population having some mental, as well as ethnological, affinity with the Dutch—were more inclined to utilitarian views, and cherished less of romantic attachment to the historical traditions of the past, than those communities where the Celtic and Norman elements combine with other constituents of the national character. They were, moreover, by the origin of their religious doctrines and institutions,

brought much under Dutch influence; while the analytic and rationalising tendency of their theology, and the ecclesiastical Republicanism of the Independent Churches, favoured political ideas of an analogous type. The principles of pure Independence do not admit of any official authority, except that of ministers and deacons elected by the suffrages of qualified members of the congregation. In that age, the Puritan era—of which the effects continued longer in New England than in the old country, in the absence of any hereditary aristocracy among the colonists, while the monarchy was but faintly represented by Governors from a distant kingdom—the accustomed religious organisation gave its tone and form to the institutions of civil society. Thus it happened that the self-reliant English colonists of North America, including those of Virginia, Maryland, and New York, as well as the Puritans and Quakers, insensibly lost all active enthusiasm for the British Crown, together with that sentiment of devoted loyalty as its subjects which prevailed in Great Britain under the House of Hanover, as under the House of Stuart.

They had taken, however, from motives of self-

interest, or from the instincts of a vigorous and progressive community, a share in the arduous conflict with the French for the possession of the Ohio and Tennessee valleys leading to the Mississippi, though in earlier years they had certainly been remiss in providing for the defence of the borders. Colonial militia volunteers, one of whose leaders was George Washington, had fought with valour, in 1754 and 1755, in the attacks on Fort Duquesne, while the inhabitants of Massachusetts had willingly borne no slight taxation for the costs of that war. At the peace of 1762, the British dominions in America were vastly extended. The whole of Canada, all the shores and islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with Acadie or Nova Scotia, the valley of the Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, and several islands of the French West Indies, were added to the King's realm; but these acquisitions could not at the time bring any direct profit to the old colonies on the Atlantic coast. Meanwhile, Great Britain had incurred an additional debt of a hundred millions sterling; and her financial necessities were so pressing that the Government of George III., when George Grenville became Minister in 1763, conceived the unhappy project of taxing the American colonists by a British Act of Parliament.

This was not an entirely new conception. It had been proposed years before in the councils of the British Government, and had been rejected by Sir Robert Walpole, and indignantly denounced by the elder Pitt. The constitutional principles asserted by Hampden and Pym in the House of Commons, in the reign of Charles I., upon the ground of ancient English maxims and precedents, were generally admitted by Whigs and Tories alike; the common right of English citizens not to be taxed without an express vote of their own representative Legislature could not be denied. Each colonial province in America had its own House of Assembly, the powers of which, bestowed by a Royal Charter, were held to be indefeasible. It was considered by eminent lawyers and statesmen that the imposition of an internal taxation belonged of right exclusively to those provincial Legislatures; but that the Crown, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, made in England, might levy customs' duties on merchandise imported into the colonies. This had, indeed, been practised through the agency of the Board of Trade and Plantations, in connection with the Secretary of State who managed colonial affairs. No plausible argument could have been raised against moderate external taxation of this kind; but some of the party then in power, and others who at different times held office in

those departments, were determined, as much as possible, to over-ride the authority of the Colonial Legislatures. They were piqued and vexed by the frequency of disputes, upon various petty occasions, between the Governors of their nomination, or the minor official agents of the Crown in America, and the representative Assemblies of the people. They desired, therefore, to wrest from the hands of the colonists, at least in part, the control over the sources of revenue for the maintenance of government in each province. It would not suffice to levy customs' duties, and apply them to the payment of the Governor's salary, and to the expense of a garrison of the King's troops. The internal and direct taxation must also be levied and appropriated by order of the Royal Government, so that the colonial opposition party should have no public funds at its disposal, and that all civil servants should look to the Crown for payment. Such was the Government policy; but Grenville made a fatal mistake in 1764, when he passed an Act for imposing stamp-duties, along with tariff-duties on foreign sugar, coffee, wine, silk, and other commodities. The effect of the latter, with the prohibitory restrictions by which they were accompanied, was to deprive Boston and other seaports of their trade with the Spanish and French West Indies; while the vexatious manner in which these regulations were enforced by the Admiralty Courts excited much discontent among the English colonists. They were easily led, therefore, to protest in general against all taxation enacted for them by the Parliament of Great Britain. Without here discussing the arguments upon this question, it cannot be denied that the ground taken by the Ministerial party in England was untenable. Its motives were insidious, and the domineering attitude of Grenville and his supporters could not but arouse feelings of resentment and alarm. The colonies had recently been treated, in many personal and local instances, with much harshness by the Governors and other agents of the Crown.

An organised resistance, sustained by resolutions of all the provincial Houses of Assembly, was set on foot in the year 1765. Its most prominent leaders were, in Massachusetts, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and James Otis, who entertained strong Republican sentiments; in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin, a self-taught man of science, printer, tradesman, politician, and philosopher; in New York, a judge of good repute, Robert Livingston; and, in Virginia, the eloquent Patrick Henry. Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and many other champions of American liberties, soon afterwards came to the front. The Stamp

Act was declared illegal, null, and void; it was condemned by resolutions of the Colonial Legislatures; and force was used, by tumultuous gatherings of the people in several towns and districts, to prevent its execution. In October, a Congress of delegates from the Houses of Representatives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, was held at New York (other provinces assenting), which adopted a petition to the King, and addresses to both Houses of Parliament, claiming the exclusive power of taxation for the Colonial Legislative bodies. There had, by this time, been a change of Ministry in London. The Administration of Grenville was succeeded by one in which the Marquis of Rockingham was assisted by General Conway, a warm friend of the American colonists; and when Parliament met in the next session, Pitt came forward with a powerful speech in favour of their cause. The liberal policy which he recommended was instantly adopted by Conway and other Ministers. The Address from the Colonial Assemblies was, on its arrival, referred to examination by a Committee, in which Franklin and other delegates from America gave evidence; and Ministers brought in a Bill to repeal the Stamp Act. In the debates that ensued in both Houses, Pitt, Edmund Burke, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and Chief Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, advocated the rights of the colonists. The Stamp Act was annulled; but the removal of that abortive piece of injustice was imprudently accompanied by measures which were subsequently applied with a more irritating effect.

A declaratory Act was passed, affirming the prerogative of the British Parliament, in the abstract, to make laws for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever;" and it was resolved that the Colonial Legislatures should be compelled to provide compensation to persons whose property had been damaged by the Stamp Act riots, instead of leaving the redress of such injuries to judicial procedure. The Colonial Legislatures were also to be compelled, by a clause of the Mutiny or Billeting Act, to supply commodities for the use of the King's troops. These demands, which might have been fairly proposed and freely granted with a proper recognition of the authority of the Colonial Legislatures, seemed intolerable in the imperative form of Acts of Parliament. At the same time, Charles Townshend, who in 1766 became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who had personally distinguished himself by reckless and scornful vituperation of the colonists, prepared a scheme of customs' taxation on their imports, including

paper, glass, painters' colours, and tea. These duties were not fixed at a very burthensome rate; but the avowed intention was to create a revenue which would support the Governor and civil service of each province, independently of supplies voted by the Houses of Assembly. Those Houses were presently threatened with suspension or abolition if they maintained a contumacious attitude; and the colonists generally felt that they must be prepared to defend their old charters of self-government if they would not see them swept away altogether.

We need not relate the particular disputes which were protracted through several years, from 1768 to 1773, between the Governors of the chief provinces, usually acting under peremptory instructions from Ministers at home, and the representative bodies. Lord Hillsborough, now Colonial Secretary of State, was much occupied with the task of censuring, reprimanding, and menacing, the people of Boston and New York. The Massachusetts Assembly was deemed rebellious in 1768, when it invited the others to a Conference, or concerted action, as in 1765, to obtain redress of their common grievances. Ships of war, conveying two regiments of artillery, were sent to Boston at the request of Governor Bernard. The King's Speech, at the opening of Parliament in 1769, condemned the behaviour of "turbulent and seditious" people in that town. It was proposed to arrest the guilty persons, and bring them to England for a criminal trial; and the forfeiture of the Massachusetts Charter was also contemplated. As a Parliamentary topic, the generally disaffected state of America was frequently alleged by Lord North, who soon after this became Prime Minister, as a reason for not repealing the customs' duties imposed by Charles Townshend. It was thought expedient to retain the duty upon some one article, for the sake of insisting upon the prerogative of taxation; and tea was the article chosen. King George himself is said to have suggested this point to Lord North. Tea, when the other duties were repealed for the sake of commercial interests, became the symbol of political contention; and motions concerning it were repeatedly made by the Liberal politicians, the friends of American rights, in the House of Commons.

But far more serious was the agitation that already prevailed on the opposite shore of the Atlantic. In almost every province, the ordinary course of public affairs was interrupted, or was fatally embittered, by prolonged quarrels and mutual affronts between the official representatives of the Crown and the elected Assemblies. So

early as April, 1769, the grave and patient mind of George Washington, in a letter of that date, expressed a fear that "our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of that freedom which we have derived from our ancestors." He doubted whether a mere attitude of passive resistance, or a popular agreement to decline the use of taxed commodities, would avail to defeat that purpose. The temper of the people, in every province, and in the rural districts as well as in the towns, became harder and sterner with multiplied proofs of the hostile intentions of the King's Government, which met them in every newspaper report from England, and in the demeanour of his Majesty's civil and military servants towards them. At New York, in March, 1770, the soldiery, being pelted with stones by boys, fired and killed a child; some days later, there was another scene of the same kind, and several persons were shot down. At Boston, which had already seen its State House invaded by a military force, the conduct of Mr. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, caused increasing exasperation. It was then suspected, and by a discovery of Franklin's in London it was afterwards proved, that the Governor, like some others in a similar position, had for years been intriguing for the subversion of the chartered liberties of the colony. All these matters were viewed in the light of such apprehensions by the alarmed and angry citizens of New England; and it was the same in the other provinces.

The well-known exploit of the "Boston boys," as they were called, in spoiling a cargo of tea on board three ships in their harbour, by a nocturnal onslaught, which happened on December 16th, 1773, has its grotesque and humorous aspect; but it has become a famous landmark in the history of the American Revolution. This startling outrage was encountered, when the news reached England, by Lord North's Ministry proposing the severest measures of punishment for the rebellious town. The port of Boston was to be shut up from every kind of trade; the State of Massachusetts was to be reduced to a community under an absolutely despotic rule; it was to be filled with British troops quartered on its towns as by military conquest. Some of the Tories were for destroying the town, which they called "a nest of hornets." Boston rebels were to be carried to England for trial and execution. In spite of generous speeches from Burke, Fox, Barré, Pownall (a former Governor of Massachusetts), General Conway, and other Liberals, the measures of Lord North were carried by immense majorities. In the month of

May, 1774, General Gage, with a fleet and an army, came to Boston, holding a double commission as civil and as military Governor. The sudden stoppage of trade, by the enforcement of the Boston Port Act, caused much distress among the thirty thousand inhabitants of that town. Subscriptions for its relief were raised in almost every part of English America, and resolutions were everywhere passed, calling for a Convention or Congress to defend the common cause. The Massachusetts Assembly, meeting at Salem, appointed the holding of such a Congress at Philadelphia in the first days of September. The American Revolution had fairly begun; and subsequent efforts at conciliation, tried by General Gage and the Home Government, were too late to quench the fire which, after a long and sullen smouldering now burst into flame.

The Congress, presided over by Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, consisted at first of only fifty-five delegates, representing eleven colonies; and, though the colonies were very unequal in size, population, and resources, each was to have an equal vote. This rule, proposed by Patrick Henry, made the future American Republic a Federation, instead of a mere Democracy; but the project of creating a new political system, independent of Great Britain, was not yet openly confessed, though some active leaders of the movement had long cherished the idea of separation. Addresses, dexterously varied in tone and purport, to their American fellow-countrymen, to the people of Great Britain, to the King, to the Canadians, and to the inhabitants of Crown colonies, were adopted by the "Continental Congress," as it was at first styled, with a Declaration of Rights conformable to their professed views. It was resolved that the execution of the late Acts of Parliament violating the charter of Massachusetts should be opposed; that, pending this dispute, no merchandise should be imported from Great Britain and Ireland; and that, after a twelve-month, none should be exported from the colonies, either to that kingdom or to the West Indies. The African slave-trade, which was then chiefly carried on by British vessels, and was patronised by the British Government, was to be entirely forbidden; there was a strong feeling against it even in Virginia and South Carolina. The acceptance of these resolutions by the people in the several colonies was not perfectly unanimous. The Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey deprecated a conflict of armed force, in any event, with the Government by law established; and in the city of New York, the wealthier class of in-

habitants, being connected with England by social ties and mercantile interests, prevailed on their Assembly to decline assenting to the propositions of the Congress. Massachusetts, in the meantime, was already preparing for the expected civil war. Supplies were withheld from General Gage's troops in Boston, by a compact of the neighbour-

of Chatham, Burke, Shelburne, and other Liberals, earnestly opposed Lord North's measures of increased severity, had as little effect to stay the conflict as Franklin's diplomatic interviews with Lord Howe, and other influential persons about the Government. An Act was passed extending the penalties already decreed against Massachusetts to



MAP OF NORTH AMERICA, ILLUSTRATING THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

ing towns; a militia was enrolled, with elective regimental officers; arms were procured, and the men were regularly drilled. The Assembly, now meeting at Concord, under the presidency of John Hancock, and afterwards at Cambridge, close to Boston, called upon General Gage to desist from the fortification works he had begun at Boston Neck. Upon his refusal, they voted a sum of money, and levied provincial taxes, for the expenses of the coming struggle.

It broke out into actual war in 1775. Debates in the British Parliament, in which Pitt, now Earl

most of the other colonies, and excluding them from British trade, which they had indeed resolved to forego. Lord Howe, a distinguished Admiral, was appointed to command the fleet, on the American coast, but was instructed to enter into conciliatory negotiations, if he found any disposition to submit to the authority of the Crown. His brother, General Sir William Howe, was to take the military command, having under him Generals Clinton and Burgoyne. In April, when the news from England showed that Government intended to put down rebellion by force, General Gage,

hitherto rather passive, determined to show his zeal by striking a blow. On the night of the 18th, a force of eight hundred Light Infantry was sent to destroy the stores of arms and ammunition at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston. Intelligence of this movement was carried that night

was made to break up the wooden bridge, a conflict began which lasted half an hour. The officer in command, seeing that the hostile force was increasing, thought it best to retire; but the Americans, firing from behind hedges, rocks, and trees, harassed the returning march of the troops. They



DECLARATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

along the road by a horseman giving the alarm in every village. At Lexington, when the British troops reached that place, they were met by an armed party of countrymen, and volleys of musketry were exchanged, till the Americans gave way, leaving several of their party dead. The troops advanced to Concord, where they seized three cannon and some ammunition, which they destroyed. About four hundred of the American militia were assembled there; and when an attempt

got back to Lexington, and joined a much larger force which had been sent to their relief by General Gage. By this time, however, the Americans had gathered in still greater strength, and fighting was renewed to cut off the British retreat. It went on for several miles along the road to Boston, and the loss of the British force was two hundred and seventy-three. This was the beginning of the American Revolutionary War.

The Massachusetts Provincial Congress, a few days afterwards, resolved that an army of thirty thousand men should be raised in New England. Some twenty thousand, under Major-General Artemas Ward, were soon assembled to undertake the siege of Boston. They had little artillery, and could not effect anything in face of Gage's fortifications, supported by ships of war in the harbour. Badly commanded, undisciplined, and ill-equipped, the volunteer militia of Massachusetts soon fell off, when an unexpected incident took place which raised greater hopes of success for their cause. The large inland waters, Lake George and Lake Champlain, with intervening straits, which divide Vermont from the northern territory of New York, were guarded by two small British forts, Ticonderoga and New York. A band of less than one hundred men surprised and captured these forts, in which they found both artillery and large stores of ammunition. The second session of the Continental Congress was opened at Philadelphia, and cordially approved the conduct of Massachusetts. The colonies which had already voted for the boldest course were now joined by New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and North Carolina. A Confederation of Thirteen Colonies was solemnly formed. It was resolved to issue a paper currency, and to create an American army. General George Washington was appointed its Commander-in-Chief; and his personal qualities, which, in the esteem of his contemporaries, and of posterity, merited the highest regard,—his serene self-command, purity of spirit, devotion to the public service, and patient resolution of purpose,—were worth more than military genius in the protracted contest that ensued.

Before Washington could arrive in the camp at Boston, an important battle had been fought, and the soldiership of the Americans had been signally proved. On the 22nd of May, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, with their reinforcements of troops from England, had joined General Gage. To the north of the city, across an inlet of the sea, is the suburb of Charleston, above which rise two eminences, Breed's Hill and Bunker's Hill, the former commanding Boston and its harbour. The directing committee of the military operations for Massachusetts ordered the besieging force to occupy one of these hills. It was done by a thousand men under Colonel William Prescott, who quietly went up in the night, and formed an entrenched redoubt on the summit. Daylight showed the British generals, on the 17th of June, what a position their enemy had gained. A force of two thousand, under General Howe and Brigadier Pigot, crossed

the water at noon, to expel the Americans from the hill, and, if possible, to capture them. Two hours later, the British went up to the assault, while a party of their comrades below set fire to Charleston. Prescott met the attack with great skill, and his men behaved with a cool and steady courage worthy of their race. Letting the soldiers ascend the hill to within a few yards of the fence behind which they waited, the New Englanders poured forth a deadly volley, every musket being carefully aimed, and with such effect that the troops fell into disorder, turned their backs, and ran confusedly down the hill. This took place on both sides of the redoubt; and a second attack, when the British officers had rallied their men, was also repulsed with much loss, two hundred and twenty being killed. The assailants were, at a later hour in the afternoon, reinforced by General Clinton with another body of troops. They made a fresh advance, in three divisions, acting simultaneously against the south, east, and north sides of the redoubt. Prescott had also got reinforcements from General Ward at Cambridge, and made an obstinate defence. It did not avail him further. The British troops, having bayonets, which the Americans had not, came to close quarters, storming and rushing over the entrenchments. The position was won; but the Americans forced their way out, and got to their camp, having lost much fewer in killed and wounded than their enemies had lost. This battle, called, not quite correctly, that of Bunker's Hill, did very much to establish the reputation of American valour; but it is erroneous to regard it as an American victory, as the ill-informed sometimes do.

The condition of the Massachusetts army on the 2nd of July, when General Washington came to take command, was far from satisfactory or hopeful. It amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand men, who had had little training, and whose equipment was miserable. The lack of organisation and discipline was a glaring defect, but was one that the diligence and military talent of so able a commander would be sure to mend. The want of means, of proper arms, proper clothing, a regular supply of food, and adequate shelter for the men, was the greatest difficulty of Washington's campaigns. It was felt even in summer, and in the neighbourhood of Boston; it was infinitely worse in some of the later operations, where the Americans triumphed by sheer endurance. At present, while doing his best to press on the siege of Boston, Washington wrote to Congress exposing the state of affairs; and in October commissioners arrived at his headquarters at Cambridge, who took advice,

and recommended the formation of a new "Continental" Army.

The war-spirit was heightened by the wanton cruelty of a British exploit on the coast of Maine, where the town of Falmouth, now Portland, was needlessly burned, with the vessels lying in its port. Ships of war, or privateers, were then equipped, by order of Congress, to harass the British maritime trade. Measures were taken for the importing or manufacturing of guns and gunpowder, and the energies of the American nation—for it began to feel and call itself a nation—were fully roused to warlike action. It was apprehended that the British Government would employ the French Canadians and the savage Indian tribes to invade the northern parts of the revolted colonies. Expeditions were therefore prepared to anticipate such a danger by attacking Quebec and Montreal. General Philip Schuyler, assisted by an Irish officer named Montgomery, was at Ticonderoga, in August, to carry out this design. It was executed by Montgomery with a completely successful result at Montreal, that city falling into the hands of the Americans in November. The expedition to Quebec, commanded by Benedict Arnold, set forth in September from Washington's camp at Boston, marching northwards through Massachusetts and Maine, thence ascending the Kennebec river, crossing the watershed, and descending to the St. Lawrence. After suffering extreme hardships and fatigues, it reached Point Levis, opposite Quebec, on the 10th of November, and crossed the great river, but with a force sadly reduced. Arnold waited several weeks till Montgomery joined him from Montreal, and then, appearing before Quebec, summoned General Carleton, the British commander, to surrender the place. The attempt to take so strongly fortified a town with a few hundred irregular volunteers—an act of singular rashness—terminated on the last day of the year in complete disaster. Montgomery, leading one column, was repulsed and killed in making his way through a narrow passage on the south-east side; while the column led by Arnold, and, when he was wounded, by Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, advanced up the river St. Charles, scaled the first barricade, and fought some hours with desperate courage at the next street-barrier, only to be made prisoners of war. This failure did not put an end to the American designs for wresting Canada from British dominion. Montreal remained in possession of a force belonging to the Confederate Colonies till the following summer. In April, General Wooster, of Connecticut, undertook the siege of Quebec, but was superseded by General Thomas, of Mas-

sachusetts, who found it necessary to withdraw the besieging force in May. Other attempts on the St. Lawrence proved equally unsuccessful, and the invasion of Canada was at length given up.

In Virginia, or rather on the sea-coast and in the navigable rivers, Lord Dunmore, the British Governor, who had been obliged to betake himself to the ships of a small naval squadron, carried on a mischievous and profitless warfare. He raised troops, partly of negroes, and, after bombarding the town of Norfolk, which he destroyed by fire, and committing other ravages, sailed to join the King's army at Boston. In the city of New York there was still a Royalist party, whose hopes were revived, in February, 1776, by the arrival of General Clinton in the harbour with his troops. They were confronted by a force of Connecticut militia under General Lee, who occupied the city, and maintained the rule of the Revolutionary Committee. Washington, in the meantime, was proceeding with the siege of Boston. He had, altogether, about twenty thousand men, while Howe's garrison numbered scarcely eight thousand, but was expecting large reinforcements. Early in March, a well-planned and well-executed movement by Washington put him in possession of the Dorchester Heights, commanding the south side of Boston, and part of the harbour. Going up there in the night, while a cannonade from several other points distracted the enemy's attention, he quickly fortified the position, and Howe saw that the British garrison could no longer hold the city. On the 18th of March they were permitted, without molestation, to embark in their ships, and leave the harbour, whence they sailed to Nova Scotia. Boston, the cradle of the Revolution, was now freed from British rule. The spirit of a new Republican nation rose higher day by day. An American flag, with thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, symbolised the military union of the thirteen armed colonies; while the publication of Paine's "Common Sense" furnished political controversy with plausible arguments for their cause.

The war, New England being free, passed southward to the important maritime city at the mouth of the Hudson. Washington moved part of his army to New York, where it was expected that the coming forces of the British Government would be chiefly applied. King George III. had engaged in Germany seventeen thousand Hessians, Brunswickers, and other foreign troops, to aid in putting down the insurgent English beyond the Atlantic. The Americans, on their side, were not unwilling to accept some assistance from France and Spain.

Their agent in Paris, Silas Deane, asked for money, arms, and ammunition. Vergennes, the Minister of Louis XVI., who had a secret agent at Philadelphia, recommended his sovereign privately to grant them money; and this transaction was arranged in May, 1776. The formal declaration of American Independence was then close at hand. It was discussed and resolved upon in those days by most of the Provincial Assemblies. That of Virginia, especially, proclaimed the abstract doctrines of Republicanism in phrases which were afterwards repeated in the United States' Constitution. At the beginning of July, in the Congress sitting at Philadelphia, on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, a Virginian, the momentous resolution was debated. It was resolved that the United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and from all political connection with Great Britain. The famous document setting forth their reasons, and reciting the tyrannical acts of the King, was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, also of Virginia, and was adopted and signed by the delegates in Congress on the memorable Fourth of July. Articles of Confederation between the States were also proposed and examined; but these reserved extensive powers to the State Legislatures, the Union being as yet a mere Federal league.

The American military operations, from about this time, may be viewed summarily under a division into two territorial departments: the one comprising the five Middle States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware; the other lying south of the Potomac, chiefly in Virginia, and North and South Carolina. The port and town of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, had been threatened for some months with a British attack. This was conducted by a military force under Clinton, assisted by the squadron of Commodore Parker, in the month of June; when the fighting was around those island-forts in the harbour, one of which, Fort Moultrie, preserves the name of the brave and successful American defender. South Carolina was thus reprieved some time from British conquest, while the war assumed larger proportions in the Middle States. Lord Howe, the chief naval commander, with the British fleet, acting also as Royal Commissioner with political authority, was at New York in July; and General Howe was collecting the British army on Staten Island, at the entrance to that harbour. Washington, with about eleven thousand men, held and fortified the city, erecting batteries on the shores both of the strait called the East River and of the

Hudson River; but New York, from its situation, is exposed to attack by a superior naval force on both sides. On August 22nd, Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis, landed their forces on Long Island, marched across it, and on the 27th attacked the American position at Brooklyn. The conflict was protracted some hours, and the American loss was so great that Washington next day ordered the troops on Long Island to be withdrawn. He soon perceived, indeed, the necessity of removing his army entirely from New York; and, evacuating the city, he took up a position at Harlem, seven miles to the north, on the narrow peninsula or island between the Hudson and the East River. Here, again, Washington's situation was disadvantageous, being confronted by the superior force of Howe, both of whose flanks were guarded by the King's ships. A strategic retreat was necessary; but it was attended by heavy losses, and by disasters which might have proved fatal. Washington slowly retired up the eastern bank of the Hudson, when two forts, on opposite banks of that river, fell into the hands of the enemy, with the capture of nearly three thousand men. The American commander divided his army, taking across to New Jersey five thousand who belonged to the Middle States, and leaving those of New York State and of New England to defend the eastern and northern regions. He then went over, passing westward to secure Pennsylvania from invasion, and halted on the western bank of the Delaware River.

This period, towards the close of the year 1776, was most critical for the Revolutionary War. The sittings of Congress were removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore, in Maryland. Washington's effective force had dwindled to about three thousand; but Congress had full confidence in him, and in the American nation. It resolved to raise almost a new army, and gave him the fullest military powers. He had conceived a new plan, that of suddenly recrossing the Delaware, and striking at the British in New Jersey. On Christmas Day, passing the river above Trenton, he surprised, defeated, and captured the garrison of that place; and, when Lord Cornwallis advanced to meet him, a week later, dexterously got round to the British rear, at Princeton, and possessed himself of Morristown, a strong position, commanding the whole State. The British army of New York was thus cut off from advancing into the Middle States, and Washington gained time for collecting the forces needed to carry on the war. Sir William Howe's movements were dilatory: he did little until June, 1777, when he endeavoured without success to

drive Washington out of New Jersey; failing in which, he determined to go by sea to Philadelphia. Part of the British army was embarked for this purpose, but the Americans placed obstructions in the entrance to the Delaware River. Howe chose, therefore, to come up Chesapeake Inlet, and landed his force on the Maryland shore. Washington encountered him, on the 11th of September, on the Brandywine River, on the border-line of Pennsylvania and Delaware States. The battle was a victory for the British army, but Washington made good his retreat. He was unable, however, to prevent the British advance to Philadelphia, which city was occupied by the King's forces on the 26th. An attack made by Washington, some days later, on the British position at Germantown, was defeated with severe loss. Among other events of the year, one which almost compensated for the unfavourable prospects of the Americans in the Middle States, was General Burgoyne's unlucky expedition in the north-eastern region of New York. This officer, with seven thousand regular troops, and some Canadians and Indians, invaded New York State by way of Lake Champlain and Lake George, and captured the fort of Ticonderoga. He crossed the country to the Hudson, passed over that river, and encamped at Saratoga. The Americans, under General Gates, surrounded him in October, and inflicted such losses that he was forced to surrender. The effect on the public opinion of Europe was remarkable. France resolved openly to help the revolted colonists, and concluded a treaty for that purpose in February, 1778. War with England followed as a matter of course.

Washington's small army had suffered extreme hardships through the winter, when encamped at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, in Pennsylvania. Sir Henry Clinton, who had superseded Sir William Howe as British commander, was ordered in the spring to remove his forces to New York, in anticipation of a French attack. He was somewhat harassed by Washington in this movement. A French fleet, under Count D'Estaing, with troops, entered the Delaware after the British retirement from Philadelphia. Washington steadily followed the movement of General Clinton, occupied the banks of the Hudson, and stationed detachments of his troops so as almost to surround New York. So the winter passed; and in 1779, when active operations were resumed, these were chiefly in the south, in Georgia and South Carolina, with little result. The British, from New York, had occupied Rhode Island, and Newhaven in Connecticut; but Washington was not to be diverted from the Hudson, and the capture of Stony Point, a British

fort on that river, by General Wayne, was a brilliant exploit. This fort, however, was soon abandoned, because the English vessels controlled the river. British forces still held their ground at Penobscot Bay, on the New England coast, and at Savannah, in Georgia. The Americans and the French made unsuccessful attempts to take those places, but the British withdrew from Rhode Island. In 1780, Sir Henry Clinton went in force by sea to attack Charleston, which surrendered after a stout resistance by General Lincoln, and the States of South Carolina and Georgia were subdued. He returned, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command of the southern army, which was opposed by the Americans under General Gates. Severe conflicts in South Carolina, especially the battle at Camden on August 16th, resulted in the defeat of Gates, while the French fleet was employed on the Rhode Island shore, threatening Long Island and New York. Spain now began to join in the war, but did not take a very active part. A remarkable incident of this year was the treason of Benedict Arnold, whom Washington had entrusted with the important fortress of West Point, on the Hudson. He had personal grievances against Congress, to avenge which he secretly promised Clinton to betray the fortress. A British officer, Major André, went in disguise to arrange the matter, was caught, condemned as a spy, and hanged. The traitor Arnold escaped, joined the British army, and afterwards went to England. In the south, Lord Cornwallis was unable to follow up his victories, being attacked in rear and flank by new bands of western highland farmers. His principal antagonist, General Greene, who succeeded Gates, manœuvred skilfully in North Carolina, but in March, 1781, suffered a defeat at Guildford Court House, and on April 25th was again defeated by Lord Rawdon, afterwards the Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings, at Camden. The campaign languished during the heat of summer; but, in September, an indecisive battle was fought at Eutaw Springs. The Royal forces, however, were obliged to leave the greater part of South Carolina to the supporters of the popular cause.

Virginia now became the field of active military operations. The French Marquis, de Lafayette, an early volunteer on behalf of American freedom, commanded a small native force which was not strong enough to face Lord Cornwallis. He contrived, however, to elude an engagement throughout the summer. In September, Washington, whose army had been considerably augmented, and who had visited Philadelphia and Batimore on his march, arrived in Virginia, where he joined

Lafayette near Williamsburg. The fleet of Count de Grasse, which had been cruising in the West Indies, came up Chesapeake Bay, and landed French troops under Rochambeau, with artillery and stores. The allied forces were vastly superior to those of

was admirably maintained. The Americans and French, numbering twelve thousand regular troops, besides Virginian militia, lay across the peninsula, beleaguering Cornwallis, who constructed a series of defensive works, redoubts and batteries, to pro-



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

Cornwallis, who had but seven thousand men. That commander found himself in a perilous situation. He was on a peninsula, eight miles wide, between the broad estuaries of York River and James River, in Chesapeake Bay; and no escape or access was possible by sea, for the French naval force had beaten off the weaker fleet of Admiral Graves. The defence of the British position at Yorktown, under these very disadvantageous circumstances,

he took to protect himself at Yorktown, and held also Gloucester Point, on the opposite shore of the James River, which there narrows to one mile; he likewise placed obstructions in the channel. On the 6th of October, the Americans began to make siege approaches by parallel entrenchments, which finally advanced their heavy batteries, lent by the French, to within three hundred yards of the British outworks on the south side. Two of the principal

redoubts of the besieged were taken by assault on the night of the 14th. Cornwallis, before yielding, tried a sally against the second parallel of the besiegers. The British troops showed their usual gallantry in this action; but their general evidently

a year and a half longer, but the active hostilities were of little importance. The French troops quitted America at the end of December, 1782, peace having been concluded between France and Great Britain. Diplomacy was busy, in Paris and



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (From the Portrait by Chevillet.)

could not maintain his defence more than a few days. He therefore, with extreme regret, and certainly without dishonour, asked General Washington for terms of capitulation. These were settled on the 18th of October, 1781, when the entire garrison became prisoners of war. The virtual termination of the whole military contest was secured by this notable event.

The war, indeed, was nominally continued about

in London, with negotiations for admitting, in some tolerable manner, the independence of the revolted colonies. Although George III. sullenly opposed it, the resignation of Lord North, in March, 1782, brought in a Ministry wholly inclined to pacific counsels, and including the heartiest friends of American liberty. The Marquis of Rockingham (until his death a few months later), Lord Shelburne, Charles James Fox, the Dukes of

Grafton and Richmond, Lord Camden, Conway, Burke, and Sheridan, were all, notwithstanding many shades of difference in political opinion, opposed to coercion, and desirous of ending the war. Its cost had increased the British National Debt from one hundred and twenty-nine millions sterling to two hundred and sixty-eight millions; and the number of English and American lives destroyed in the eight years' fighting has been estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand. The United States

of America, as forming an independent Sovereign Government, were finally treated with by Great Britain, along with the kingdoms of France and Spain, in the peace of 1783. It remained for the Americans to settle the constitution of their Federal Republic, which was the task of the ensuing three or four years; and then, by the election of George Washington as its first President, to crown the citizen soldier with a higher glory—that of ruling his country as a wise and patriotic statesman.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BEFORE THE STORM.

Position of the East India Company towards the Natives and the Home Government—Reforms of 1784—Division of Power—Succession of Marquis Cornwallis to the Governor-Generalship—Extent of the British Possessions in India at that Period—The Native Sovereignities—Conquests of Tippoo Saib—Alliance of Lord Cornwallis with some of the Indian Powers—War between the British and the Sultan of Mysore—Successes of the Former—Capture of the Hill Fort of Savendroog—Siege of Seringapatam—Return of Lord Cornwallis to England—Reduction of Dutch Settlements in the East Indies—Rule of Marquis Wellesley—Second Siege of Seringapatam, Capture of the City, and Death of Tippoo Saib—Defeat of the Mahrattas by General Wellesley—Conquests of General Lake—Revolutions in Persia—Conspiracy against Poland—Choice of Stanislaus Poniatowski to the Vacant Throne—State of Poland in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century—Intrigues of the Empress Catherine with the Religious Dissenters—Military Intervention—Retrospect of Turkish History—War between Turkey and Russia—Treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji—The First, Second and Third Partitions of Poland—Renewed War between Russia and Turkey—Conquest of the Crimea by the Former—Death of the Empress Catherine—Joseph II. of Austria and the Bavarian Succession—Reforms of Joseph—Revolt of the Austrian Netherlands—Swedish History—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Progress of Denmark—Story of Struensee—England under George III.

ONE reason why India was misgoverned in the second half of the eighteenth century, why the natives were oppressed, why insurrections were of frequent occurrence, and why the immense wealth of the country tended rather to enrich a few individuals than to benefit the general community, is to be discovered in the circumstance that our acquisitions in Hindoostan were made by the agents and forces of a commercial association, and managed as if they had been a private estate. Selfishness was certain to be the distinguishing feature of an organisation thus originating and thus directed. The representatives of the East India Company in Asia were often utterly unscrupulous in the exercise of their powers; and the Board of Directors in London either connived at these wrong doings, or were not well informed as to their existence: at any rate, they did nothing to check them. The attention of the Imperial Government was at length attracted to what was at once a great anomaly and a great scandal, and, as the reader is aware, an Act was passed in 1773, by which some degree of control was established, and the several Presidencies were united beneath

the paramount authority of a Governor-General. The new arrangements, however, were attended by but slight results, and in some respects their operation was even mischievous. During the troubles in 1770 and the ensuing years, the royal power was represented by successive Ministers Plenipotentiary, who quarrelled with the Madras President and his Council, and (influenced, it is said, by bribes) supported the Nabob of the Carnatic as if he had been an ally. This state of things could not long continue, and, in 1784, the younger Pitt introduced and passed a Bill which provided that the affairs of the Company should be managed partly by a Board of Control, partly by the Court of Directors, and partly by a general meeting of East India shareholders. The Board of Control consisted at first of five Privy Counsellors, one of whom was a Secretary of State; but it afterwards underwent some modifications, which, however, still left it the direct representative of the Crown, and a co-ordinate authority in political and military affairs, in matters of revenue, and in civil government. The Board of Directors comprised twenty-four members, six of whom were

elected each year. They nominated the Governor-General, and had a voice in the appointment of all civil and military officers. Such, in the main, was the constitution under which India was ruled until the assumption of complete dominion by Queen Victoria in 1858.

Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor-General under the new conditions—the second since the institution of the office, and therefore the immediate successor of Warren Hastings. He did not arrive, however, until more than a year and a half after Hastings's departure; but from 1786 to 1793 he directed the fortunes of British India. The Marquis was an eminent soldier, although his association with the American War of Independence was anything but happy. To the position of Governor-General he united that of Commander-in-Chief, for the state of our Eastern dependency at that time was such as to require a vigorous and martial arm. The attention of Lord Cornwallis was, indeed, directed to peaceful matters as well. He fixed the land-rent in Bengal on the Zemindari system of territorial possession, which established a privileged or aristocratic class; and he reformed the judicial procedure of the British provinces by an admixture of English and Mohammedan law, which did not prove successful. But his principal work was of a military nature, as the British power was still threatened with serious dangers. The possessions of the East India Company now consisted of Bengal, part of Bahar, the Benares district of Allahabad, a portion of Orissa, the Circars, Bombay, and the Jaghire of the Carnatic—altogether an immense territory, but one ill-compacted, and peopled by races which had certainly no reason for regarding the European strangers with affection. The rest of Hindoostan was ruled by native princes, of whom the most powerful was Tippoo Saib, although the Mahrattas were still formidable as a military confederation, holding the largest of all the Indian sovereignties—a vast country in the very middle of the peninsula, with a teeming population, and great natural resources. Clive had founded, and Hastings had enlarged, the British Empire in India; but it was still in its struggling infancy.

For some few years before the appointment of Marquis Cornwallis, the ruler of Mysore, Tippoo Saib, had been pursuing a career of victory, in which the small and ill-provided forces of the English suffered grave disasters, although they managed to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's dominions. On the 11th of March, 1784, peace was concluded between the Mysoreans and the British, on terms disadvantageous and

humiliating to the latter. Shortly afterwards, Tippoo Saib forcibly converted to Mohammedanism 30,000 Christians from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Canara. In the early part of 1786, he assumed the title of Sultan, for the Hindoo Rajahs of Mysore had now disappeared into the limbo of all phantasmal and unreal things. It was apparent that the European races in India had a fanatical enemy in the son of Hyder Ali; and Lord Cornwallis sought for allies against him among the native princes. These arrangements, however, could not be readily effected, and it was 1790 before the Governor-General was in a position to take active measures against the Sultan. He had by that time formed alliances with the Nizam of the Deccan, the Rajah of Coorg, and the Mahrattas of the central regions. A decent pretext for war was found in an attack which Tippoo had recently made on the Rajah of Travancore, who had placed himself under the protection of the British; and hostilities immediately broke out with great determination on both sides. The English forces advanced against Mysore, but were baffled, and ultimately driven back, by the activity and intelligence of the Sultan. Another British division, however, succeeded in wresting the whole of Malabar from Tippoo Saib, and that province was added to the possessions of the Company.

The campaign of 1791 was conducted by Lord Cornwallis in person, and resulted in some brilliant successes. Bangalore and other places in Mysore were taken by the invaders, and on the 13th May Tippoo was defeated in front of Seringapatam, his capital. The English commander, however, had penetrated into the enemy's country much farther than was prudent. Supplies failed him; disease broke out in his camp; and a retreat became imperative. The native allies were of very little service, and the British divisions suffered terribly in their retrograde movement. The latter part of the campaign was of a more hopeful character. The reduction of several hill-forts—notably that of Savendroog, the situation of which was believed to render it impregnable—raised the spirits of the British, and proportionately depressed those of the Mysoreans. It was determined to attack the Sultan in Seringapatam itself; but this great expedition was reserved for the following year. The position of the Mysorean capital, situated on an island formed by two branches of the Caverry, and protected by six large redoubts and other formidable defences, might well have deterred the Governor-General from making it the object of a direct attack. But

it was felt that, if this important city could be taken, the power of Tippoo Saib would be pierced in the most vital spot. The invaders arrived before Seringapatam on the 5th of February, 1792, and, on the night of the 6th, Lord Cornwallis and his allies attacked the fortified camp which Tippoo had formed beneath the walls of his metropolis. The camp was penetrated before the Sultan had any idea that an assault was probable. Two of the redoubts were taken in the course of a few hours; the siege proceeded with unbroken success; and Tippoo at last opened negotiations with Lord Cornwallis, the result of which was, that, by a payment of four millions of pounds, and the surrender of half his dominions, he saved the fortress from capture. He had lost 23,000 troops, and had discovered by hard experience that his stronghold was not so invulnerable as he had supposed. On the other hand, the position of the assailants was becoming critical, and the outbreak of a pestilence showed the necessity of speedy retirement. It was therefore simple prudence on the part of Lord Cornwallis not to push the Sultan to extremities. He even did his utmost to conciliate him, but without success. Tippoo Saib was, indeed, cowed for the moment; yet he awaited his opportunity for renewing a war in which the passion for dominion and the desire of vengeance were equally concerned.

Lord Cornwallis quitted India in 1793, when he was succeeded by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), whose rule, terminating in 1798, was distinguished by no very remarkable events, except the complete reduction, in 1795, of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and some other places. The next Governor-General was Marquis Wellesley, whose period of office lasted until 1805. It was during his rule that Tippoo Saib was entirely overthrown. The Sultan had entered into negotiations with the French at Pondicherry, and also with several native princes, in the hope of recovering the dominions he had lost, and of checking the progress of the English strangers. A powerful army under General Harris was accordingly directed against Seringapatam, and, after a painful and prolonged march in the early part of 1799, arrived before the Mysorean capital on the 5th of April. The mind of Tippoo appears by this time to have been broken down. He sent three letters to the English general, containing proposals for a conference, and, when these were refused, sank into a state of stupor, from which it was almost impossible to rouse him. Seringapatam was taken on the 4th of May, and the Sultan, who seems

at the last to have been inspired with a feeling of desperation which made no account of life, received four wounds while the allies were pressing into the interior fort, and expired after endeavouring to cut down an English soldier who had sought to deprive him of his jewelled sword-belt. With the fall of Seringapatam, the dynasty of Hyder Ali ceased to reign. A considerable portion of the Mysorean territory was annexed by the East India Company, and the remainder again passed under the dominion of the Hindoo dynasty which had been expelled by Hyder Ali.

One of the British officers engaged in this memorable siege was Colonel Wellesley, a brother of the Marquis, in later times illustrious as the Duke of Wellington. The youthful Rajah was confided to the care of this officer, whose administration was distinguished by that genius for command which formed so eminent a feature of his character. But Wellesley was soon to gather laurels in the field of war, as well as in the circles of diplomacy. In the battle of Assaye, in 1803 (by which time he had been advanced to the rank of Major-General), he defeated the Mahrattas under Scindia, who had risen against the British. Scindia and Holkar—two Mahratta chieftains belonging to families which had already distinguished themselves—were at war with one another; and this added to the complications of the time. While, however, General Wellesley was proceeding against Scindia, General (afterwards Lord) Lake extended the influence of the Company by several brilliant victories in the north of India, delivered the Mogul Emperor from the tyranny of the Mahrattas, and in 1805 broke the power of Holkar, who was glad to obtain peace by the payment of twenty lakhs of rupees. When Lord Wellesley returned home, in 1805, the dominion of the French in Hindoostan had been almost entirely destroyed; but the policy of the Governor-General was considered by the Directors of the East India Company, and even by some members of the British Government, to have been too aggressive and ambitious, and the resignation of this distinguished nobleman was hastened by the adverse criticism of the home authorities. It was thought that, in the disturbed state of India then existing, notwithstanding the victories of Generals Wellesley and Lake, no one would prove so efficient a pacificator as the venerable Lord Cornwallis. He accepted the task, but died in October, 1805. Lord Minto succeeded him (after a temporary administration by Sir George Barlow), and ruled from 1807 to 1813; but the events of this period need not here detain us.

While Hindoostan was passing under the sway of Europeans, the neighbouring realm of Persia underwent many revolutions, owing to the struggles of military despots on whom the fortune of war bestowed a brief superiority, which subsequent events destroyed. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the unscrupulous ability of Nadir Shah had restored the old glory of the Persian Empire; but after his assassination in 1747, when his own officers conspired to extinguish both his power and his life, the supreme position was seized by his nephew, Adil Shah, who murdered all the family of Nadir, with the exception of his grandson, Shah Rokh. The latter ruled in Khorassan, while Persia declined into a miserable condition of anarchy and civil war. This continued six years; but in 1753 the throne was obtained by Kerreem Khan, a chief of the Persian tribe of Zend. The character of this monarch (for such he was, though he never assumed the royal style) was splendidly distinguished from that of most Oriental despots. His reign was marked by justice, clemency, and benevolence; and when he died, in 1779, his loss was felt as irreparable throughout the whole extent of the Empire. Such, indeed, it proved to be, as his brothers and nephews contended for the vacant throne with all the ferocity of rival claimants to an Asiatic sceptre. After a contest of ten years, the royal power passed into the hands of Looft Ali Khan, a young man of courage and military genius, but wanting in the higher virtues which had distinguished Kerreem Khan. He behaved with ingratitude to Hajji Ibrahim, Governor of Shiraz, who had been mainly instrumental in procuring his advancement to the throne. Fearing for his life, Ibrahim entered into a conspiracy with Aga Mohammed Khan, chief of the Kajars, a Turkish tribe, settled in Mazenderan, which had recently made pretensions to the Empire. Looft Ali Khan was attacked by the allies, but defended himself with extraordinary heroism, until he fell into the hands of his enemies, by whom, in 1795, he was put to death with the elaborate cruelty common to most Eastern races. He was only twenty-five years of age when thus overtaken by a miserable fate. Had he lived, his vigour and self-reliance might have secured permanent benefits to the shattered monarchy of Persia; but, although this result was in some degree effected by his rival and successor, Aga Mohammed Khan, the peace which that ruler maintained within the borders of his realm was due rather to the severity of despotism than to the benevolence of a more enlightened sway. Aga fixed his capital at Teheran, overthrew the revolted Georgians, whom

he treated with ruthless cruelty, and was assassinated in 1797.

But it was not only Asia which suffered from the lawless rapacity of military despots: the first partition of Poland, which took place in 1772, threw an indelible disgrace on all the parties concerned in that iniquitous transaction. Augustus III., the German King of a Slavonic nationality, died at Dresden on the 5th of October, 1763, and was succeeded in the Saxon Electorate by his son, Frederick Christian, who died two months later, leaving an infant child, Frederick Augustus, whom it would have been a mockery to place at the head of Poland, seeing that the condition of that country was such as to require a strong and masculine hand to save it from complete extinction. The Empress Catherine, of Russia, desired to confer the Polish crown on Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, who would act as the creature and agent of his patron. She was at first extremely doubtful whether such a course would meet with the approval of Frederick the Great, who, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, had declared that the power of the House of Brandenburg and the freedom of the Polish Republic were indissolubly bound together. But in 1764 his views had altered, and he refrained from opposing the wishes of the Empress. In September of that year, accordingly, Stanislaus was elected to the vacant throne: Frederick had some months previously entered into a treaty with Catherine, by which Poland was in effect brought under the influence of the two Powers, though with a specious pretence of securing her freedom. How little freedom was really permitted to the Poles, is shown by the fact that the choice of Count Stanislaus Poniatowski was imposed on the electors by the presence of ten thousand Russian troops at Warsaw, and the evolutions of a Prussian army on the frontiers.

The destruction of Poland commenced on that unhappy day—September 7th, 1764—when the nominee of the Russian Empress was invested with a barren sceptre. But it must not be forgotten that the ruling class in Poland had for many generations conducted to the ruin of a State which had ranked among the most powerful in Europe. An aristocratic despotism—one of the worst forms of government which the distempered wit of man has ever conceived—had reduced the kingdom to impotence, and the people to misery. The only classes possessed of real power were the nobility and the clergy; and, even amongst the former, a large number were so poor and ignorant as to be helplessly dependent on the few magnates who were in the enjoyment of money and influence. The priests



CHARGE OF HIGHLANDERS AT SERINGAPATAM

were idle, ignorant, superstitious, and for the most part needy in the extreme. The life of the peasants was the life of beasts, and of beasts very ill cared for. Even the merchants, traders, and burgesses, though nominally invested with the rights of citizenship, were often the sport of aristocratic selfishness. In the midst of all this suffering on the one hand, and unjust privilege on the other, was an alien body, whose numbers and

of calm did not last long. Religious troubles broke out between the Roman Catholics, who formed the majority of the people, and the members of other communions, who were not inconsiderable in number, and who demanded equality of rights. The claims of the Protestants and of the Greek Christians, who were classed under the general head of Dissidents, had been affirmed by the Pacta Conventa of 1573, and ratified by the Treaty of



TIPPOO SAIB.

wealth made it important. Nearly a million Jews trafficked, and lent money, and acquired the same species of dominion in Poland as they have founded elsewhere. But they had nothing in common with Polish nationality, and, in the highest sense, were a weakness rather than a source of strength. These facts help to explain the fall of an ancient monarchy, but of course they do not excuse its enemies.

However much the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski was enforced by the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, his accession to the throne was quietly accepted by the nobility and people. This interval

Oliva in 1660. In 1776, representations were made to the Polish Government on the basis of those instruments; and not without reason, as the Dissidents had been deprived of political and civil rights, forbidden to erect new churches, exiled, and treated with every indignity. Stanislaus would have acted with justice to all religious bodies; but the Catholic priests and their followers were too strong for him. Under the hypocritical pretence of supporting religious freedom, the Empress Catherine sent a body of troops into Poland, by whom several members of the Diet, including the Bishop of Cracow, were arrested and sent into

Siberia. These outrageous acts struck terror into the Diet, and the claims of the Dissidents were conceded. But the concession, however admirable in itself, was brought about by means which only increased the troubles already existing. Some Catholic noblemen commenced a civil war, in which the King's troops were defeated, and Stanislaus, supported by the Senate, petitioned the Russian Empress not to withdraw her army, which had, indeed, become necessary to the general repose. The insurgents, on the other hand, applied for assistance to the Turkish Sultan, whose Ministers had already represented to the Cabinets of Europe, but without effect, the danger of allowing Russia to become predominant in Poland. The Ottoman Porte listened to the prayers of the malcontents, and a war broke out between Turkey and Russia, which for a few years delayed the partition of the Slavonic kingdom.

Since the termination of the war which, from 1737 to 1739, Turkey had waged with Russia and Austria, the Mohammedan Power had enjoyed a period of comparative tranquillity, during which Mahmoud I., who reigned from 1730 to 1754, encouraged the pursuits of peace, founded general schools and professorships, established four libraries, and gave his countenance to the art of printing, which had been introduced in the previous reign. The successor to Mahmoud I. was his brother, Osman III., who ruled only two years. On his death, in December, 1756, the Imperial sceptre descended to Mustapha III., son of Achmet III. It was in the reign of this prince that Turkey took up the cause of Poland, and thus became involved in a fresh contest with Russia. The war began in 1768, and originated with the Sultan, who could not regard with indifference the growing power of the Russian Empress in Poland; though, not long before, Turkey had proposed to Austria to share the kingdom between them. No fighting took place until the spring of 1769, when the Russians were pressed beyond the Dniester. After crossing that stream, however, the Turks were defeated. Several fortresses were taken, and a Russian fleet, sailing round Europe, appeared in the Grecian seas in 1770. The war continued with varying success; but when the Greeks of the Morea rose at the bidding of Russia, the misfortunes of the Ottomans became frequent and serious. Before the conclusion of the war, in 1774, the whole country between the Danube and the Dnieper had fallen into the hands of Russia; the Crimea had been conquered, and the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Chesmé had been crushed by that of the Empress. Syria and Egypt, moreover, were in rebellion; a devastating

plague, which is said to have swept away 90,000 persons, spread from Jassy to Moscow; and, although the Russians suffered some grave reverses, and in 1773 were driven across the Danube by Hassan Pasha, the balance of injury was unquestionably against the Turks. After the death of Mustapha III., his brother, Abdul Hamid, who succeeded to the throne, acknowledged the necessity of peace. The Treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji—a place in Bulgaria—was concluded in July, 1774. Its leading features were of a most important character, since it not merely handed over to Russia a large extent of country, including several fortresses, but sanctioned the free navigation of the Black Sea, an open passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the co-protectorship of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the right of interference by Russia in favour of a certain church in Constantinople, where the Russo-Greek rites were practised for the accommodation of Russians dwelling in the Turkish capital. On the last of these concessions, the Russians have in later times, by a perversion of the terms set forth in the original treaty, founded their alleged right to exercise a protectorship over the whole Greek Church within the Turkish Empire.

Two years before the conclusion of this peace between Russia and Turkey—viz., in 1772—the first partition of Poland had been accomplished. It was carried out by the great military Powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the sovereigns of which informed King Stanislaus that, in order to prevent further bloodshed, and restore peace to his distracted realm, it had been determined to require of him the cession of certain provinces. The idea of this partition is generally thought to have been suggested by Frederick the Great, despite his assertion, at an earlier period, that the security of his own kingdom was dependent on the inviolability of Poland. The shameless avarice of the three Powers now cost that unhappy realm more than 83,000 square miles of her best territory, and what remained was reduced to so feeble a condition that all intelligent observers must have foreseen the end. The faults of Poland had been many; the claims of the Dissidents were just; yet it is impossible not to execrate the hypocrisy by which the greed of the confederate Powers was thinly cloaked. The second partition took place in 1793, and was preceded by an honest attempt on the part of some Polish statesmen to remedy the evils under which their country had long suffered. Education was encouraged, and works of industry received the liberal patronage of the Government. Count Andrew Zamoycki,

Chancellor of the kingdom, prepared a new code, by which the condition of the peasants was considerably ameliorated, and several of the ancient abuses were removed or softened. The Diet of 1780 had the infatuation to reject this code; but in 1792 a new Constitution was proclaimed, by which, after the death of Stanislaus, the throne was to be made hereditary in the Saxon Electoral family, and other reforms were to be effected. Russia, being determined to prevent any such arrangement, once more interfered in the domestic concerns of the kingdom, first by encouraging disaffection among the nobles, and afterwards by the despatch of troops. The King of Prussia, Frederick William II., a nephew of Frederick the Great, whom he succeeded in 1786, added his forces to Russia, and the two Powers (Austria this time not interfering) divided between them a large proportion of the Polish monarchy. The kingdom was now reduced within very narrow dimensions, and the intervention of Russia was so frequent that no true independence remained. A rising against this intolerable despotism took place in 1794-5, when the noble patriot, Kosciusko, collected a number of peasants, armed them with scythes and other primitive weapons, and for a time defeated a superior body of Russians. The soldiers of the Empress Catherine were expelled from Warsaw by a popular rising; yet the movement was evidently hopeless. Russia and Prussia sent large reinforcements across the border; Kosciusko was beaten, wounded, and taken prisoner; and the Russian general, Suwarroff, took one of the suburbs of Warsaw by storm, and slew 30,000 of the inhabitants. The city then capitulated; and in 1795 the three confederate Powers made a third partition of the land. Stanislaus II. resigned his sovereignty on the 25th of November in the same year, and died at St. Petersburg, a State prisoner, on the 12th of February, 1798.

Notwithstanding the despotic policy of the Empress Catherine, and her criminal interference with the liberty of other nations, her reign was distinguished by some liberal features. Within the limits of her own vast dominions, she was tolerant in the matter of religion, with respect to which, indeed, she was well known to entertain sceptical opinions. A new code of law was promulgated, and the torture of prisoners forbidden. The Empire was undoubtedly prosperous during her reign, though the fictitious villages, peopled by ornate peasants, which her Chamberlain had prepared on the banks of the Dnieper, when, in 1787, she and her retinue sailed down the river in fifty magnificent galleys, cannot be taken as any real

evidence of the condition of her people. The chief events of her reign were military, and one of her great objects was to destroy the power of Turkey. The Treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji failed to establish any permanent understanding between the two Powers. The Crimea, although conquered by Russia during the war then terminated, was not directly ceded to her by the peace of 1774. That interesting peninsula had long been governed by Tartar Khans, vassals of the Sultan; and the treaty established those rulers in a position of nominal independence, though the controlling power was transferred from the Turkish to the Russian sovereign. Catherine determined to obtain a complete mastery in this direction, which would give her a preponderating influence in the Black Sea. She therefore issued a manifesto on the 10th of April, 1783, by which the Crimea, the island of Taman, and the Kuban, were taken under the sovereign protection of Russia. The Sultan, Abdul Hamid, feeling himself too weak to resist this encroachment, gave his consent to the annexation, which was ratified on the 28th of December. The fortress of Sebastopol was soon afterwards built on the western side of the Crimea; the Ottoman Government took the alarm, and war was declared in August, 1787. The Austrians joined the Russians at the commencement of the following year, but withdrew in August, 1791. The Russians were for the most part successful in their enterprises, and Suwarroff distinguished himself by unrelenting energy and military genius. It must be added that he equally disgraced himself by an atrocious massacre at the fortress of Ismail, which he took in 1790. Brahilow was captured the same year, and Anapa, the key of Kuban, in 1791. The successes of Russia at length roused the jealousy of other European Powers, and she was threatened with a coalition, which, however, came to no practical issue. The treaty of Jassy, signed on the 9th of January, 1792, imposed very hard terms on the Turkish sovereign. Some of the Russian conquests were, indeed, restored to the Ottoman Empire; but a number of most important positions were acquired by Russia, who now became the undisputed mistress of the Crimea, the island of Taman, part of the Kuban, and a large territory between the Boug and the Dniester, where the conquerors soon after built the city of Odessa. The Empress Catherine made no concealment of her design to destroy the Turkish sovereignty in Europe, and to establish her own power at Constantinople, as a virtual restitution of the Byzantine Empire. Persia also was to be conquered, and an expedition against that country had

been actually commenced, when the Empress died suddenly on the 17th of November, 1796. She was succeeded by her son Paul, whose reign, though brief, carries us beyond the present record.

Going back, so far as Austria is concerned, to the year 1765, we find that the death of Francis I. conferred the Imperial crown and title on his son, Joseph II. Maria Theresa had been the actual sovereign during the life of Francis, and, in the main, she still directed the fortunes of the Empire after the accession of her son. Her policy was to promote a good understanding with France, and in 1770 she gave the hand of her daughter, Marie Antoinette, to the prince who afterwards became Louis XVI. In other directions, she allied herself in the same way with the various Bourbon courts, and the pacific bent of her inclinations became increasingly apparent in her declining years. The tendencies of Joseph II. were of a different nature; but during his mother's life he exercised only a subordinate influence in the State. It was he, however, who effected the alliance with Russia and Prussia which resulted in the first partition of Poland—a measure strongly disapproved by Maria Theresa, although she did not press her objections. The ambition of the young sovereign also prompted him to take part in the War of the Bavarian Succession. That war arose out of the death, in 1777, of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, who expired without issue. The succession to his estates fell to the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, who, however, speedily found himself opposed by the Austrian Emperor. Reviving some claims which had long been dormant, Joseph marched an army into Bavaria, and compelled the Elector Palatine to enter into a convention by which the larger half of the country was ceded to the Austrians. Some of the other German princes protested against this arbitrary measure, and Prussia supported the rights of the Germanic body. Hostilities commenced in 1778, when Frederick the Great, though old, invaded Austrian Silesia and Bohemia with all his accustomed vigour. Nothing but a few skirmishes ensued, and a treaty of peace was signed at Teschen, on the 13th of May, 1779, by which nearly the whole of Bavaria was secured to the Duke of Zweibrücken. Maria Theresa died in November, 1780, and Joseph was now free to pursue those plans of reform which had long possessed his mind.

Many of his ideas, especially with relation to religious freedom and the liberty of the press, were admirable; others, again, seemed mechanical or fantastic; and all were imposed on the people

in that arbitrary and dictatorial spirit which has ruined many excellent projects for the benefit of mankind. The claims of the Papacy to interfere in secular matters were formally denied; and Pius VI., who visited Vienna, in the hope of checking the Emperor's designs, obtained very little satisfaction in reward for his trouble. The worst incidents in the reign of Joseph II. were the partition of Poland, and the attempt to impose his somewhat bureaucratic reforms on the people of the Austrian Netherlands, who preferred their own native and immemorial liberties. The determination of those self-reliant communities not to accept the Emperor's edicts, led to a popular movement in 1787, which presently assumed alarming proportions. The Emperor yielded for a time, but resumed his schemes in 1788. An army was sent into the disturbed provinces; military executions took place in several of the cities; and in the autumn of 1789 an insurrection broke out, which resulted in the establishment, under an advocate named Van der Noot, of an independent Republic, called the United Belgian Commonwealth. The Imperial troops were worsted, and Ghent, Bruges, Louvain, and other cities, were seized by the insurgents. The garrison of Brussels had been expelled before the end of the year, and a treaty of Confederation was concluded by the Belgic Provinces, acting as independent States. These disasters, combined with the misfortunes of the Turkish war, threw Joseph into a state of health which speedily terminated his life. While on his death-bed, he was further mortified by a remonstrance from the Hungarian nobility, demanding the restoration of their ancient rights and privileges. These requisitions were conceded, and the Emperor expired on the 20th of February, 1790, when the succession passed to his brother Leopold. The character of Joseph presents a singular admixture of real benevolence and liberality with the confirmed habits of a despot, and the unrestrained ambition of a conqueror.

The Scandinavian kingdoms did not bear any prominent part in European history for some years after the death of Charles XII., whose stormy course revived for a few years the ancient reputation of the Swedes. The temporary successes of that monarch were followed by reverses which occasioned the transfer of several important territories from Sweden to Russia. The court of Stockholm became a centre of foreign intrigue, in which the party of the Hats, or adherents of the French interest, and that of the Caps, or Russian faction, alternately predominated. The terms

were mere cant expressions, the origin of which is not worth investigating; but the parties so symbolised were far from insignificant. The ascendancy of the Hats led, in 1741, to a war with Russia, to which we have adverted on a former page. The reign of Adolphus Frederick, which lasted from 1751 to 1771, was mainly pacific, although the faction of the Hats obliged the King to take part against Prussia in the Seven Years' War. His successor, Gustavus III., finding himself supported by the army and the majority of the people, forcibly repealed, in 1772, the Constitution of 1720, abolished the use of torture, established the freedom of the press, and prohibited any further use of the party names of Hats and Caps. In 1788, the same monarch, supported by Denmark, entered into a war with Russia, which was greatly hampered by the mutinous conduct of the Swedish officers, who refused to obey the King's orders without the sanction of the States, or representative bodies. An Act of Safety was passed in 1789, which gave the Swedish monarch the absolute power of war and peace, and at the same time abolished the Senate, where, until then, the nobility had secured the predominance of their order. This reform, however necessary, cost the King his life. The aristocracy feared the loss of all their privileges, and, after the conclusion of a somewhat inglorious peace in 1790, entered into a plot for effecting the death of the sovereign. The actual assassination was committed by a nobleman named Ankerström, during a masked ball given at Stockholm on the 16th of March, 1792. Gustavus lingered until the 29th of March, when he succumbed to his injuries. Ankerström was discovered and executed, and many of the conspirators were banished.

Denmark, in the second half of the eighteenth century, enjoyed a period of considerable repose, during which the serfdom of the peasantry was abolished, the negro slave-trade was extinguished, and a greater freedom of the press was sanctioned. Many of these reforms were carried out by the Minister Struensee, a Saxon, whose life was shortened by a tragical incident. For a time, Struensee enjoyed great popularity; but a reaction afterwards set in, owing to the haste with which he prosecuted his revolutionary ideas, and to a certain philosophical contempt which he manifested for the religious opinions of the people. The reigning monarch, Christian VII., who had married Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. of England, was a man of extreme bodily and mental weakness, and the affairs of the kingdom were managed by the Queen and Struensee. In 1771, the royal consort gave

birth to a daughter, and it was plainly hinted that this child was the offspring of the favourite Minister. A conspiracy against the latter was formed by the stepmother of Christian VII. The unhappy King was forced to make out warrants for the arrest of Struensee, of the Queen, and of several other persons; and, after an imprisonment marked by rigorous harshness, the fallen Minister confessed to an illicit intercourse with the Queen. It is affirmed that this admission was extracted by the threat of torture, and indeed the whole matter is involved in obscurity. It is even doubtful whether or not the Queen actually confessed her guilt, although there was a pretence that she had done so. Struensee, however, was found guilty of the imputed crime, and beheaded, together with his friend Brandt, against whom nothing could be proved. It is probable that the Queen also would have been executed, but for a threat of armed interposition on the part of Great Britain. She left Denmark in May, 1772, and three years later died of grief at the castle of Zell, in Hanover.

The great events occurring in the reign of George III. have already been related, so far as foreign countries and our own dependencies were concerned; but something remains to be said with respect to the domestic politics of the country until the outbreak of that revolutionary convulsion in France which for nearly a quarter of a century made domestic politics almost impossible. The Ministry of the Marquis of Rockingham, which repealed the American Stamp Act, lasted only from July, 1765, to May, 1766. The elder William Pitt was then sent for by the King, and soon afterwards elevated to the House of Lords, with the title of Earl of Chatham. But the most vigorous days of this eminent statesman were now at an end, and the administration of Lord Chatham did little to advance the reputation of its head. In September, 1767, Lord North succeeded Charles Townshend in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, the former occupant of the office having died suddenly. The Ministry came to be generally known as that of the Duke of Grafton, the First Lord of the Treasury; and Lord Chatham, whose health had rapidly declined, who was at variance with most of his colleagues, and who was not always consulted even in important matters of policy, resigned his position on the 15th of October, 1768. It was at this period that the Government entered into a futile struggle with the demagogue John Wilkes, who, a few years earlier, had, in his celebrated journal, the *North Briton*, attacked Lord Bute with extraordinary bitterness, and who had in consequence been sent to prison on a General Warrant from the Secre-

tary of State—that is to say, a warrant which did not mention the name of the person to be arrested, and of which the legality was always doubtful. Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons in January, 1764, but, after a visit to France, was elected for Middlesex in 1768. He was again

The "Letters of Junius," which attacked with unmitigated invective the Government of the Duke of Grafton, began in the *Public Advertiser* on the 21st of January, 1769, and continued until the same date in 1772. The power of the newspaper press was now becoming formidable, and a few



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expelled, and twice re-elected; the masses of the people warmly espoused his cause; serious riots ensued; the popular favourite was made an Alderman of London, and ultimately Lord Mayor; and, although he was sent to the Tower for opposing the arbitrary conduct of the Government in arresting a printer who had published the debates in Parliament—at that time an illegal act—it was evident that, as an influence in public affairs, Wilkes was stronger than the Ministry.

years later some of the greatest journals of modern times began their daily issues. Woodfall, of the *Public Advertiser*, originated the system of literal reporting, and the debates of both Houses were thenceforth submitted to the public without any evasion or concealment. In those earlier years of the reign of George III., immense progress was made in manufactures and inventions. Brindley's canal over the Irwell dates from 1761; about the same time, Wedgwood was establishing his potteries; in

1764, Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny; Watt perfected the steam-engine in 1765; and the spinning-machine of Arkwright belongs to 1768. The wealth and power of the country were



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increased by these great works and discoveries, and the distinctive features of modern English civilisation arose in this memorable period of our history.

Lord Chatham died on the 11th of May, 1778, after a fatal attack of illness in the House of Lords, while delivering a speech, on the 7th of April, in opposition to a motion of the Duke of Richmond for an address to the King, entreating his Majesty to withdraw his fleets and armies from the revolted provinces of America, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their goodwill. Such was the latest oratorical display of the great statesman whom the Americans had reckoned among their friends; and his illustrious son, William Pitt the younger, soon afterwards commenced that splendid career which has made him the most conspicuous of English Premiers. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer from July, 1782, to April, 1783, when only twenty-three years of age, and at the close of the latter year became First Lord of the Treasury. His Parliamentary conflicts with Charles James Fox—a man of greater

rhetorical powers, but of less administrative ability—are famous in the history of those times; but, on the whole, Pitt maintained his predominance. Among the other incidents of this memorable epoch were the Anti-Catholic riots of 1780; the efforts for Parliamentary and economical reform; the growing power of Ireland, and consequent recognition of her claims, owing to the power exercised by the body of Volunteers which she had been permitted to raise; and the mental alienation of the King, lasting from October, 1788, to April, 1789. Characterised as it was by numerous and grave faults, both of policy and of action, the first half of this long reign exhibits an extraordinary development of English strength and self-reliance; and the dauntless spirit with which, during the latter years of the American War, the country withstood the alliance of France, Spain, and Holland, together with the negative hostility of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and the German Empire, must always be remembered among the proudest boasts of Great Britain. It was mainly to her ships and naval commanders that England owed the preservation, not only of her power, but of her independence; and among the Admirals of that time



CHARLES JAMES FOX.

none occupies a higher position than the gallant Rodney, who repeatedly met and shattered the combined forces of France and Spain.

CHAPTER XL

THE STRUGGLES OF LOUIS XVI.

State of France before the Great Revolution—Contemptible Character of Louis XV.—Anticipations of Approaching Trouble—Sufferings of the Commonalty, and Unjust Privileges of the Nobles—"Lettres de Cachet"—Religious Dissensions with the Jansenists—Opposition of the Parliament to the Court—Struggles against Despotism—Suppression of the Parliaments of Paris and the Provinces—The Minister Choiseul—Profligacy of Louis—The Pact of Famine—Death of the King—Intellectual Development of France during this Period—Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists—Succession of Louis XVI.—Liberal Measures of the Early Part of his Reign—Financial Schemes of Turgot and of Necker—Assistance rendered by France to the American Colonists—Consequent War with England—Peace of 1763—Necker and the "Compte Rendu"—Extravagance of the Court—The Story of the Diamond Necklace—Embarrassment of the Nation—The Assembly of Notables—Contests of the King and the Parliaments—Meeting of the States-General—Power of the Popular Representatives—Formation of the National Assembly—Dissensions with Louis—Revolutionary Movement in Paris—Storming of the Bastille—Progress of the Revolution—Excitement in the Provinces—Cruelties of the Feudal System—Abolition of Aristocratic and Ecclesiastical Privileges—Declaration of the Rights of Man—Attack on the Palace of Versailles—Rise of the Jacobins—Democratic Reforms—Confiscation of Church Property—Intrigues of Mirabeau with the King—Death of the Revolutionary Leader—Attempted Flight of Louis from Paris—Dissemination of Republican Ideas—Meeting of the Legislative Assembly—Exercise of the Royal Veto—Interposition of the German Empire and of Prussia—The Declaration of Pillnitz—War between France and Austria.

NEVER was any revolution more blindly brought about, nor yet with greater certainty, than that which convulsed France and agitated the whole of Europe towards the close of the eighteenth century. The corrupt administration of the French kingdom during many generations, the frequent succession of monarchs such as Francis I., Charles IX., and Henry III., the bureaucratic exclusiveness of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, and the unrestrained despotism of Louis XIV., whose conquests were ultimately overshadowed by reverses, and whose ambition cost his subjects a frightful price in blood and treasure,—these facts slowly accumulated in the minds of the French people a store of bitter memories. What was begun in earlier ages received numerous and fatal additions in the reign of Louis XV. That contemptible sovereign exaggerated the vices, while he missed the more respectable qualities, of his great-grandfather and predecessor. He was not merely sensual, but frivolous, and, while his country was involved in numerous troubles, boasted of his skill as a cook, and even prepared dishes for his obsequious courtiers. In all this, there was something of the childish trifling of Nero; and, like Nero, he had exhibited in his younger days a certain amiability, from which the too-confiding were willing to hope much, but which gradually disappeared before the habitual influences of self-indulgence and profligacy. It was a calamity for Louis that he came to the throne when less than six years old, and that the Regent was the debauched and reckless Duke of Orleans, who nearly ruined the nation by encouraging the schemes of the Scottish adventurer, Law. When the King attained his legal majority, which

was in February, 1723, he found himself at the head of a bankrupt State, and of an embarrassed and exasperated people. He was fortunate, however, in his Prime Minister, Cardinal de Fleury, Bishop of Fréjus, who had been the preceptor of Louis, and who managed the affairs of the monarchy with skill and wisdom from 1726 to his death in 1743. The subsequent Ministers of Louis XV. were often men of inferior character, and the usually unsuccessful issue of his wars (which have been detailed in previous Chapters) increased the national sufferings and the general discontent.

In the latter years of his reign, when warned by his advisers that so much misery would assuredly lead to a terrible outbreak, Louis used to reply, "Try to make things go on as long as I am likely to live: after my death, it may be as it will." The answer shows the deliberate selfishness of the man; but it also reveals the existence of a spirit of gloomy apprehension, since no one gives expression to such thoughts unless they are widely prevalent, and justified by notorious facts. The time had passed for mediæval extravagances, or the streets of Paris might have seen another Dance of Death. When Lord Chesterfield was in France, about the middle of the eighteenth century, he prophesied that there would be a revolution before many years had elapsed. He saw an indolent and sensual King, a depraved and cruel aristocracy, and an impoverished and ignorant lower class. Many Frenchmen observed the same facts, and drew the same conclusion; but there was no political power by which such views could be made operative. The States-General had lost all real influence; the Parliament of Paris was little more

than a court of law, and, together with the provincial Parliaments, was suppressed in 1771, after a long struggle; the interests of the commonalty were unguarded by any representative institutions; and the privileges of the great remained without a check. Nothing could exceed the misery of the peasants. It was not enough that they starved; they were subject in all directions to the cruel and insolent caprice of their lords, who, by means of *lettres de cachet*, sealed with the King's little seal (*cachet*), were enabled to arrest, and send to the Bastille or other State prisons, any one of whom it was convenient to be rid. The peculiar infamy of these letters, or royal ordinances, was that they were made out without reference to any special case, but with a blank for the name, which could afterwards be filled in by the person interested. The Lieutenant-General of Police had a number of forms always ready, and was of course accessible to the rich and titled. When once the prison doors closed upon the victim, it often happened that they never opened again during his life; so that the most substantial injustice was frequently done for the satisfaction of private malice or dishonourable feelings. *Lettres de cachet* were first issued by Louis XIV. about 1670; but their use increased during the reign of his successor, who was wholly devoid of scruples in the exercise of his power.

The troubles of the State, in the first half of this unhappy reign, were increased by the outbreak of religious dissensions. It will be recollected that the Papal Bull, "Unigenitus," directed against the Jansenist heresy two years before the death of Louis XIV., aroused the most vehement opposition on the part of those who professed the incriminated opinions. The controversy survived to a later period, and a large proportion of Frenchmen sided with the Jansenists. Louis XV. supported the decrees of Rome, and in 1730 enforced a second registration of the Papal commands. The result was a bitter conflict between the Court and the Parliament, in which the latter stood forward as the vindicator of religious freedom. An edict of that body was cancelled by the Council of State, and the King refused to receive a deputation which sought to expostulate with him in person. Four members, who had been particularly earnest in their opposition, were sentenced to banishment; and when the other members refused to proceed with the administration of justice in the absence of their colleagues, it required all the conciliatory arts of Fleury to prevent the King from taking violent measures. At length, in 1732, Louis forbade his councillors of the Parliament to

receive appeals upon the matters in dispute—an order which they refused to obey; and the more obstinate were then removed from Paris, and imprisoned in various parts of France. Further struggles ensued in later years, and, on the whole, the great court of law prevailed over the monarch and the Church.

The independent position of Parliament in the Jansenist controversy was one of the sins remembered against it; but it was a totally different set of circumstances which ultimately caused its overthrow. The expulsion of the Jesuits from France, in 1764, had been mainly brought about by the Minister Choiseul, a man of decent character and of liberal views; and the Jesuits determined on revenge. They chose for their instrument a despotic Breton nobleman, the Duke of Aiguillon, whose local tyranny had made him unpopular. His malpractices at last brought him into collision with the Parliament of Paris; the King took the part of the nobleman; Choiseul was deprived of his offices, and banished to his private estate; Aiguillon was put in his place; and a month later—on the 19th of January, 1771—the Parliaments, both of Paris and the provinces, were superseded by other tribunals of a more subservient character. Choiseul had exhibited great ability as a Minister, and, had he remained much longer in office, might perhaps have carried out a plan which he had conceived for the complete emancipation of the Gallican Church from the despotism of the Popes. Trade and industry were developed by his fostering measures; but as a Minister of War and Foreign Affairs he was less successful. His tendencies were antagonistic to England, and it was he who incited his countrymen in India to attempt the ruin of the British power. It is even said that he encouraged the growing discontent of our American Colonies, and the statement is not improbable.

During the long reign of Louis XIV., the Court had become more corrupt, the nobles were arrogant and heartless, and the common people were proportionally discontented; but under the rule of his great-grandson, Louis XV., France reached her lowest point of moral and social degradation. The King himself exceeded in vices and follies all who had preceded him. He gave himself up to unrestrained debauchery, and neglected every duty as head of the State. On attaining his majority, he had married Marie Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus I., ex-King of Poland; but this princess seems to have had no influence over the conduct of her husband. She was treated with insolent neglect, while the monarch himself was

ruled by a succession of unworthy favourites, who demoralised society by their profligacy, and brought the State to the verge of ruin by their extravagance. The most remarkable of these mistresses was the famous Marchioness of Pompadour, a person of low birth, but of marked intellectual power. For twenty years this woman virtually ruled France. Her influence with the King was unbounded; all the great personages paid court to her, for to neglect this would have been to incur her hatred, which implied ruin. The most important affairs of State were discussed and arranged in her apartments; her ambition and extravagance were boundless, and she is said to have cost the nation annually nearly a million and a half of livres, besides hotels, palaces, and estates. The successful competitor of the Queen made and unmade Ministers, dispensed the whole patronage of Church and State, received ambassadors, and rewarded those artists and philosophers who flattered her vanity, or extolled her intellectual powers. It was at her instigation that Louis instituted the infamous *Parc-aux-Cerfs*, which was in reality a seraglio after the Oriental fashion, formed in a beautiful domain at Versailles, where Madame de Pompadour had a house. It is supposed that when the charms of the Marchioness began to fade, she conceived the idea of such an establishment, as a means of securing herself against the rise of any rival in the King's favour; and in this she was successful, for, until her death, at the age of forty-four, in April, 1764, she held complete sway over the mind and fortunes of Louis.

Four years later, the Queen died, and, for a time, Louis seems to have been really affected by her loss, and desirous of amending his course of life. But the feeling was transient, and in less than a year he resumed his former habits, descending even lower in the scale of infamy by forming a connection with a person of abandoned character, who was introduced at court as the Countess du Barry. The new favourite soon obtained a complete ascendancy over the monarch, and in her turn controlled the destinies of France. Choiseul, however, refused to bow before the new Sultana, and her resentment contributed to the ruin of the Minister. From the date of Choiseul's retirement, in December, 1770, du Barry reigned supreme, and France sank deeper and deeper into that abyss of vice and misery from which only the terrible, retributive cry of the Revolution was able to rouse her. Several bad harvests in succession had caused a near approach to famine. The scarcity of corn became intolerable; alarming riots

ensued; and the rage of the people was particularly directed against the King, who was supposed to be a shareholder in an association popularly called the "*Pact of Famine*," the object of which was to buy up all the corn in plentiful years, and re-sell it at exorbitant prices in times of dearth. The people were brought to extreme misery; but the least complaint was punished by imprisonment in the Bastille. Feelings of fierce and bitter hatred were set up in the minds of the lower classes against their debased King and his equally profligate courtiers; and reform was urgently demanded by all whose vices had not blunted their perceptions. An ominous desire for change penetrated the French people. Every class was alienated from the others, and even the King himself could not wholly shut his eyes to the tendencies of the epoch. Still, he had neither the courage nor the power to face them, but, conscious of his weakness, exclaimed to his courtiers, "*After me the deluge.*" So low had this monarch sunk in the estimation of his people that his successor was already styled "*Louis the Desired.*" The nation, however, had not much longer to bear in patience a hated rule, in which impotence was joined to debauchery; for, on the 10th of May, 1774, Louis XV. breathed his last, after a melancholy reign of fifty-eight years.

The period thus defined is, for the most part, associated with lamentable or disgraceful facts; but it was certainly not wanting in intellectual glory. The creativeness of French genius, which showed signs of flagging towards the end of the preceding reign, burst forth with fresh energy under the sceptre of a monarch who would at any moment have preferred the smiles of a courtesan to the highest expositions of literature, philosophy, or art. It is not easy to say what were the circumstances which favoured this development of mental power, but the development unquestionably took place. There may have been something in the very feeling of opposition to the disgraceful character of the sovereign and his surroundings which stimulated the energy of genius; indeed, Hume was of opinion that the persecutions of the press in France were more favourable to intellectual progress than the liberty enjoyed in England. Whatever the cause, it is certain that under the rule of Louis XV. the pen became a formidable potentate in France. Voltaire and Rousseau alone exercised an extraordinary influence over the minds of Frenchmen: the one as a satirical critic, eager to detect the superstitions and false pretences of society; the other as a sentiment-

talist, who glorified sensual passion by the warmth and brilliance of his fancy. The writers termed Encyclopedists, of whom the chief were Diderot and d'Alembert, were powerful agents in creating that fierce reaction against priestly predominance which, in the next generation, led to the triumphant materialism of the Revolution. The objection to be principally alleged against the philosophical writers of this epoch is that, by constantly leaning rather to the negative than the positive side of knowledge and of morals, they developed in their countrymen a tendency to universal objection, which swept away the good equally with the bad. But it should not be forgotten that Voltaire, and others of the same school, found opinion degraded by the grossest superstitions, knowledge the slave of the priests, and liberty of thought forbidden by a class of men who had neither intellectual nor moral warrant to utter a syllable of reproach against the prerogatives of mental freedom. It is too much the habit to charge the excesses of the French Revolution upon these writers. Those excesses are, in truth, to be charged upon the Throne and the Church; and the speculations of Voltaire, which were emphatically Theistical, and not disregarding of the claims of morals, had probably no inconsiderable effect in moderating the convulsion to which in part they led.

Such were the influences—turbulent, chaotic, and doubtful as to their results—under which Louis XVI. succeeded, in his twentieth year, to the throne of his grandfather. He had been born in August, 1754, the son of the Dauphin Louis, and of Maria Josepha of Saxony. His father died in 1765, his mother in 1767; and, in 1770, the future King, then not more than sixteen years of age, married the celebrated Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of the Empress-Queen, Maria Theresa, and sister of the Emperor, Joseph II. The father of Louis appears to have been an amiable and virtuous prince, though without any force of character; and in both respects the son took after the parent. In many ways he was singularly ill-adapted to the circumstances with which he was called upon to cope: neither his virtues nor his weaknesses were calculated to dispel the storm which had long been gathering, and which soon burst on his defenceless head. One of the earliest acts of his reign, however, was of a popular character, and seemed to augur well for the future. The metropolitan and provincial Parliaments, which Louis XV. had suppressed, were restored by his successor; but this measure, though excellent in itself, did not confer upon the people the much-needed benefit of representative institutions.

The Minister of Finance, Turgot, and his colleague, Malesherbes, advised the King to abolish feudal exactions, to equalise the direct taxes all over the country, to recall the Protestants, and to institute other reforms tending to the limitation of the ecclesiastical power, the establishment of civil rights, and the encouragement of public instruction. Louis had not the courage to adopt these suggestions in their completeness. He did somewhat towards mitigating the evils of the State; but he shrank from striking at the root of those social disorders which were hurrying the kingdom to ruin. His original motives were good; what he lacked was the courage essential in a French ruler at that momentous epoch.

The State was suffering from the debt of four thousand millions of livres left by Louis XV., and it was one of the mistakes of the new King to dismiss Turgot, a man of ability and resource, enlightened by honest and truly liberal ideas. His removal from office was in May, 1776, previously to which Malesherbes had sent in his resignation. The Count de Maurepas remained at the head of the Government; but, unfortunately, he represented all the worst ideas of the old school, and the benevolent intentions of the King were restrained and thwarted by his evil influence. In June, 1777 (after two appointments, which were failures), Louis conferred the Ministry of Finance on James Necker, the son of a Genevan lawyer, who had spent the greater part of his life in Paris. This was a step in the right direction, for Necker was a financial genius, though wanting in the more general qualifications of a statesman. Shortly after his accession to the Ministry he swept away as many as six hundred sinecure offices connected with the Court and the Government. Changes in the method of collecting the revenue effected a further saving, and, with exemplary self-abnegation, Necker declined to receive the emoluments attaching to his own office. Peace, however, was an urgent necessity, without which even the abilities of a Necker were unavailing to rescue the State from its embarrassments. Unfortunately, in the indulgence of a culpable hatred, France determined to risk a fresh contest with England by supporting the American Colonies in their war with the mother-country. The King and his Ministers were opposed to the enterprise; but the popular sympathy with the Americans was so overwhelming that, on the 8th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce and alliance was signed with the United States. This speedily led, as every one must have foreseen, to the despatch of military succours, and England had no alternative but war.



MARIE ANTOINETTE TAKING LEAVE OF HER MOTHER (1770).

The assistance of the French was largely instrumental in securing the independence of the newly-created States; but the naval war between France and England was, with but few exceptions, highly disastrous to the former. It was during these hostilities that a desperate attempt was made to wrest Gibraltar from the hands of the British; but the rock was magnificently defended, during a

territory round Pondicherry and Caracal. In the West Indies, she obtained Tobago; in Africa, Senegal and Goree. On the other hand, she restored to England such of the West India Islands as had been taken during the struggle.

While the armies and fleets of the two Powers were encountering one another, Necker proceeded with his financial reforms, but not so successfully



SITTING OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS.

siege of more than three years (1779-83), by the gallant General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield. On the coast of India, Admiral Bailli de Suffren achieved some notable successes over the English; but, in Hindoostan itself, the British power, though assailed by the French in conjunction with Hyder Ali, was enabled, as we have seen, to maintain its predominance over a large extent of country. Peace was concluded in 1783, and the terms were very favourable to France, who recovered all her possessions in the East Indies (seized during the early part of the war), and received, in addition, a considerable extent of

as he might have done had peace been maintained. The great Finance Minister persuaded Louis, in 1781, to issue the famous "Compte Rendu"—a publication of the national accounts, which pleased many and offended some. Necker professed to have changed the former deficit into a surplus of ten million francs; but the account seems to have been in some respects fallacious, and he had certainly borrowed largely, though at a lower rate of interest than had ever been known in time of war. The aristocracy, however, were annoyed at a statement which brought into striking prominence the fact of their exemption from the

tax-gatherer; and the weak-minded Louis was afterwards induced to regard such a publication of accounts as a degradation of the Crown. Other suggestions of Necker, directed against the manifest abuses of the State, met with a degree of opposition which he was unable to overcome, and his resignation was accepted by the King on the 25th of May, 1781. The subsequent administration of Calonne plunged the country into deeper financial troubles than before. Calonne's finance was of the most extravagant and reckless kind. The expenditure and the National Debt increased by gigantic strides. The Queen indulged in a hundred expensive follies, and pensions were granted with lavish profusion to all the servile adherents of the Court.

It was at this time that French opinion was scandalised by a strange affair, which is known as that of the Diamond Necklace. A Court jeweller offered, in 1785, to sell the Queen a diamond necklace for the enormous sum of £56,000, though it had been valued at £80,000. Marie Antoinette dreaded the expense, and consequently declined the offer; but the matter was not to end there. The Countess de la Motte, a member of the House of Valois, persuaded the Prince Cardinal de Rohan that the Queen had formed an attachment for him, and suggested that, in order to encourage this sentiment, he should temporarily advance the money for purchasing the necklace. The proposal was accepted; the Cardinal obtained possession of the coveted treasure, and a few days later the Countess de la Motte, her husband, and a confederate, removed the casket from the apartment of de Rohan, under pretence of acting for the Queen, broke up the glittering adornment into its five hundred distinct diamonds, and separately disposed of them. When the plot was discovered, and all the facts of the case came out, the Cardinal was sent to the Bastille, and de la Motte was condemned to imprisonment for life. She afterwards made her escape to London, where she met her death by an accident. De Rohan was acquitted on the 14th of April, 1786; but the general opinion of the Parisians was that Marie Antoinette herself was a party to the fraud, and it added immensely to the unpopularity which was now gathering about her name.

The financial state of France proceeded rapidly from bad to worse, and at length it became impossible to pay the interest on the several loans. Calonne himself was forced to suggest plans of reform, and to advise the convocation of an Assembly of Notables, such as had met from time to time in previous reigns. The Notables came

together at Versailles on the 22nd of February, 1787; but Calonne's reforms met with speedy rejection, being aimed at the very classes from which the Assembly was derived. The result was the dismissal from office of the Minister who had counselled the unfortunate attempt. His successor, the Archbishop de Brienne, induced the Notables to pass some of the measures submitted by Calonne; but the popular demands were far from satisfied, and the Parliament of Paris, which met soon after, showed a spirit of determined opposition to the Court. Riots occurred in Paris and in the provinces. The Parliament was speedily at open issue with the King, and its members were arrested and placed in durance. Louis acted with capricious violence, and even endeavoured to supersede the legal body altogether; the provincial Parliaments supported that of Paris; and the whole kingdom clamorously demanded the assembly of the States-General. Brienne resigned office on the 25th of August, 1788, and Necker, being recalled, was entrusted with the chief direction of affairs. The States-General formed a representative body not wholly devoid of a popular character, and therefore better fitted than any other existing institution to satisfy the wants of the time. It was divided into three chambers; one consisting of the Nobles, another of the Clergy, and the third of the Commonalty. At a preliminary meeting of the Notables, it was required that the representatives of the people should be equal to those of the other two orders combined, and that all three divisions should meet and vote together. Under the advice of Necker, the King conceded the principle of double representation as regarded the commons, and the elections took place under circumstances of tumultuous excitement. The Assembly met at Versailles on the 5th of May, 1789. It was a day of fate for the French monarchy, since the people had now acquired a power which they were unlikely to relinquish, and which it was not certain that they would use with moderation.

Upon a scrutiny, it was found that the plebeian deputies more than outnumbered the united representatives of the nobles and clergy, and amongst the latter were several who would probably, on most great questions, vote with the members of the Third Estate. The commons were therefore in a position of command, and they were not long in making their power felt. Dissensions quickly arose as to the method of voting—whether in a single chamber, or in three chambers. The nobles stood out for the latter; the commons insisted on the former; the clergy endeavoured ineffectually to promote a compromise between the

two. It was now that Count Mirabeau and the Abbé Sièyes first attracted attention as leaders of the revolutionary party—the one a nobleman, the other a priest, yet each the mouthpiece of a body little inclined to either the aristocracy or the Church. On the 17th of June, the commons, at the instigation of Sièyes, rejected the title of States-General, and assumed that of the National Assembly. They proclaimed themselves the sole legitimate representatives of the French people, and declared that they would at once address themselves to the urgent questions affecting the well-being of the nation. Two days later, the clergy, by a small majority, determined to unite themselves with the plebeians; the nobles stood aloof; and even Necker, considering that the movement had gone too far, advised the King to act with vigour against the assumption of the Third Estate. Attempts were made to prevent the assembly of the representatives: the hall where they had gathered was closed against them, but they contrived to meet elsewhere. The tone of the triumphant commonalty grew more confident and menacing with every attempt at coercion; and having been ordered, on the 23rd of June, to adjourn immediately, and re-assemble on the following day to receive the concessions which the throne was prepared to make, Mirabeau replied, in the name of his colleagues, that they were there by the power of the people, and that nothing short of the bayonet should drive them out. They next proceeded to vote their personal inviolability, and to threaten the penalty of death against any one who should attack their freedom. Louis was frightened, though not converted, by these proceedings. He earnestly begged the nobility to join the sittings of the Third Estate, and the three orders were accordingly combined into one Chamber on the 27th of June. Yet, at the very time when the monarch was making this apparent concession to the demands of his people, he drew together an army of 40,000 men, whom he stationed in the neighbourhood of Paris, and whose object was clearly to overawe the popular movement. The offence was the greater, inasmuch as the force included several regiments of Swiss and Germans—a circumstance which showed the readiness of the Court party to rely on foreigners as a means of suppressing the liberties of Frenchmen. At the same time, Necker was again dismissed from office, and commanded to leave France without delay.

A revolutionary movement broke out in Paris immediately these facts became known. A committee sitting at the Hôtel de Ville directed the movements of the disaffected, and on the 14th

of July, by a sudden and uncontrollable impulse, the Bastille was successfully attacked, and thrown open to the light of day and the indignation of the populace. De Launay, the Governor of the Bastille, was assassinated, together with some of his officers; and it was now that the popular rising against the Court and aristocracy assumed that bloodthirsty character which afterwards acquired a revolting prominence. Louis was astounded to hear that so strong a fortress as the Bastille had given way before the attacks of an excited mob; but the insurgents (who were joined by a few soldiers) had the assistance of cannon, which they seized at the Hôtel des Invalides, and it took five hours of sanguinary contest before the walls and gates were forced. Next morning, the King, unattended by guards, presented himself in the hall of the Assembly, promised to recall Necker and dismiss the foreign troops, and expressed entire confidence in the loyalty of the members he was addressing. He visited the Hôtel de Ville on the 16th of July, sanctioned the newly-formed National Guard, and returned to Versailles with every appearance of being in harmony with his people. It was obvious, however, that he could not be sincere in so unconditional a surrender to a movement which threatened his existence. The ferocious instincts of the Parisian populace had been aroused, and the process of hanging obnoxious persons to the street lanterns began on the 22nd of July, when one of the Ministers, named Foulon, was thus executed in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville.

The example of Paris was soon imitated in some of the provinces, especially those of the south, where the spirit of independence had always been much stronger than in the north of France. The country people had, indeed, even greater cause of complaint than the Parisians, or the citizens of other large towns. It was they who suffered from those principles of feudalism which, even at the close of the eighteenth century, were enforced in France with a disregard of natural rights such as the present time can scarcely comprehend. The game-laws were a source of terrible suffering to the rural population, and the injuries they inflicted were without redress. Wild herds and flocks of deer were allowed to range at large through the cultivated fields, that the gentry might not be deprived of their sport. Weeding was prohibited, together with the mowing of hay, lest the partridges and their eggs should be disturbed or injured. The pleasure of the nobles was considered the supreme law; the farmers and the peasants might starve, for aught their oppres-

sors cared ; and, in addition to these wrongs, the people were heavily taxed, and compelled at every turn to consult the exclusive interests of the landlord. The lives of the agricultural labourers were lives of incessant work and unrelieved misery ; their complaints, if they ever dared to complain, were treated with insolent contempt ; the courts of justice would always listen to a noble as against a peasant ; bribes were notoriously accepted by the judges ; and the merest caprice of the aristocracy had the force of law, by virtue of this system of universal corruption. Of the taxes wrung from the commonalty, by the secular magnates on the one hand, and the clergy on the other, not half ever found its way into the royal or episcopal treasury : the rest was squandered in profligate self-indulgence ; and the men who thus impoverished their humble fellow-subjects were themselves exempt from taxation, and entitled by law or custom to all the appointments of the State. The privileged classes numbered a hundred and fifty thousand, and for their gratification millions were condemned to hopeless and degrading lives. An immediate consequence of the risings in Dauphiné, Provence, and other places, was the abolition by the National Assembly of all the ancient feudal constitutions. This was on the 4th of August, 1789 ; a few days after which, all ecclesiastical tithes were abolished without compensation. The King consented to these measures because he could do nothing else ; but it was already evident that the revolutionary impetus had not yet reached its goal, and that the apparent amity of the King and the National Assembly would give way at the first strain to which it might be subjected.

Before the autumn of 1789 the Assembly drew up a Declaration of the Rights of Man, based on the principles already set forth by the celebrated Thomas Paine, an English writer who had been connected with the American revolution, and whose influence extended over both hemispheres. A democratic constitution was adopted, and the more moderate of the reformers began to separate themselves from the majority. On the 6th of October some reactionary proceedings of the King and his courtiers at Versailles occasioned an attack on the palace by an excited mob from the capital, by whom the body-guards of the sovereign were slain, and the royal family placed in the greatest danger. The tumult was at length quelled by the courage and energy of Lafayette, who, a few hours before, had arrived at the head of the National Guards ; but Louis was compelled to return to Paris, whither he was escorted by the armed and furious insurgents. It was on this memorable day

that the club of the Jacobins, destined to play a most important part in the Revolution, began its meetings. The name of the club (which, however, was not immediately adopted) was derived from the hall of the Jacobin Friars at Paris, in which the debates of the society were conducted.

The Revolution was now triumphant, and a period of comparative tranquillity spread over the next few months. Everything was made new with startling rapidity ; even Mirabeau began to doubt whether the movement was not being too much accelerated. Some of the more temperate members of the National Assembly gave in their resignations out of a growing sense of helplessness, which the riot at Versailles had materially increased. But the majority remained at their posts, and instituted a series of reforms which affected every department of the State, and every relation of social life. All religious persuasions were made equal before the law ; primogeniture was abolished, and it was decreed that parents should make an equal division of their property ; the press was set free from all restraints ; class distinctions were abrogated, to the extent even of suppressing the hereditary titles of the nobility ; the provisions of the criminal code were greatly ameliorated ; the kingdom was divided into departments, instead of into provinces, as previously ; the franchise was widely extended ; and France was suddenly converted into a Republic, which still retained a mockery of royal power at its head.

The country, however, was still troubled by the question of the national finances ; and, in default of other means for raising the necessary funds, it was determined to confiscate the entire possessions of the Church. The ecclesiastical property was put up for sale, but found few purchasers. Ultimately, the corporation of Paris, and other municipal bodies, took a portion of the estates thus appropriated. As they were unable to pay in money, they were allowed to issue bonds or promissory notes, which, under the name of Assignats, acquired an evil name, in consequence of their greatly exceeding in amount the property on which they were nominally based. The Revolution had now made such alarming strides that many of the royal family and the nobility quitted France for foreign lands. The King himself remained, and, on the 14th of July, 1790, took the oath of fidelity to the Constitution in front of an altar which had been erected in the Champ de Mars. For the moment, there was a specious appearance of harmony between the King and the revolutionists ; but disturbances soon broke out again, and at Nancy several regiments mutinied

against their officers, and resisted, with desperate though unavailing courage, the troops that were sent against them. Necker resigned office in September, 1790, and Louis was reduced to enter into terms with Mirabeau, who, in January, 1791, was appointed President of the Assembly. That gifted but capricious leader had now, to a considerable extent, turned against the political movement which he did so much to further. He thought that a compromise might be effected between the Monarchy and the Revolution. He was not above accepting a monthly pension from the Crown, and submitted to the King a plan by which, as he conceived, the sovereign might stem the democratic torrent by throwing himself upon the people and the army. The result was to be the establishment of a limited monarchy, in alliance with the Church: the Parisian mob was to be overpowered by the soldiery. Louis hesitated as to accepting this scheme, and, when at length he gave it his sanction, Mirabeau had passed away. The great orator, who alone, if any one, could have ensured the success of such a project, died on the 2nd of April, 1791, and Louis was left face to face with the factions which were bent upon his ruin.

It is doubtful, however, whether even Mirabeau could have prevented the ultimate catastrophe; yet Louis not unnaturally felt that he had lost a powerful friend, and his apprehensions overcame his sense of prudence. He entered into negotiations with foreign princes for an armed intervention in his favour, and his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold II. of Germany, promised to march 50,000 men to the frontiers. Piedmont and Spain were to furnish similar help in the direction of their own borders; and the French sovereign, emboldened by these assurances, drew up a manifesto to the Assembly, in which, having referred to the several acts of violence which had been committed during the previous two years, he declared himself under the necessity of withdrawing to the army as a measure of self-protection. Accompanied by the Queen, his sister, the Dauphin, the Princess Royal, and a governess, Louis quitted the Tuileries in disguise on the night of June 20th, and had advanced as far as Sainte Ménéhould when he was recognised by a young man of Republican principles, who, riding hastily across the country to Montmédy, anticipated the arrival of the royal carriage at that town, and effected the arrest of the fugitive King. Louis re-entered Paris on the 25th of June, and from this time forward could have had little doubt as to what, sooner or later, would be the end of the

unequal struggle. He was for a time suspended from the exercise of the royal office; but the Assembly determined not to proceed judicially against him, while at the same time declaring that any repetition of the offence, or any attempt to introduce foreign troops into France, would render him amenable to the law, like a private citizen. The representatives of the nation were still unwilling to push matters to the utmost extremity; but a Republican sentiment was rapidly growing up amongst the citizens of Paris and the inhabitants of the other large towns. The abolition of royalty began to be openly talked about, and men pointed to the example of America, from which, only a few years before, many French soldiers had returned with new political ideas in their heads. Those ideas had been quietly disseminated in many parts of France; and thus an expedition prompted by jealousy of England proved one of the causes of the French Revolution. The Assembly, in fact, was growing out of harmony with the more democratic section of the people, and a tumultuous demonstration in the Champ de Mars, instigated by the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, was put down by military force.

The remodelled constitution was accepted by the King shortly after these events. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on the 30th of September, 1791, and the Legislative body, which was to be its successor, met for the first time on October 1st. It was in this second Assembly that the great political factions of the later revolutionary days first made their appearance. The new representatives decreed severe measures against the French emigrants, who had organised an army on the banks of the Rhine under the Prince of Condé, and of whose reactionary designs there could not be the slightest doubt. The King imposed his veto on some measures of the Chamber, and thus increased the suspicions of those who from the first had viewed his character with distrust. Soon afterwards, he forbade the promulgation of a decree depriving of their incomes all priests who should refuse to take the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. Louis was a devoted son of the Church, and nothing excited his opposition more than what he regarded as injustice to the priesthood. Between the sovereign and the Legislative Assembly a state of antagonism was thus early established, and a collision would perhaps have taken place at once, but that the attention of the revolutionary leaders was directed to a more serious danger.

The Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Prince of Nassau, and the Count d'Artois, had met at Pillnitz, on the Elbe, where, on the 27th of August,

the two first-named had signed a Declaration calling on the other European Powers to help them in enabling the King of France to establish a monarchical government, befitting alike his sovereign rights and the welfare of the French people. The two potentates affirmed that they regarded the situation of his Majesty, Louis XVI., as one of common interest to all the sovereigns of Europe: the object of their appeal was to take military action against the French revolutionists. It seems to have been hoped that this manifestation would of

property. The effect of these insolent demands was such as might have been anticipated. The Ministers of Louis, though belonging to the Constitutional party, were accused of countenancing the hostile coalition. The King was obliged to accept their resignation, and on the 20th of April, 1792, a declaration of war against Austria was announced to the Assembly, amidst an outburst of enthusiasm which showed how deeply the pride and patriotism of the nation had been roused by the missive from Vienna.



THE PALAIS DE LUXEMBOURG, PARIS.

itself terrify the French people into submission. The Emperor Leopold was in fact disinclined to immediate action, and dreaded the effect which any open attempt might be instrumental in producing. The Continental Powers knew at that time that they would not have the support of England, where Pitt advocated a policy of non-intervention, and where public opinion, though offended at the excesses of the revolutionists, was not disposed to war. But a change presently ensued. Leopold II. died on the 1st of March, 1792, and his successor, Francis II., speedily despatched an ultimatum to Paris, demanding the re-establishment of the French monarchy in conformity with the royal declaration of June 23rd, 1789, and also requiring, amongst other things, that the Church of France should be replaced in the enjoyment of its confiscated

Francis II. of Austria had as yet succeeded only to his father's hereditary dominions. Soon after, he was elected to the Empire, which had long been associated with the Austrian House; but for the present he was not bound to take up the quarrel of the German sovereigns. His natural inclinations, however, were in favour of the principles of divine right and prescriptive order, and he lost no time in assuring the King of Prussia of his adherence to the recent league. Frederick William, on his part, was equally enthusiastic in the same cause, and, although his Ministers felt differently, the tendencies of the time were clearly towards intervention. Thus, false political ideas, and the disturbed passions of monarchs, were preparing a catastrophe, of which the principal victim was to be Louis himself.



MIRABEAU.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

State of Parties in the Legislative Assembly of 1791—Robespierre and the Jacobin Club—Leading Members of the Cordelier Club—Unsuccessful Hostilities with Austria—Imprudent Action of Louis—Evil Influence of the Demagogues—Riotous Demonstration of the 20th of June, 1792—Firmness of the King—Influence of Pétion, Mayor of Paris—Intrigues of Louis with Foreign Powers—The Marseillaise—Development of the Democratic Revolution—Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, Commander of the Invading Forces—Equivocation of Louis—Insurrection of the 10th of August—The New Municipality, or Commune—Imprisonment of the King and the Royal Family—The Committee of General Safety—Invasion of France by the Confederates—Sinister Speech of Danton—Massacre of the 2nd of September—Successes of Dumouriez on the Frontier—The Invasion repulsed—Revolutionary Propaganda—The National Convention: its Composition and Objects—Trial of the King, Condemnation, and Execution—Effect of the Death of Louis on the Chief European Nations—Agitation in England against the French Republic—Violence of the Convention—Declaration of War against Several Powers—Defection of Dumouriez, and Flight to the Austrian Camp—Formation at Paris of a Revolutionary Tribunal and a Committee of Public Safety—Ascendency of the Extreme Party—The Girondists Suppressed—Assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday—Royalist Insurrections in the Provinces—Tumultuous State of Paris—Robespierre and the Reign of Terror—Execution of Marie Antoinette, the Duke of Orleans, Madame Roland, and others—Excesses of Hébert—Proscription of Religion—The Hébertists Crushed—Execution of Danton—Supremacy of Robespierre—Public Recognition of Deism—Action of the Convention against the Committee of Public Safety—Execution of Robespierre and his Adherents.

WHILE agreed on certain general principles, such as the necessity of representative institutions, and the requirements of administrative and financial

reform, the members of the Legislative Assembly, inaugurated at Paris in October, 1791, were at issue among themselves as to the extent to which the

Revolution should proceed. The Right of the Chamber consisted of Constitutionalists, who preserved their loyalty to the throne, and thought the political movement had gone far enough. The views of the Left were much more extreme; but here there were three subdivisions, corresponding to distinct shades of opinion. First in importance, for the time being, were the Girondists, so-called from their principal members representing the department of the Gironde. Next came the numerically small body of politicians nicknamed "the Mountain," from their occupying a high row of benches on the extreme left of the hall—men imbued with the most violent theories, to whom no compromise with the Monarchy was possible. The remaining section formed the Centre of the Assembly, where moderate views, inclining to those of the Girondists, prevailed. Though reckoning comparatively few on a division, the adherents of the Mountain drew no little strength from the fact that they were in alliance with the Parisian mob, whose views they represented, and whose lawless instincts they flattered. In particular, they leant for support on two clubs, or political organisations—that of the Jacobins (to which allusion has before been made), and that of the Cordeliers, who derived their name from the circumstance that they met in an ancient convent of the order so designated.

Each of these clubs had its leading spirits, who were destined to attain distinguished places in the revolutionary annals. The chief man in the Jacobin Club was Maximilian Robespierre, the son of an advocate at Arras, who had been elected to the States-General of 1789, and who, in spite of an insignificant figure, a shrill voice, and an uncouth manner, had attracted great attention to himself, as a passionate orator, and a person of evident sincerity. Mirabeau had observed of him that he would go far, as he believed every word he said. Since Mirabeau's death, his reputation had rapidly advanced, and it was he who, in May, 1791, proposed and carried a decree in which the members of the National Assembly were excluded from a place in the Legislative Chamber which succeeded the former body. It is a remarkable fact that many of the Revolutionary leaders, who scrupled not to promote their views by the lavish shedding of blood, were men of almost morbid sensibility. This was the case with Robespierre, who, having in his early years, as member of a criminal court, been obliged to sentence a man to death, resigned his position, that he might not be again compelled to outrage his feelings by the infliction of capital punishment. The same sensitiveness appeared

once more on the 30th of May, 1791, when he delivered in the Assembly an oration against the death-penalty, which he described as "base assassination." Such was the man soon to become the monarch of the Reign of Terror. But Robespierre had many rivals in the creed of revolutionary excess, and may have been carried away by the volcanic impetus of the times. The chief orators of the Cordeliers were Danton, an ultra-demagogue, and a speaker of extraordinary power; Marat, a man of low moral perceptions, who had spent several of his earlier years in England and Scotland, with little credit to himself; Camille Desmoulins, an honest and well-meaning enthusiast, too easily influenced by others; and Fabre d'Eglantine, a politician and dramatist, of no very remarkable genius.

All these parties and party leaders—indeed, pretty nearly all sections of the French people—were united in the determination to resist the threatened interference of the German Empire. In the spring of 1792, three large armies were despatched towards the frontiers, to anticipate invasion by an attack on the enemy's territory; but, on two occasions, the troops showed extraordinary cowardice and want of discipline, and a division commanded by General Dillon broke up without firing a shot, murdered their commander and another officer, and accused their leaders of betraying them to the Austrians. Alarmed at these untoward incidents, the Legislative Assembly passed some extreme measures, and the King again exercised his right of veto. The Ministers remonstrated, and were dismissed; and thus the Girondists, from whom the Government had been selected, were driven into the ranks of the malcontents at a time when their moderate but liberal counsels would have been valuable to the sovereign and the royal family. Louis now allied himself with the party which constituted the Right of the Assembly, and was not far removed from reactionary principles. A still greater imprudence was the secret despatch of Mallet du Pan (a Swiss political writer settled in Paris) to the emigrants and the princes of the Coalition, with whom it is certain that the Court party were desirous of remaining on friendly terms. The situation was undoubtedly difficult and perilous in no ordinary degree; and mainly because there was neither sufficient political capacity in the French people to guide themselves aright, nor, as yet, any commanding genius, able to seize the helm with a firm grasp. The King was either insincere, or the sport of his fears and his weakness. The Legislature was the creature of the Clubs, and the Clubs were dependent on the pleasure of the mob.

No small portion of the existing trouble was owing to the irregular and irresponsible action of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. Lafayette, writing from his camp at Maubeuge, demanded of the Assembly the suppression of those mischievous bodies; but the step, though well meant, tended only to precipitate a crisis. The Girondists joined with the Jacobins in an appeal to the judgment of the streets; and on the 20th of June disorderly crowds proceeded to the hall of the Assembly, and afterwards to the Tuileries, where they produced general consternation by the violence of their demeanour. The rioters were armed; the emblems they carried were for the most part of a menacing character; and their cries included the celebrated phrases, long the watchwords of the Revolution, "*Ça ira!*" and "*Vivent les sans-culottes!*"* At the palace, they were met by the King, who behaved with great firmness and dignity, refused to do the bidding of the rabble, and said he should be guided by the Constitution. He, the Queen, and their youthful son, put on the red cap of the democracy, which was thrust towards Louis at the end of a pike; and this compliment to the feelings of the mob, hollow though it doubtless was, and the manifest result of compulsion, elicited shouts of applause. The object of the demonstration was to force the King to sanction the recent decrees of the Assembly with respect to a more vigorous prosecution of the war, and a more complete adoption of revolutionary principles, and to compel the recall of Roland, Dumouriez, and the other Girondist Ministers. The design, however, failed; for Louis, while flattering the insurgents by theatrical concessions to their emotional susceptibilities, avoided committing himself to any definite promise. After a disturbance lasting more than two hours, the invaders of the Tuileries yielded to the persuasions of Pétion, the Mayor of Paris, and withdrew. Pétion had been elected to the Mayoralty by the influence of Louis, acting in a spirit of captious opposition to Lafayette, the rival candidate; but his revolutionary violence at this time was extreme, and he was certainly concerned in the movement of June 20th. He was afterwards suspended by royal order for having failed in his duty; but the National Assembly replaced him in his position.

Lafayette had by this time completely turned against the Revolutionists, whose excesses he not

unreasonably dreaded; but he committed another error in recommending the King to depart for Compiègne, where, according to the plan suggested, he was to place himself at the head of the army, and whence he was to march on Paris, with a view to crushing the National Assembly, and arresting the popular leaders. The scheme was rejected, for both Louis and his consort distrusted Lafayette, and probably doubted whether the army would follow him, even if his sincerity were assured. It is obvious, moreover, that the Court was living on the hope of foreign intervention, to facilitate which was the great object of Mallet du Pan's mission. The chiefs of the Revolution were not wholly unaware of these intrigues, and the popular frenzy grew more intense and violent with each succeeding day. It was about this period that the celebrated revolutionary hymn, the *Marseillaise*, first became general in the democratic ranks. Both the words and the music are ascribed to Rouget de l'Isle, an officer of engineers, who composed it in 1791 for the conscripts assembled at Strasburg. In the following year, a body of troops from Marseilles marched into Paris playing the sonorous air—a circumstance from which it derived the name by which it was thenceforth known. From that time to the present, the revolutionary hymn has been a power in France.

The armies of the German Coalition were now gathering on the frontiers under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, a prince who had gained his experience of war in association with Frederick the Great. The danger to revolutionary France was extreme, for her armies were already discouraged by defeat, and it was doubtful whether Lafayette's division would not go over to the enemy. In Paris, however, the spirit of the populace rose high, and large numbers enrolled themselves as volunteers for the defence of the country. The King was threatened with the most terrific consequences if he did not completely identify himself with the democratic party. Measures were taken to organise another rising; armed collisions between the Revolutionists and less extreme politicians occurred from time to time; and it was evident that power was rapidly passing away from the Girondists to the members of the Mountain. Robespierre, though still working in the background, was busily inciting the mob to acts of more outrageous defiance; and all this internal tumult was proceeding while several large armies were assembled on the frontier, for the forcible extinction of the new order. But the democratic cause was soon afterwards greatly strengthened by a detestable manifesto, issued on

* The words "*Ça ira*" formed at this period part of the burden of a popular song, intimating that the Revolution would proceed, and that the aristocrats should be hung up to the street-lamps.—The "*sans-culottes*"—the people devoid of breeches, or, in other words, the poorest of the poor—were the demagogue's ideal of perfect virtue and disinterestedness.

the 25th of July by the Duke of Brunswick, who menaced the people of France with exemplary punishment if the lives or liberty of the royal family were assailed, and insultingly promised to obtain from Louis XVI. a pardon for their previous acts, should they heed the admonitions then addressed to them. In the event of violence being offered to the King or his family, Paris was to be abandoned to military execution and complete demolition; and a second declaration, two days later, threatened that if the King, or any of his relatives, were carried off from the capital, the road through which they had been conducted would be marked by a continued series of executions. It was impossible that a proud and spirited nation should tamely endure such an outrage on its independence. The Duke of Brunswick himself is said to have disapproved of these addresses, the leading ideas in which are attributed to the ex-Minister Calonne, one of the advisers of the French monarch in the earlier part of his reign. After the communication of the manifestoes to the French Assembly, Louis found it necessary to transmit a letter to that body, in which he protested that he would never receive the law at the hands of foreigners, and that he would maintain the national freedom with his last breath. But the good faith of such professions may not ungenerously be doubted when we reflect that the King was at that very moment in communication with the leaders of the Coalition. Pétion and his friends were not to be deceived by words. The same day, they appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and demanded the abdication of the monarch. This was on the 3rd of August: the contemplated insurrection followed a week later.

Vigorous measures were taken to defend the Tuileries from an attack which was hourly expected. Mandat, who had been recently entrusted with the command of the National Guards, was a man of courage and resource. He planted guns round the palace, and on the Pont Neuf; and the Swiss soldiers, numbering about nine hundred and fifty men, were tried and faithful servants of the Crown. In this moment of suspense, Mandat was summoned by the insurrectionary leaders to appear before them at the Hôtel de Ville. Here he was accused of acting as a traitor to the nation, and, without further investigation, was hurried from the chamber, and shot down on the outer steps. His death was fatal to the cause of the Royalists; yet Louis might even now have put himself at their head, and restored confidence to the troops, had he possessed sufficient energy and strength of character. Unfortunately, his attempt

to address the soldiers was made in so desponding and agitated a manner, that it took from them the little courage and energy that remained. Some of the National Guard saluted him with "Vive le Roi!" But by far the greater number went over to the insurgents; and the artillerymen, shouting "Vive la Nation!" turned their guns upon the Tuileries. It was evident that all was lost. The insurgents, in great numbers, were pressing on with furious yells; and the King, acting on the advice of the Girondist, Rœderer, Procureur-Général of the department of the Seine, resolved to quit the palace, and, with his family, to take refuge in the Assembly.

This measure, which was in fact a virtual abdication of the throne, seemed the only chance left of saving the lives of the royal family. Escorted by a small force, and by a few faithful friends and dependents, the King, the Queen, and their children, crossed the gardens of the Tuileries, and presented themselves in the hall of the Legislative Assembly. On entering, the King said, "I have come hither to avoid a great crime, and I think, gentlemen, that I can nowhere be safer than among you." In reply, Vergniaud, the President, answered, "Sire, you can rely upon the firmness of the National Assembly. Its members have sworn to die in support of the people, and of the constituted authorities." In the meantime, however, the flight of the King had completed the despair of the Royalists remaining at the Tuileries. The Swiss alone remained firm, and were nearly all massacred at their posts. On came the infuriated mob, with frantic cries of vengeance. The palace being defended by only a handful of brave Swiss, who sold their lives as dearly as a hopeless defence would permit, the staircases and vestibules were heaped up with the slain, and the Place du Carrousel was filled with corpses. By eleven o'clock in the morning, the insurrection was triumphant, and its leaders proceeded to the Legislative Assembly, to dictate terms to that body. This was done in the presence of the King, and it was announced that he was to be suspended from his functions, and relegated to the Luxembourg Palace as a residence, while a National Convention should be formed in order to secure the sovereignty of the people, and the reign of "liberty, equality, and fraternity."

The new Ministry, formed after these events, was of course more extreme in its views than any which had preceded it. The Minister of Justice was Danton, who, though wanting in personal courage, was a demagogue of the most uncompromising type. The Legislative Assembly was losing its

hold upon the people, and the most powerful body in Paris was the new municipality, which had procured its own election by violence, and which called itself the Commune. The inspiring genius of this revolutionary committee was Maximilian Robespierre, who, while acting with the utmost circumspection and craft, was gradually rising to the position of baleful eminence which he ultimately attained. Marat was another of the leading members, and the most active functions of government speedily passed into their hands. The Assembly recognised an authority greater than its own, and on the 12th of August surrendered the King and his family into the charge of the Commune. On the 13th they were conducted by Pétion to the Temple, where the King was lodged in a gloomy apartment, lighted by a single window. The royal prisoners were placed in the custody of the Mayor (Pétion), and the revolutionary leader, Santerre, by trade a brewer, but now commandant of the National Guards. The captivity was of a very rigorous description, the King and his family being even deprived of necessities, and denied communication with one another. At the same time, a Committee of General Safety was appointed under the directions of Marat, who organised a system of domiciliary visits which spread terror through all ranks except the lowest. For the trial of persons accused of sharing in the royal projects, a criminal tribunal was instituted, which proceeded by martial law, and gave decisions wherefrom there was no appeal. The Revolution was rapidly approaching the crisis which many had anticipated from the first, and the unhappy prisoners in the Temple can hardly have doubted that their lives would soon pay the penalty of their errors.

Before the events of August 10th, the army of the Allies had entered France. The frontier was crossed on the 30th of July, and the invaders moved on Longwy, which capitulated on the 23rd of August. The three divisions of the French army were under the command of Luckner, Lafayette, and Dumouriez; but the second of these officers was disinclined to obey the orders of the Assembly after the insurrection which had resulted in the imprisonment of the King. He was therefore declared a traitor to his country, and orders were issued that he should be impeached. Dumouriez and his regiments pronounced unequivocally for the Revolution, and on the 20th of August Lafayette fled to the camp of the allies, whence he was sent to the Austrian fortress of Olmutz. The capture of Verdun spread consternation throughout France, for the army of defence was ill-disciplined, and divided in its political sympathies. The loyalist

department of La Vendée threatened an insurrection against the power of the Assembly, and Paris was torn by internal factions, which neither the moderate nor the extreme revolutionists could for the moment control. The habit of insurrection had now acquired a hold on the Parisians, always too well inclined to violent demonstrations; and when Danton declared that it was necessary to strike the Royalists with terror, the utterance was equivalent to an order for a fresh rising. The Committee of Public Safety determined on a general massacre of all who might be considered hostile to the Revolution. The barriers were closed on the night of August 30th, so that no one should escape from Paris. Vast numbers of persons were arrested the following day; on the 2nd of September, a terrible slaughter of the Royalists commenced; more than two hundred priests were assassinated in cold blood, and the work of murder proceeded with frightful rapidity. Four days of massacre resulted in a number of deaths which cannot be precisely stated; and amongst the victims was the Princess de Lamballe (a confidential friend of Marie Antoinette), whose body was savagely mangled after her life had been destroyed. By these atrocious acts, which were unaccompanied by any trial or investigation, the prisons were relieved of their occupants, and similar murders were at the same time committed in several of the provincial cities. The massacre was not the work of the Assembly; but that body was either powerless to prevent it, or indifferent to its commission. The Revolution had, in truth, fallen under the control of an irresponsible committee of Parisian demagogues, possessing not the smallest right to act in the name of the French people, by whom they had never been elected, and who, had they dared, would have repudiated both their objects and their measures.

While Paris was thus disgracing itself by acts of furious massacre, the army of Dumouriez on the frontier was presenting a bold face to the enemy, and gradually checking the tide of invasion, which at one time seemed likely to reach Paris itself. The Austrians and Prussians attacked the French with spirit, but, though successful at some points, were driven back at others, especially at Valmy. After a while, the Allies lost heart, and the Prussians failed to take advantage of an opportunity of marching on Paris when the road was open to them. Towards the end of September, their general made overtures for negotiation, but was told that the Republic (for the Government was now called by that name) could listen to no propositions until the Prussian forces had entirely

evacuated the French territory. Famine and disease were devastating this division of the allied army, and a retreat was ordered on the 30th of

in defeating the armies of the Coalition. He was soon afterwards permitted to undertake the conquest of Belgium, and, having routed the Austrians



THE BATTLE OF VALMY.

September. The Austrian contingent was equally unsuccessful, and Dumouriez acquired well-merited fame by the brilliant ability which he had shown

at Jemappes on the 6th of November, secured the submission of the Netherlands as a consequence of that single action. The National Convention,

which had met for the first time on the 21st of September, was transported with delight at these unexpected successes, and on the 19th of November issued a manifesto, proffering fraternity and

announcement of such designs, to say nothing of their unwarrantable interference in the concerns of other people, was singularly imprudent, since its inevitable effect was to combine the monarchical



MARIE ANTOINETTE LEAVING THE REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL. (After Delaroche.)

recour to all nations who might desire to recover their liberty. This was followed, a few weeks later, by a resolution to the effect that wherever French generals might carry the arms of the Republic, they should proclaim the sovereignty of the people, should confiscate the property of priests and nobles, and should appoint officers to conduct the civil and municipal administration. The

Governments in a common opposition to the French Republic. But it must be observed that this policy was not adopted until after the league of the German sovereigns for restoring the ancient constitution of the French monarchy, which had undoubtedly been condemned by a considerable proportion of the French people.

The National Convention was a body similar in

character to the Legislative Assembly which it superseded. It comprised three hundred and seventy-one members, and, although the Girondists were again in the majority, their influence was neutralised by the superior vigour and enthusiasm of the Mountain. The elections to the Convention had commenced in Paris on the terrible 2nd of September, the day of the massacres—a circumstance which doubtless had considerable effect in determining the choice of members. Robespierre was one of the Parisian deputies; another was the celebrated Duke of Orleans, who, having adopted the principles of the Revolution, was thenceforth known as Philippe Egalité. On the day of meeting (September 21st, 1792), it was resolved by acclamation that royalty should be abolished in France, that the old chronology should be altered, and that the Year One of the French Republic should commence from the next day. As there had been some talk of creating a Federal Republic—an idea distasteful to the majority—it was decreed on the 5th of September that the Republic was “one and indivisible.” The more temperate members of this revolutionary Parliament were desirous of sparing the King’s life. The Mountain, however, took the opposite view, and on December 3rd it was decided that Louis should be brought to trial. It was also resolved that the sovereign should be judged by the Convention itself, and that his fate should be determined by the votes of the whole body. A popular Assembly, influenced by the rancour of contending factions, is, of all bodies in the world, the least fitted to act as a judicial court. The members of the Convention, moreover, were placed in the double position of accusers and judges; and the result of the investigation was as certain beforehand as anything could possibly be.

The first appearance of Louis before this prejudiced tribunal was on the 11th of December, when he was accused of attempting to establish his tyranny by destroying the liberty of the French people. The most serious part of the charges had reference to his negotiation with the German Powers; and undoubtedly that most indefensible step was largely conducive to the miserable termination of his career. Louis replied to these accusations with temper and ability; but, although enabled to refute some of them, he could not disprove the main facts that he had equivocated with the Revolution, and invited the assistance of foreign armies. He was subsequently permitted to name advocates for conducting his defence; and when he appeared again, on the 26th of December, he was not without legal assistance. The trial, if such it may be called, was brought to a conclusion

on that day; but no decision was reached until the 14th of January, 1793, when the flagging resolves of the Convention were stimulated to renewed activity by a tumultuous movement of the Parisian populace, who surrounded the hall of Assembly with repeated cries of “Death to the tyrant!” It was then decided by large majorities that Louis Capet, as he was called, had been guilty of conspiring against the liberty of the nation and the general safety of the State, and that the sentence on him should be determined by the Convention itself, without being submitted to the ratification of the people. By a small majority, during the night of January 16th, it was resolved that Louis should suffer the penalty of death, and among those so voting was Philippe Egalité, Duke of Orleans, a relative of the man thus condemned to the scaffold. Even the Convention uttered a cry of horror at this act of turpitude. One more question still remained for determination: namely, whether the royal prisoner should be respited or not. The final vote was taken at three in the morning of January 20th, when three hundred and eighty votes, against three hundred and ten, declared that there should be no suspension of the sentence. The execution took place on the following day, January 21st, when Louis XVI., attended to the last by the Abbé Edgeworth de Firmont, was beheaded in the Place de la Révolution, now the Place de la Concorde.

The death of Louis XVI.—the illegality of which is beyond dispute, whatever may be thought as to its abstract justice—created alarm and indignation throughout the whole of Europe; but it did not lead to any immediate action. In England, the restriction of the King’s liberty had been brought before the attention of Parliament; but Pitt very justly observed that any attempt at interference would simply excite the fury of the revolutionists in a still greater degree. Lord Gower, the English Ambassador in France, had, however, been recalled immediately after the events of August 10th, on the ground that his credentials were annulled by the imprisonment of the sovereign. At the same time, and for the same reason, the French Ambassador at London ceased to be recognised by the English Court; and there can be no doubt that from this period a feeling of the deepest distrust was created in England as to the designs of the French revolutionists. Extreme opinions were being actively propagated by the agents of the Republic. The higher and middle classes began to be alarmed; the Government found it necessary to augment the naval and military forces of the kingdom; and shortly after the meeting of Parlia-

ment, on December 13th, 1792, Lord Grenville introduced an Alien Bill, by which foreigners were placed under some measure of restraint. Pitt had hitherto observed a strict neutrality, nor did he even now abandon it, though events were obviously tending in the direction of war. The injudicious propaganda of the French Republic had created for it numerous enemies, and even Fox, with all his liberal sympathies, was obliged to acknowledge that the Government had cause for complaint. Burke, the most eloquent of Whig orators, had already declared against the Revolution. His "Reflections" on the subject appeared in October, 1790, and produced an unparalleled effect on the minds of Englishmen. Still, it was not until the massacres of September, 1792, that popular feeling in this country assumed a character of active antagonism to the new political order in France. The change in English opinion was well known to the democratic leaders in Paris, and it created a sentiment which had in it something of desperation. After the execution of the King, Marat observed, with unquestionable truth, that there was then no possibility of going back; they must either prevail or perish. Even Brissot, one of the less violent of the revolutionists, maintained that their only safety lay in setting fire to the four corners of Europe; and this soon became the accepted policy of the Republic. On the 1st February, 1793, the Convention unanimously declared war against England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Before long, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland were the only States with which the youthful Republic maintained relations of amity. With an audacity and self-confidence which approached the sublime, the Convention had declared war, not only against Great Britain and Holland, but against Spain, Austria, Prussia, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, Sardinia, and Piedmont. The die was cast, and Europe entered on a period of prolonged and devastating war.

To meet the necessities of a struggle which promised to be one of the greatest in Modern History, as in fact it became, the Convention ordered a levy of 300,000 men, instituted a military tribunal, and imposed a forced loan of one thousand million francs. For the present the war did not proceed successfully. Dumouriez, who had been ordered to march against the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg, was defeated at Neerwinden on the 18th of March, 1793, and shortly afterwards entered into a treaty with his opponents for restoring the constitutional monarchy in France. An armistice was concluded, the French army retired towards the frontier, and

Dumouriez issued a proclamation to his forces, in which he proposed to march on Paris. The troops, however, refused to follow him, and he took refuge with the Imperialists. The Convention had in vain endeavoured to check his treason; but it proved to be of less consequence than at first sight appeared probable. The greatest danger to the Republic consisted in its own excesses at the capital itself. A Revolutionary Tribunal was established on the 10th of March, and the Committee of Public Safety began its sittings on the 27th of May. The latter body, which deliberated in secret, was invested with the most despotic powers, and proved a frightful instrument of terror and oppression. The number of members was ultimately reduced from twenty-five to twelve, of whom the principal were Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. The Committee was soon at deadly feud with the Convention, or at any rate with the Girondists, who formed the majority of that assemblage. Marat was arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal for having signed an incendiary address. It was impossible that the Girondists could have committed a more foolish act; for in such a court the acquittal of the accused was absolutely certain. The charge was heard on the 23rd of April, and, after his release, Marat was borne in triumph by the mob to the hall of the Convention, which was invaded by their disorderly ranks.

It was not long before the popular demagogue had his revenge. He was supported by the Committee of Public Safety, the Paris Commune, and the Paris mob; and the more moderate party soon felt his strength. On the 2nd of June, a body of eighty thousand men, possessed of artillery as well as other weapons, demanded in the name of the Commune that the Girondist members of the Convention should be at once arrested. A requisition so enforced could not be denied, and the party of the Girondists was crushed. Thirty-two of the leading members were sent to prison; others escaped from Paris, and placed themselves at the head of an insurrectionary movement then proceeding in the western departments. A separate rising had commenced in the south, and the Republic seemed threatened with a formidable civil war at the very time when it had defied most of the European Governments to a trial of martial strength. The tyranny of the Paris demagogues was exciting horror and disgust in all honourable minds; but it remained for a woman to strike the first blow at the self-elected dictators of the capital. On the 13th of July, Marat was mortally stabbed, while lying in his bath, by Charlotte

Corday, a native of Caen, in Normandy, then twenty-five years of age. Assassination is always unjustifiable; but it has never been more capable of excuse than on this occasion. The courageous if mistaken girl was executed two days after the commission of the deed, and the body of Marat was made the subject of a species of religious ceremonial, in which the apostle and the victim of assassination received the honours of a god from a rabble of demagogues who believed in none.

While the Parisians indulged in these extravagancies, the provincial insurrections were extending: that in La Vendée was attended by repeated battles, considerable effusion of blood, and the wildest fanaticism. In another direction, Lyons made a determined stand against the forces of the Convention. When at length reduced by Kellermann, after a two months' siege, the city was subjected to the utmost atrocities of revenge: nearly two thousand of the inhabitants were slain, and a large number of public and private edifices were destroyed. At Toulon, the Royalist population requested and obtained the assistance of Admiral Hood, who landed a British force; but the town was taken on the 19th of December by the army of General Dugommier, who, however, was unable to prevent the burning of the arsenal, and of a large part of the French fleet, by Commodore Sir Sidney Smith. It is surprising that France should have been able to exert any power whatever in the existing state of its affairs; for at Paris one tumult succeeded another, and the citizens were divided into a medley of factions, which seemed intent on nothing but mutual extermination.

A new constitution, of which Robespierre was the principal author, received the languid approval of the Convention on the 23rd of June; but the Reign of Terror was now fast approaching. Robespierre was chosen a member of the Committee of Public Safety in July, 1793, and he had for his colleagues several men as earnest and unscrupulous as himself. This arbitrary and irresponsible body decreed a levy *en masse* of all citizens capable of bearing arms, made provision for a forced loan, required of the landowners and farmers a contribution of two-thirds of their produce in grain for the consumption of the army, and imposed a fixed price in respect of bread, meat, wine, salt, wood, and other articles of necessity. Another measure of the Committee was the infamous "Law of the Suspected," the unflinching application of which consigned more than 200,000 captives to the prisons of France. At the same time, the guillotine was in active operation, and hostility to the dominant faction

was punished by immediate death. General Custine was beheaded for military reverses, and on the 16th of October Marie Antoinette was led to the scaffold. Twenty-one proscribed Girondists were slaughtered soon after. The Duke of Orleans and Madame Roland met their fate in November. It was the latter who, on passing the statue of Liberty in the Place de la Révolution, exclaimed, in the bitterness of her heart, "O Liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name!" Her husband, who had escaped by the assistance of his wife, stabbed himself on hearing of her death. Madame du Barry, long the mistress of Louis XV., underwent the capital sentence at about this period, and a terrific slaughter of Royalists in La Vendée added to the horrors of the time. Neither justice nor rational reform could be expected from a system where one revolutionary body outvied another in frantic and sanguinary deeds. The Convention was surpassed in violence by the Committee of Public Safety, while the latter fell considerably short of the Paris Commune, where the counsels of Hébert were predominant. At the instigation of this man and his confederates, the Bishop of Paris and his clergy publicly renounced their religious belief and functions, and devoted themselves to the worship of Liberty, Equality, and Reason. Christianity was suppressed by a formal decree, and the Goddess of Reason, represented by a woman of low origin, was enthroned in the cathedral of Notre Dame. Abbeys and religious houses were secularised, and the remains of the French monarchs dragged from their sepulchres at St. Denis. The use of the revolutionary era now became general; the duration of the months was altered, and new names were conferred on them, such as were supposed to represent the prevailing character of the weather at that period of the year. The observance of Sunday was forbidden, and, as a partial substitute, every tenth day was appointed as a public holiday.

These innovations were due to the Hébertists, and in many respects were distasteful to Robespierre and those who acted with him. Robespierre was a sincere and consistent Deist, though otherwise entirely opposed to the orthodox religion. He placed himself in opposition to Hébert and his colleagues, and the latter attempted, but in vain, to excite an insurrection in their favour. They were tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal on the 20th of March, 1794, condemned to death, and executed on the 24th of the same month. One of the persons thus brought to the guillotine was a fanatical enthusiast—he might almost be called a madman—known as Anacharsis Clootz. The

nationality of this individual was Prussian; his social status in his own country was that of a baron; but in 1790 he appeared at the bar of the French National Assembly, as the head of what he styled an embassy from all the nations of the universe to the fraternal Republic. Having visited several countries, he called himself Anacharsis, after a famous Scythian traveller in the ancient world. The death of Hébert and his friends made way for the supremacy of Robespierre. This, however, did not instantly follow, for Danton yet stood in the path. In a few days, that powerful agitator was arrested in his bed, and sent to the Luxembourg with other members of his faction. When brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, Danton defended himself with admirable spirit; but he and his companions were found guilty on various charges of disaffection to the existing order, and beheaded on the 6th of April.

The position of Robespierre was now that of a dictator, and all who ventured to dispute his will were condemned to summary execution. It may be that this extraordinary person had really some desire of superseding the existing state of anarchy by a firm and settled Government; and it is possible that he actually persuaded himself of his inability to ensure such a result unless he could first remove all who were interested in maintaining the predominance of disorder. His dislike of the Atheism which was rapidly corrupting the French character is proved by the fact that he proclaimed in the Convention the necessity of a belief in the existence of a God as the foundation of virtue and morality. The fickle or servile representatives, who had but recently declared the contrary, now voted by acclamation that "the French people acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul." A theatrical and ridiculous ceremony was performed on the 8th of June in the gardens of the Tuileries, when Robespierre, in a sky-blue coat, acted the part of high-priest, and various paste-board figures, representing Atheism, Egotism, Discord, and Ambition, were set on fire, to the admiration of some, and the disgust of others. Robespierre had commenced the day's proceedings in a spirit of self-complacent satisfaction: at night, he returned to his lodgings in a state of vague alarm and depression, for among those who attended the day's ceremonial were many who had not obscurely threatened him with the consequences of his manifest ambition.

To guard against these dangers, the Revolutionary Tribunal was invested with new powers of the most appalling description. Any one suspected

of being inimical to the Republic might be convicted and sent to the scaffold without the examination of any witnesses; and the result was, that from the 10th of June to the 27th of July upwards of one thousand four hundred people were beheaded, upon charges which were not sustained by the smallest tittle of proof. Every day witnessed a massacre, and the sufferings of Paris were rivalled, or surpassed, by those of the provinces. For a time, the Convention, the capital, and the whole nation, were paralysed with terror; but, towards the end of July, a powerful opposition to Robespierre arose, not merely in the Convention, but even in the Committee of Public Safety. On the 27th of that month, two members of the Convention, Billaud-Varennes and Tallien, openly denounced the tyrant in words of fiery eloquence, which awakened a profound echo throughout the Assembly. The House voted itself in permanent session, and ordered the arrest of Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just, the triumvirs of the Committee. They were at once sent to prison, together with a few others; but Robespierre still depended with confidence on the action of the Commune, which despatched detachments of troops to the prisons where the accused were confined, and set them at liberty. The Convention replied by pronouncing a decree of outlawry against Robespierre, his colleagues, and the whole Commune of Paris. At midnight on that eventful day, a large force surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, and the malcontents surrendered without resistance. Some attempted suicide, and one succeeded in his design. Robespierre was among those who discharged a pistol at his head; but, whether trepidation had unnerved his hand, or whatever may have been the cause, the only effect was to break his jaw. In this miserable state, he was dragged to the building occupied by the Committee of Public Safety, where he was insulted, struck, and otherwise ill-treated by his late colleagues. On the following day, he and his accomplices were brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and in the evening all were conveyed to the scaffold. Pallid as death, and with his jaw wrapped in a bloody cloth, Robespierre mounted the steps after the execution of his companions. His last utterance was a frightful shriek, as the executioner tore the bandage from his neck. The next moment, his head fell beneath the descending blade, and the crowd hailed it with shouts of delight. The sanguinary despotism of the man has never been surpassed; but he died penniless, and the title of "the Incorruptible," which he affected, seems not to have been unjustly claimed.



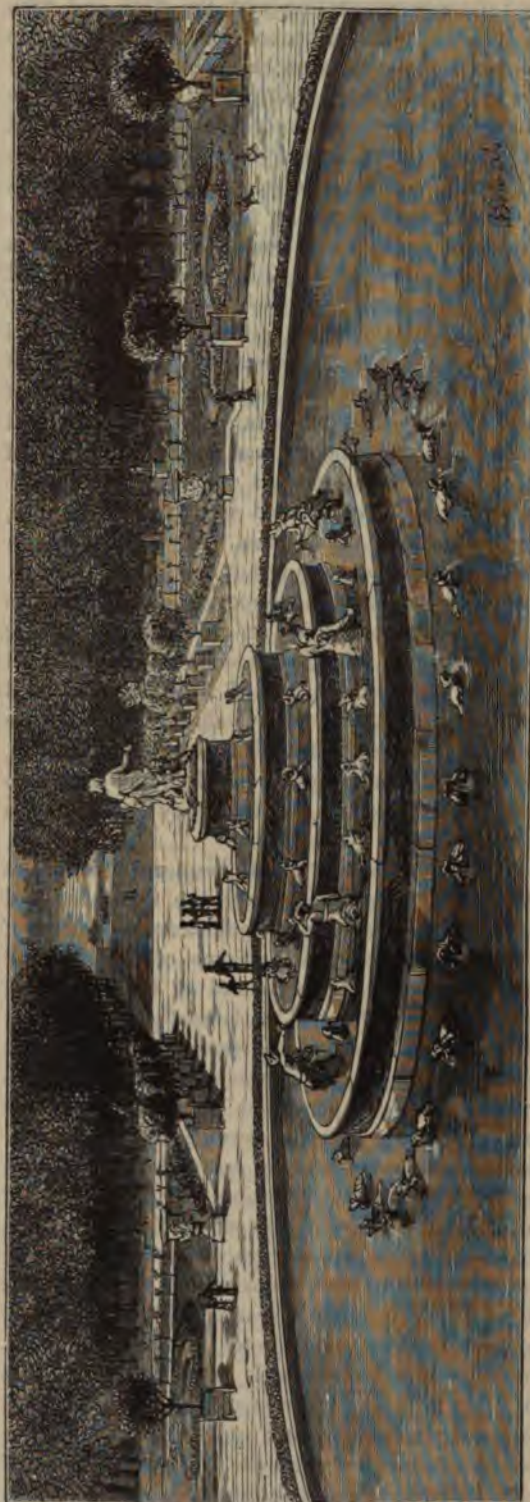
MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE REPUBLIC MILITANT.

Restoration of the Power of the Convention after the Fall of Robespierre—Reaction against the Demagogues—Suppression of the Jacobin Club—Prevalence of Milder Views—Famine and Turbulence—Triumph of Authority—Conservatism in the Provinces—The White Terror—Campaign of 1793—Brilliant Successes of the French in 1794—Submission of Holland in 1795—Treaties of Peace with Prussia and Spain—The Insurrection in La Vendée and Brittany—Triumph of the Republicans—Alteration in the French Constitution—The Directory and the Legislative Councils—Opposition of the Paris Sections to the New Constitution—Early Life and Services of Napoleon Bonaparte—The Insurrection of the Thirteenth Vendémiaire—Dissolution of the Convention, and Installation of the Directory—Bankrupt Condition of France—Measures of the New Government—Brilliant Campaign of Bonaparte in Northern Italy—Conventions with the King of Sardinia and the Pope—Ill-Success of Jourdan and Moreau in the North-East—Repeated Defeats of the Austrians by Bonaparte—Battles of Arcole and Rivoli—Pius VI. and the Treaty of Tolentino—Spoliation of Italy—Defeat of the Archduke Charles—The French Invade Carinthia and Styria—Agreement between Bonaparte and the Austrians—Disturbances in the Venetian Territory—Entry of French Troops into Venice, and Destruction of the Ancient Republic—Aggrandisement of the French—The Ligurian and Cisalpine Republics established by Bonaparte—Successes of Hoche and Moreau—Anti-Royalist *Coup d'Etat* in Paris—The Peace of Campo Formio—Return of Bonaparte to France—Revolution in Rome, fomented by the French—Harsh Treatment of Pope Pius VI.—Attack on Switzerland—Expedition of Bonaparte to Egypt—Battle of the Pyramids—Nelson's Victory in the Bay of Aboukir—Bonaparte in Syria—His Return to Egypt, and Change in his Plans—Revolution of the Nineteenth Brumaire—Bonaparte at the Head of the Government.

The movement which resulted in the execution of Robespierre and his accomplices, is known in French history as that of the Ninth and Tenth Thermidor—i.e., the ninth and tenth days of "the



VERSAILLES PALACE AND GARDENS.

hot month," according to the Revolutionary calendar; dates corresponding with the 27th and 28th of July, 1794. It is generally considered that the Reign of Terror ended with the fall of the great terrorist; but such was hardly the case. The triumphant party—that of the Convention—had its revenge to take, and the guillotine still ran with the blood of French citizens. Yet there was a decided mitigation in the spirit of ferocity. More than ten thousand persons, detained in prison under the Law of the Suspected, were set at liberty; the powers of the Committee of Public Safety, and of another termed that of General Security, were greatly curtailed; and several of the Girondist members, expelled on the 31st of May, were recalled to their seats in the national Parliament. The change was one for the better, if only because it substituted the rule of the Convention, which represented the whole of France, for that of the Committees and the Commune, which represented nothing but the Parisian rabble. The reaction against the despotism of the Jacobins was speedily headed by an association of young men nicknamed "*La Jeunesse Dorée*" (the Gilded Youth), who, on the 9th of November, attacked the Jacobin hall, and, after a short conflict, drove out the members. Emboldened by this success, the Convention suppressed the club, and the more respectable Parisians felt that they could breathe again.

After some eighty of Robespierre's followers had been put to death, and the Commune had been thus reduced to insignificance, a period of greater mildness set in. Some of the defeated party were tried, and sentenced to transportation, instead of being hurried to the scaffold. The most extravagant decrees of the early Revolution were annulled; divine worship was restored; the priests and nobles were permitted to return; and it seemed probable that a Government at once moderate and liberal would be established. Unfortunately, however, the reaction, after a time, fell into the hands of men who carried it too far, and who were suspected of royalist and ecclesiastical leanings. The popular discontent, moreover, was increased by a terrible scarcity, which at length assumed so grave a character that the daily consumption of bread of each person in Paris was fixed by law. Insurrections were attempted, and one, occurring on the 20th and 21st of May, 1795, looked extremely formidable. Uttering cries of "*Bread, and the Constitution of 1793!*" the mob invaded the hall of the Convention, threatened the deputies with their muskets, and killed one. It was necessary to expel the intruders at the point

of the bayonet; but the disturbance was renewed on the following day, and the rioters would not disperse until they had received assurances that their wishes would be at least partially granted. Two days later, the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine—one of the most revolutionary quarters—were attacked by a strong force from the more conservative sections, and compelled to surrender their cannon and small arms. Troops of the Line were concentrated in Paris. The "*Mountain*" was almost annihilated by the severity of its treatment; the Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed; and, for the first time since the middle of 1789, the principle of authority obtained an ascendancy over the stormy passions of the mob.

In the provinces, the reaction was excessive. The adherents of the old order which the Revolution had destroyed—the supporters of the Throne and the Church, reinforced by a number of discontented Girondists—formed themselves into an association for revenging the crimes of the demagogues by others of a like nature, and of equal guilt. These acts were principally committed in the cities and towns of the south, where, some eighteen months before, Tallien, Fréron, Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, Carrier, and other members of the extreme Republican party, had superintended a long series of massacres, unparalleled even in the history of those times. The provincial reaction of 1795 went by the name of "*the White Terror*," to distinguish it from the Red Terror of the Revolution. The Jesuits were foremost in the work of death, and many of the persecuted, who for the moment had escaped, were deliberately hunted down, and cast into the Rhone. Either from the strength of its reactionary sympathies, or from lack of military force, the Convention at Paris did nothing to restrain or punish these enormities. The assassinations in the provinces form another dismal page in the records of the epoch; but they are not surprising. As the tyranny and corruption of the Court and of the nobles palliated the excesses of the Paris demagogues, so the White Terror is palliated by the Red. But it is the vice of party advocates to see no further than their brief.

During these convulsions of revolution and reaction in the heart of France, the war on the frontiers proceeded with varying fortunes, but without any decisive events on either side. The expedition of the Duke of York, at the head of a British contingent, was altogether unfortunate. He laid siege to Dunkirk at the latter end of August, 1793, but soon found himself in so dangerous a position that, abandoning fifty-two guns and his baggage, he hastily quitted the place, and formed a junction

with the Hanoverian commander, Walmoden, at Furnes. The French obtained some brilliant successes in the north-east, especially at Wattignies, where Jourdan defeated the Austrians after a sanguinary battle of two days' duration. Yet no results of importance ensued from this achievement; the enemy was suffered to retreat unmolested, and the approach of winter suspended further action. The operations of the French were directed from Paris by Lazare Nicolas Carnot, a man of great ability, and, at that time, of unsuspected Republican zeal, who kept a strict eye on all the generals, and cashiered or sent to the guillotine any who neglected the opportunities of victory. In September, 1793, the Prussians, annoyed at some of the Austrian projects, withdrew from the Coalition; yet the alliance against France was still powerful, and the armies of the Republic were seriously defeated, on more than one occasion, by the forces of the Duke of Brunswick, operating in Alsace. Strasburg was ready to receive the Austrians, if they would proclaim Louis XVII.; but their object was to recover Alsace for themselves. The royalist leanings of the Strasburgers were punished with vindictive sternness, and St. Just, the colleague of Robespierre, rivalled the atrocities of his chief at Paris. These acts, it must be recollected, occurred during the period of the Reign of Terror.

Before the close of 1793, the French generals, Hoche and Pichegru, distinguished themselves against the Duke of Brunswick in the Vosges Mountains. Wurmser, one of the Austrian commanders in Alsace, was compelled to retreat towards the Geisberg; the French armies of the Rhine and the Moselle (now united) followed on his rear; and a fresh defeat of the Austrians, on December 26th, led to the recovery of Alsace, and to the occupation of the Palatinate by the soldiers of the Republic. In 1794, the war was vigorously prosecuted in the Netherlands, where the French troops were commanded by Pichegru and Jourdan. The latter defeated the allies at Fleurus on the 26th of June, and, forming a junction with Pichegru and the Army of the North, entered Brussels on the 9th of July. The whole of Belgium was now abandoned to the French, and the Duke of York retreated into Holland. In a series of rapid and effective movements, Jourdan drove the Austrians beyond the Rhine, and by the end of October the French were masters of the entire course of that river from Worms to Nimeguen. Cologne and Coblenz were taken by Jourdan, and Treves submitted to the Army of the Moselle. Some important successes were also achieved by the French on the Sardinian and Spanish frontiers;

but on the 1st of June, 1794, their fleet was disastrously beaten by Lord Howe off the Isle of Ushant, and in the same year several English conquests in the West Indies damaged the fortunes and lowered the reputation of the young Republic in that part of the world.

The successes of the French armies were renewed in 1795, in the early part of which year the English and Dutch forces at Nimeguen were defeated by Pichegru. On the 20th of January, that commander entered Amsterdam in triumph, and Holland submitted, not unwillingly, to the invader. The Stadtholder had already fled to England, and the British regiments soon after gained the port of Bremen, and took ship for their own country. The expedition under the Duke of York (who resigned his command to General Walmoden a few weeks before the close of the campaign) had been of the most inglorious character, and the contingent was terribly reduced in number by disease, desertion, fatigue, and deprivation of necessaries, as well as by the accidents of war. The French were completely successful in the Low Countries, and a Republic was established in Holland, which for a little while received the general support of the Dutch people. A treaty of alliance was afterwards concluded between the two commonwealths; but the Dutch soon had reason to regret their change of government, which had in fact placed them in a position of mere dependence upon France. Peace was concluded between the French Republic and the King of Prussia on the 5th of April, 1795; by which agreement, Prussia surrendered to France all her provinces on the left or western bank of the Rhine. Spain also showed her readiness for an amicable arrangement; but there was a difficulty which could not at once be overcome. The two children of Louis XVI. were still detained in prison, and the Spanish monarch, being himself a Bourbon, found it necessary to make some stipulation for their release. The young prince, sometimes called Louis XVII., had been treated with a persistent severity which resulted in prolonged illness, and finally in his death in the Temple, at the age of eleven, on the 8th of June, 1795. The princess was subsequently released, by agreement with the Court of Vienna; but the death of Louis removed the scruples of the Spanish King, especially when the French army in Spain took possession of Vittoria. Peace was concluded on the 22nd of July, and Spain ceded to France her portion of St. Domingo, in return for the restoration by the Republic of its conquests to the south of the Pyrenees. On the 19th of August, 1796, France and Spain signed the Treaty of St.

Ildefonso, by which the two Powers agreed to combine their forces, military and naval, with a view to united war on England.

Thus the Convention was successful in many directions at once; but the internal peace of France was not secured. The Royalists were still powerful in some of the provinces, and the insurgents of La Vendée, after coming to an arrangement with the Government in February, 1795, again broke out into rebellion in the following June. Their movement was aided by a large body of French emigrants, who were landed by a British fleet on the peninsula of Quiberon, in Brittany. The attempt, however, ended in nothing but disaster. The Royalists were defeated by General Hoche, who, on the night of July 20th, stormed Fort Penhièvre, where the malcontents had established themselves. The usual scenes of massacre followed, and Hoche then attacked the insurgents of La Vendée, and entirely crushed the movement by the celerity and skill of his measures. It is said that, from first to last, the civil war in La Vendée cost the lives of a hundred thousand Frenchmen; at any rate, the province was reduced to a condition of wretchedness, from which it did not recover for many years. The Royalist movement was strongest in the west of France, and it might possibly have been successful, but for the extraordinary vigour and capacity of the Republican generals. The sentimental part of the Revolution had by this time exhausted itself, and a large number of Frenchmen were longing for the establishment of some orderly and settled rule, which should deliver the country from the repeated convulsions of previous years. Yet, under all its trials, the Republic stood firm, partly because, in spite of its excesses, it represented some principles of equity and reason, and partly because its fortunes were now guided by military power, and strengthened by military success.

The constitution of the Republic underwent an important reform in the late summer of 1795. It was by this time generally agreed that the principles of 1793 were too extreme, or at any rate that they required some balance which should strengthen the hands of authority. A Committee was therefore appointed to draw up a new scheme of government, and in this scheme the Declaration of Rights was followed by a Declaration of Duties, the eighth article of which affirmed the dependence of social order on the maintenance of property. The suffrage was to some extent reduced, and the legislative power was vested in two chambers—the Council of Five Hundred, and the Council of the Ancients. The number of the latter, which was, in fact, a Senate, amounted to only half that of the more popu-

lar body, and the duties of the two were curiously divided. The Council of Five Hundred possessed the sole right of initiating laws; the Council of Ancients could simply discuss those laws, and accept or reject them. The executive power was entirely separated from the legislative, and was confided to a Directory, consisting of five members appointed by the two chambers. One Director was to retire by rotation every year, and a third part of each Council was to be similarly replaced by fresh members. The new Constitution was submitted to the votes of the people, and in the provinces was accepted by an immense majority; but in the capital much division of opinion arose in the forty-eight sections into which Paris had been divided by a law of 1790. Some of the sections were so evidently determined to resist the proposed change by force of arms, that the Convention placed itself in the hands of Barras, who had shown great firmness in repressing the movement of the Ninth and Tenth Thermidor. Barras devolved the active command on Napoleon Bonaparte, a young artillery officer, who, after distinguishing himself at the siege of Toulon, had seen much service with the Army of Italy, but who now considered his claims neglected by his superiors, and thought of entering the service of the Turkish Sultan. This extraordinary man—destined, within a few years, to become the most conspicuous figure in the world—was the second son of Carlo Bonaparte and Letizia Ramolini, and was born at Ajaccio, in Corsica, on the 15th of August, 1769. The Bonapartes were of Tuscan origin, but had been settled in Corsica since the latter part of the fifteenth century.* The island was ceded by Genoa to France in 1768, the very year preceding the birth of Napoleon, if, indeed, the future Emperor was not born twelve months earlier than is commonly alleged. At the period we have now reached, however, Corsica had for a time passed out of French hands, in consequence of a revolution, fomented, in 1793, by General Paoli, who, forty years before, had been concerned in some political movements of the islanders. The cause of the insurgents was taken up by England, which, in 1794, despatched a fleet for the reduction of the few coast-towns still held by the French. In the successful prosecution of these measures, our great naval hero, Nelson, first attracted general attention; so that the two most conspicuous warriors of that epoch began their career of victory at nearly the same date, and are both associated with Corsica. It may here be mentioned in passing that, after

* Strictly speaking, the name should be spelt Buonaparte; but it is now usual to omit the second letter.

the fall of Bastia, a general assembly of the islanders, presided over by Paoli, voted the annexation of Corsica to Great Britain; so that, had General Bonaparte returned to his birthplace at the period when Barras selected him as his assistant in putting down the Parisian mob, he would have become a subject of Great Britain, and of King George III. The English, however, quitted the island in October, 1796, when the people declared for the French.

Bonaparte was the very man for executing the commission with which he was charged. His readiness, acumen, and other military gifts, had already been made apparent on several occasions, and his dislike of mob rule had shown itself from an early period. He now planted cannon on all the approaches to the Tuileries, where the Convention sat, and concentrated large bodies of troops in the neighbouring streets, bridges, and open places. A desperate combat followed on the 5th of October, 1795, known in Revolutionary annals either as the Thirteenth Vendémiaire, or as the Day of the Sections. Nearly thirty thousand National Guards, operating in two divisions, converged towards the Tuileries; but Bonaparte took them in detail, and, having scattered one body, advanced with startling rapidity against the other. In an hour and a half, the fighting was at an end: Bonaparte's cannon had settled the argument with terrible promptitude. Barras seems to have done little or nothing in the matter, and, on his retirement shortly afterwards, Napoleon was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. The Convention was dissolved on the 26th of October, after decreeing an amnesty for political offences, and declaring Belgium to be incorporated with France. The Directory at once succeeded to power; the Palace of the Luxembourg was made the official residence; and a military guard was appointed for the protection of the new Government from insurrectionary excesses. The task of the Directors was one of no common difficulty; for the country was nearly bankrupt, the armies were clamouring for arrears of pay, the Parisians were starving, the provinces were devastated by brigands, and civilisation was almost extinguished in anarchy and license. Under such circumstances, it was impossible for the Directors to give general satisfaction; but their financial arrangements afforded relief for a while, and the suppression of the Assignats, which had fallen immensely below their nominal value, was doubtless a necessary measure in the desperate exigencies of the time.

Napoleon Bonaparte now becomes, for the next twenty years, the principal figure in European

history. On the 9th of March, 1796, he was married to Madame de Beauharnais, the daughter of a West Indian planter, and the widow of a nobleman who had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror. Immediately afterwards, the successful young soldier was appointed to the chief command of the Army of Italy, and by the 27th of March he had reached his head-quarters at Nice. The progress of the French arms in Italy had been slight and precarious. In the early part of 1796, the invaders were cooped up in the western Riviera of Genoa, between the mountains and the sea, though this was the fourth year during which they had carried on operations in that part of the peninsula. The army was demoralised by distress, inaction, and the absence of efficient commanders; its numbers were but few, while the allied Austrians and Piedmontese, commanded by Generals Beaulieu and Colli, could reckon on the services of sixty thousand men. Bonaparte at once marched towards Genoa, cut the centre of the enemy's line, so as to separate the Austrians from the Piedmontese, and forced Beaulieu to retire towards Milan in the one direction, and Colli towards Turin in the other. Closely pursuing the latter, Bonaparte advanced to within ten leagues of the city, and on the 28th of April dictated the conditions of an armistice, by which the King of Sardinia ceded to the French the province of Savoy and the county of Nice. The victor then turned round upon the Austrians, compelled Beaulieu to fall back upon the line of the Adda, carried the bridge of Lodi, notwithstanding its strong fortifications, and pressed the enemy towards the Mincio. On the 15th of May he entered Milan, and the people of that city, who had always hated the Austrian domination, received with enthusiasm a liberator who was all the more welcome because he was himself an Italian. Mantua was besieged on the 27th of May, and, while the attack was proceeding, Bonaparte left for Bologna, where he imposed an armistice on Pope Pius VI., who, besides furnishing a large sum of money, together with many valuable presents in works of art, consented to the occupation of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ancona, by the troops of the Republic. In extorting terms from foreign potentates, Napoleon was undoubtedly exceeding his powers and his instructions. The Directors exhibited some degree of jealousy at these proceedings, which seemed to evince a disposition on the part of the young commander to exercise the prerogatives of a sovereign; but the popularity which his victories had ensured deterred the Government at Paris from taking any active measures against his presumption. A single re-

verse would probably have been his ruin; but he met with none. A fresh Austrian army was despatched against him under the command of Marshal Wurmser, a veteran of no small ability; but Bonaparte defeated him on several occasions, and in September he retired into Mantua, the blockade of which had now been raised by the French, and which was sufficiently provisioned to sustain a long and severe siege.

The triumphs of Bonaparte were for a time

Jourdan seriously affected the position of Bonaparte in Northern Italy; for the Austrians, being thus delivered from danger in one direction, were able to concentrate a larger force in the other. They assembled a third army at Verona, and the French were almost overpowered by numbers. Losing confidence in their commander, and fearing the worst, the invaders gave audible expression to their discontent; but Bonaparte conceived the idea of turning the left flank of the Austrians,



TURIN.

imperilled by the ill-success of Generals Jourdan and Moreau on the north-eastern frontiers. Both those commanders crossed the Rhine in the latter part of the summer, but their movements were attended by misfortune. After a serious reverse at Wurtzburg on the 3rd of September, Jourdan recrossed the Rhine into French territory, while Moreau, having penetrated as far as Munich, found himself in imminent danger of being cut off. He made a masterly retreat, however, by the valley of the Danube, the passes of the Black Forest, and the defiles of the Höllenthal, and finally arrived at Huningue, in his own country, without material loss. The failure of Moreau and

who had resisted all direct attempts to dislodge them from the position which they held on the heights of Caldiero, in front of Verona. The movement was carried out secretly and effectually. After three days' fighting, during which the French were twice compelled to withdraw, the village of Arcole was taken by the assailants, and the Austrians retreated on Montebello. The struggle had been of the most sanguinary character; but the genius and determination of the French general again prevailed, although the number of troops under his command was extremely small, in comparison with those of his adversary.

These memorable actions were fought in the

middle of November, 1796, and ensured a few weeks' respite, during which both sides prepared for a renewal of the sanguinary conflict. On the 14th of January, 1797, the Austrian commander, Alvinzi, was again defeated at the battle of Rivoli, in which the genius of Bonaparte shone with extraordinary brilliance. Mantua being no longer tenable,

the French Kings in later times, it had always hitherto been restored to the Pontiffs; but it was claimed by the National Assembly in 1791, and the will of the Republic was enforced by Bonaparte.

Considered purely on military grounds, the French campaign in Upper Italy was worthy of



NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

Wurmser capitulated on the 2nd of February. The States of the Church were next overrun, for the Directory had determined to oppose the Roman power. Pius VI. concluded the Treaty of Tolentino on the 19th of February, and it was agreed that the Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, together with Avignon and its territory, should be ceded to the Republic. Avignon had been made over to the Popes by the French King, Philip III., as early as 1273, and, from 1309 to 1377, during a period of disruption, was the seat of the Papal dominion. Although often seized by

the highest praise; but in some other respects it would be difficult to condemn too strongly the action of the victors. The country was despoiled of money, provisions, stores, and priceless objects of art; and Pavia, which ventured to resist these extortions, was given up to pillage for a whole day. If the Italians at any time regarded Napoleon as a possible liberator of the land with which he was connected by blood, they must soon have been undeceived. The only object of the conqueror was to create for himself a dazzling military reputation, as the most certain means of advancing to supreme

power. His difficulties, however, were not yet over, for the Austrians collected another army on the Tagliamento, the command of which was entrusted to the Archduke Charles. The newcomers consisted for the most part of raw troops, and the Archduke, though possessed of good qualities as a soldier, was speedily beaten by his brilliant adversary, whose army had been largely reinforced. With his accustomed velocity, Bonaparte attacked the forces of the Archduke before they had been fully assembled, and drove the Austrians from their positions on the Tagliamento, a stream running through that north-eastern part of Italy which is called Udine or Friuli. The Archduke Charles retreated hastily beyond the Isonzo, and Bonaparte, who was now assisted by two generals of remarkable ability—Bernadotte and Masséna—followed in close pursuit, chased his opponent beyond the Save and Drave, and, on the 31st of March, entered Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia.

The Emperor was now attacked in his hereditary possessions; but Bonaparte had placed himself in a position of no slight peril, as he had advanced far from his base of operations, and was arousing against himself the strongest feelings of outraged nationality. Nevertheless, he pushed on with unhesitating zeal, and speedily entered Judenburg, in Styria, within a brief march of Vienna. Some days before, he had addressed a letter to the Archduke Charles, making proposals for peace; and on the 7th of April an armistice was agreed upon, followed, on the 18th of the same month, by the signature at Léoben of the preliminaries of peace. The Archduke Charles was strongly opposed to making any terms with the enemy; but the Austrian Cabinet had been seized with terror by the continual discomfiture of its armies, and at the steady advance of the French invaders into the heart of the Empire. Bonaparte himself was greatly relieved by the readiness of his opponent to treat; for he had latterly become uneasy as to his position, and a further prosecution of the war might have been attended by disaster. The agreement of April 18th placed Austria in a humiliating posture before the world, and added to the dignity of Revolutionary France. When the Austrian representative rather ostentatiously acknowledged the French Republic in the first article of the preliminaries, Bonaparte exclaimed, "Strike that out! The Republic is like the sun. Woe to him who cannot see it!" Language of this kind could not have been held a year or two before; and that it was now possible was due to the splendid successes of the French commanders, and especially

of the supreme genius who had worsted the best generals and the best armies of a great military Empire.

The attention of Bonaparte was soon directed to a movement against the French which had begun, about a month earlier, at Verona and other places belonging to the Republic of Venice, but recently occupied by the troops of France. Several of the invaders were assassinated, and a large number thrown into prison; but Bonaparte used these disturbances as a pretext for justifying an act of tyranny and revenge which, after all, is incapable of defence. In the preliminaries of Léoben, it was agreed that the Continental States of Venice should be made over to the Austrian sovereign, in compensation for the sacrifices imposed on that ruler, and that Venice was to receive in exchange the territories extorted from the Pope. As the assassinations continued, and even included the sick French in the hospital at Verona, Bonaparte sent one of his divisions to that city, and ultimately to Venice, took possession of the military posts, and proclaimed a democratical form of government in place of the Venetian Senate. This was in fact the extinction of the great maritime Republic, which had lasted more than thirteen centuries; for, although its independence was not at that time nominally destroyed, Venice soon became a possession of Austria, and continued in a state of melancholy servitude until its incorporation with the kingdom of Italy in 1866. The once proud commonwealth of the Adriatic had been long declining in wealth, in power, and in dignity; but the want of spirit shown in its final collapse could hardly have been anticipated by the other Governments of Europe. The city might have been defended until the arrival of succour, which would not have been found wanting; but the authorities were terror-stricken at the threats of Bonaparte, and only two of the Senators spoke in favour of resistance. The haughty general of the French Republic had told the Venetians that, if they resisted, he would be an Attila to their city. He was in truth little else, though their submission might have purchased his forbearance. He extorted from them six millions of francs, destroyed the far-famed Bucentoro, or State galley of the Doges, burnt the Golden Book, in which the records of the great families were preserved, and sent to Paris the bronze horses brought from Constantinople in the thirteenth century. The Venetian fleet was seized, and the French soon afterwards took possession of the Ionian Islands, which were among the dependencies of the fallen Republic. The freedom of Genoa was also de-

stroyed by French intrigues, and a new government, called the Ligurian Republic, was erected in its stead. Lombardy, Modena, the Legations, and some other territories, were united under the title of the Cisalpine Republic; and all this was done by the sole will of Bonaparte, who acted with as complete a disregard of the Directory as if he had been a sovereign prince.

While these events were proceeding in Italy, Hoche and Moreau had been obtaining brilliant successes against the Austrians on the eastern side of the Rhine; but the armistice concluded at Léoben prevented further hostilities in that quarter, and Bonaparte remained the undisputed master of French policy. In the meantime, disturbances again arose at Paris, where the elections of 1797 had resulted in the return of more than two hundred royalists to the two Councils. Dissensions likewise existed in the Directory itself, where the more Republican members, Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveillère, determined to take special measures against the threatened reaction. They appealed for support to Bonaparte and to Hoche, the first of whom sent one of his lieutenants, while the second marched in person towards Paris, at the head of a considerable army. The result was a military *coup d'état*, executed on the Eighteenth Fructidor (September 4th, 1797), when several of the royalist members of both Councils were seized and imprisoned. Of the two reactionary Directors, Barthélemy was committed to the Temple, while Carnot managed to escape. There had doubtless been an intrigue for restoring the Bourbons, and, but for the vigilance of Barras and his two supporters, it might have succeeded. The ultimate fate of the prisoners was transportation to the pestilential swamps of Cayenne, where many of them speedily succumbed to the fatal influences of the climate.

The preliminaries of Léoben assumed their final shape in the Treaty of Campo Formio, signed on October 17th, in a ruined castle attached to a small village near Udine, in the extreme north-east of Italy. The most important changes effected by this treaty were the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to France, together with the Ionian Islands, and all the Venetian settlements in Albania below the Gulf of Lodrino, and the transfer to the Empire of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the city of Venice, the Lagoon, and a large portion of the Venetian *terra firma*, the remainder of which was handed over to the Cisalpine Republic. A secret treaty, concluded at the same time, gave to France the whole frontier

of the Rhine, except the Prussian possessions. Towards the end of that memorable year, Bonaparte returned to Paris, and on the 10th of December was honoured with a public reception by the Directory. His popularity was now unbounded, for, by whatever methods, he had largely increased the power of France, and had placed the Republic in a position of command, such as, in the days of its struggling infancy, none but a few enthusiasts could have anticipated. Even the Directory, though not without uneasy suspicions as to his ultimate designs, was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of his military genius; and when, early in 1798, preparations were made for a descent on England, the command of the expedition was offered to the hero of the Italian campaign. Bonaparte visited Boulogne, and made an examination of the coast; but his report was unfavourable to the project, and it was consequently abandoned. His mind, however, was much occupied by schemes against the power of Great Britain, and, conceiving that the commerce of this country might be materially injured by an expedition to Egypt, he made a proposal to that effect to the Directory. In this way he hoped to obtain the command of the Mediterranean, and to hamper or destroy the trade of England in those waters. His views were submitted to the Government, but for some time met with no favourable reception. When at length they were sanctioned, it was probably less from the hope of realising the ideas of the great conqueror than from a desire to rid Paris of one who seemed likely, if he remained there, to lay violent hands upon the helm of State.

Before relating the Egyptian campaign, it will be necessary to glance briefly in two directions where important events were occurring. One of the Directorial schemes was to suppress the Papal Government, and Bonaparte, when in Italy, had been ordered to march on Rome, and destroy the rule of the Pontiffs. The orders had not been carried out, although, as we have seen, Pius VI. was compelled to yield a good deal to the imperious demands of a triumphant soldier. Nevertheless, the Directors clung to their project, and, in September, 1797, Joseph Bonaparte, the elder brother of Napoleon, was sent as Ambassador to Rome, with the deliberate intention, there can be little doubt, of fomenting a quarrel with the head of the Church. Disturbances soon broke out in several parts of the Pope's dominions, and the democratic party at Rome proclaimed a Republic. Pius VI. was about eighty years of age when these events occurred. He had recently been ill, and he possessed no power sufficient to withstand the

agencies now brought against him. During the three-and-twenty years of his Pontificate, he had ruled with mildness and liberality in his own dominions, however exacting in the assertion of Papal claims in other countries. Rome was the gainer by his love of art, and his devotion to material progress; but these benefits could not protect him from the combined influences of force and fraud. On the 28th of September, 1797, a band of revolutionists, consisting mostly of Italians, but aided by General Duphot, one of the French representatives at Rome, hoisted a tricoloured flag, and sallied out into the streets, uttering revolutionary cries. In a struggle with the Papal soldiery which presently ensued, Duphot was mortally wounded, together with some of the other insurgents. This untoward event took place within the precincts of the ambassadorial residence, whither the rioters had fled for refuge; but it would seem that the soldiers acted under great provocation, and that they did not fire until Duphot had threatened them with his sword. On the following day, Joseph Bonaparte quitted Rome for Florence. General Berthier was ordered to march upon Rome, and the French troops entered the Eternal City on the 10th of February, 1798. Five days later, the Pope was deposed, and the Roman Republic proclaimed; the Pontifical palaces were stripped of their most valuable contents; Rome itself was subjected to an enormous fine; and several high personages, including four Cardinals, were seized as hostages. Pius VI. was treated with personal indignity, and towards the end of February was sent a prisoner to Sienna. Thence he was removed to a convent near Florence, and ultimately to France, where he died on the 29th of August, 1799. The Roman Republic which French bayonets had established, and which an alien Power alone sustained, proved as violent and arbitrary as the means by which it was created. Every kind of spoliation was committed, to feed the rapacity of French generals; and the people were soon goaded into insurrection by a tyranny which was none the less real because it spoke the words of freedom.

The interference of the French at Rome was accompanied by an attack on Switzerland, the Republican constitution of which country did not protect it from assault. The canton of Berne was the first to experience the pressure of French arrogance. As far back as 1536, the Bernese had made themselves masters of the whole Pays-de-Vaud, a portion of which they had conquered at a still earlier period. It might reasonably have been supposed that lapse of time had fully sanctioned

this appropriation; but at the close of 1797 the French Directory commanded Berne to restore the Pays-de-Vaud to its former independence. The usual popular tumults were excited; the Council of Berne acted with indecision; and in 1798 the Pays-de-Vaud was entered by a body of French troops, who set up, in place of the former Government, a fantastical creation of their own, which they called the Lemanic Republic, after Lake Lemman. The French next entered Berne, spread themselves over the greater part of Switzerland, and proclaimed the Helvetic Republic, but were repulsed in an attack on the Forest Cantons, which had refused to submit. This reverse only stimulated the Directory to fresh exertions. A large army invaded the district of Lower Unterwalden in September, and, although the people made a desperate resistance, the invaders were ultimately successful. The Helvetic Republic was the purely artificial product of French rapacity and ambition, and it vanished as soon as the invaders retired from Swiss territory.

The pretext for the Egyptian expedition was the tyranny of the Mamelukes; but the real motive, as we have shown, had reference to merely political considerations. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon on the night of May 19th, 1798, and on the 9th of June arrived before Malta, the Grand Master of which was compelled to surrender, and to pay a large tribute to the French general. Leaving a garrison on the island, Bonaparte re-embarked for Egypt on the 19th of June, avoided Nelson's fleet, which was cruising about in the hope of intercepting the expedition, and on the 29th of the same month landed near Alexandria without opposition. As France was at peace with Turkey, the Ottomans had taken no measures for defending their possessions on the Nile, and were, indeed, astonished at the invasion. Alexandria having been easily reduced, the French proceeded towards Cairo, arrived on the 21st of July in sight of the Pyramids, and saw before them a large Mameluke force, prepared for immediate action. The cavalry of this military tribe were among the best in the world, but the infantry were contemptible. Unprovided with guns, the horsemen of the desert could do nothing more than precipitate one fiery charge after another against the solid masses of the French troops. After losing the greater portion of their force in vain attempts to shatter the enemy's ranks, they retreated in various directions, and two days later Bonaparte entered Cairo. The combat with the Mamelukes is called the Battle of the Pyramids, and, previous to the action, the French commander bade his soldiers recollect that forty centuries

looked down upon them from those ancient and mysterious structures. This brilliant victory gave the French a certain hold over Egypt, without, however, ensuring the ultimate success of their expedition. Bonaparte had thought too much of his army and too little of his fleet. He did not consider that Nelson, with a powerful squadron, was hovering about the Mediterranean, and that, although he had escaped capture on his voyage, there was still considerable risk of a disaster at sea. Such a catastrophe ensued ere long. On the 1st of August, 1798, the English Admiral attacked the French fleet off Aboukir, a small village on the coast of Egypt, about thirteen miles north-east of Alexandria. The French vessels had the protection of an islet, on which a battery had been mounted; but Nelson took half his fleet between this position and the French line-of-battle, while the other half attacked the enemy in front. The flag-ship, *L'Orient*, in which Bonaparte had sailed to Egypt, took fire, and blew up; the French fleet was so thoroughly defeated that only two vessels escaped; and Bonaparte was left in a hostile country, with no apparent means of escape. In this action (which is commonly, but inaccurately, called the Battle of the Nile), Nelson received a severe wound in the head, while superintending the operations of his ships.

A month later, the Sultan declared war against the French Republic. Disturbances broke out in Cairo; the whole of Egypt was aflame with excitement against the invaders. A Turkish army assembled at Rhodes, and another at Damascus, with a view to advancing upon Egypt. Bonaparte saw the danger of his position, and determined to proceed without delay against the Ottomans in Syria. Early in 1799, he captured El Arish, the frontier fortress of that province, and on the 13th of March took Jaffa by assault. The resistance of the Turks had been heroic; but Bonaparte slew twelve hundred of his prisoners in cold blood, and then, marching northwards along the coast, reached Acre on the 17th of the same month. That famous city was defended by a Turkish force, assisted by the English Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, who commanded a small British squadron in the roads. The defence proved successful, although a Turkish army, which had marched from Damascus to the relief of Acre, was worsted by Bonaparte, after a sanguinary combat at Mount Tabor on the 16th of April. When at length it became obvious that Acre could not be subdued, Bonaparte ordered an immediate retreat into Egypt, and his dispirited

legions re-entered Cairo on the 14th of June. His footsteps were closely followed by the Turks, and on the 25th of July a desperate action was fought between the French and the Ottomans before Aboukir. The former were again successful: the Turkish force was nearly annihilated, and several fugitives perished in the sea, while endeavouring to reach their ships.

Egypt was now reduced to an unwilling subjection; but the conqueror was by this time sick of an enterprise which had cost more than he anticipated, and yielded less than he hoped. He found further reasons for a speedy departure in the disturbed condition of Paris, the anarchy existing in many parts of France, and the reverses of the French in Italy. He doubtless considered that the time had arrived when he might place himself at the head of affairs; and, leaving his army under the command of Kléber, he departed in a frigate which had been secretly prepared at Alexandria, and landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October. During his absence, the Directors had given repeated proofs of their weakness. They now feared, not the Royalists, but the ultra-revolutionists, several of whom were expelled from the Legislature on the Twenty-second Floréal (May 11th, 1798). The elections of the following year were again hostile to the Directory, and, by the revolution of the Thirtieth Prairial (June 18th, 1799), the party of Siéyes gained a temporary predominance. Bonaparte, however, had by this time determined that he alone should be at the head of affairs; and when the two Councils assembled at St. Cloud, on the morning of the Nineteenth Brumaire (November 10th, 1799), he cleared the hall by military force, and procured from his supporters a resolution abolishing the Directory, sentencing fifty-seven members of the Legislature to banishment, and adjourning the session of the Chambers to the 20th of February, 1800.* Such was the end of the feeble and inefficient Government which had supplanted the Convention. It was succeeded by the Consulate, as that was succeeded by the Empire; and the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte became supreme in the State, as it had for some time been in the army.

* This revolution is often called that of the Eighteenth Brumaire; but, though prepared for on the previous day, it was consummated on the 10th of November, which, according to the tables of Sir Harris Nicolas, was, in the eighth year of the Republic, or 1799, the Nineteenth Brumaire. (See "Chronology of History," p. 174.)



THE BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

Political Reaction in England, consequent on the French Revolution—Despotic Repression of Opinion in Great Britain—State of Ireland—Tyranny of the Irish Parliament, and of the Protestant Minority—Rebellion of the Catholics—Act of Union (1801)—Dangerous Position of England—Naval Successes—Misfortunes of the British in Holland, and of the Russians in Switzerland—Revolutions in Naples and Rome—Feelings of Pitt with respect to the War—The Consular Government in France—Bonaparte's Overtures for Peace with England—His Second Campaign in Italy—Battle of Marengo—Brilliant Campaign of Moreau on the Rhine—Battle of Hohenlinden—Peace between Austria and France—Landing of a British Force in Egypt—Defeat of the French, and Capitulation of their Army—Resignation of Pitt—Peace of Amiens—The Armed Neutrality—League of Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia, against England—Battle of Copenhagen—Assassination of the Emperor Paul of Russia—Plot to Assassinate Bonaparte—Social Reforms of the First Consul—The Napoleonic Code; the Concordat with Rome; the Legion of Honour—Bonaparte made Consul for Life—Interference of France in Italy and Switzerland—Rupture with England—Revolution in St. Domingo: Toussaint l'Ouverture—Conspiracy against the First Consul by Cadoudal, Pichegru, and others—Execution of the Duke d'Enghien—Creation of the Empire (1804), and Coronation of Napoleon by the Pope—Napoleon as King of Italy—Encroachments in that Peninsula—Formation of another Coalition by Pitt—Refusal by England of Napoleon's Offers of Peace—Austria again in Opposition to France—Successes of the French Armies—Battle of Trafalgar—Victory of Napoleon at Austerlitz—Peace of Presburg—Death of Pitt—Formation of a Coalition Ministry, and Death of Fox—War of France with Prussia—Battle of Jena—Decrees of Napoleon against English Commerce—Renewed War with Russia—Battles of Eylau and Friedland—Peace of Tilsit—Oppressive Treatment of Prussia—Return of Napoleon to Paris.—War between Russia and Sweden.

ONE of the unfortunate effects of the French Revolution was that it destroyed the Liberal in- | clinations of Pitt, and led to a political revulsion in England, which was productive of many evil

fruits. Undoubtedly, the First Minister of the Crown did not stand alone in believing that it was more important to prevent the spread of anarchical principles than to introduce reforms which might otherwise have been carried long before they were actually accomplished. War, moreover, became a necessity of the time; with war arose additional expenditure; growing burdens excited popular discontent; and insubordination was repressed by

considered that the offence was not made out, and the prisoners were acquitted. Paine was another thinker of the time whose ideas it was sought to stifle, but who acquired and maintained an immense influence over a large part of the nation. The persecution in Scotland was peculiarly severe. People were transported for advocating a reform of Parliament, and the most elementary rights of discussion were forbidden. Such were the con-



LORD NELSON.

tyranny. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in 1794; a Bill was passed against seditious assemblies, which seriously, but perhaps necessarily, restricted the privilege of public meeting; the press was frequently prosecuted; and several dissenting ministers were indicted for preaching disloyal sermons. In some respects, these acts of authority were unquestionably carried too far, and juries soon refused to convict. Shortly after the outbreak of the French Revolution, some political enthusiasts in England established what they called the Corresponding Society. In 1794, three leading members of this body—Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, all men of revolutionary principles—were tried on a charge of high treason; but it was con-

sequences of a convulsion in Paris which overstepped all bounds of reason, justice, and safety, and which authorised a propaganda highly dangerous to the independence of other countries.

The most lamentable chapter in the history of Great Britain in those days has relation to Ireland. The oppression of the Roman Catholics in that island had been extreme ever since the time of William III. All the privileges of citizenship were withheld from the followers of a religion which embraced the vast majority of the people. Irish manufactures were repressed, Irish agriculture was discouraged, to increase the trade of England; and the chronic misery which afflicted the poor was in part attributable to the unjust legislation of the

British Parliament. Ireland also had a Parliament; but it was in the hands of the nobility and landed gentry, it represented none but Protestants, and it was entirely subordinate to the Privy Council and Legislature of Great Britain, until, in 1782, the abolition of this state of servitude was demanded and enforced by the Irish Volunteers. The restriction on the independence of the Irish Parliament, however, was in some respects a benefit to the unfortunate natives, since it placed a check on the selfish tyranny of the dominant class in Ireland—the Protestant proprietorial class, which was in fact the only class possessing any power. It was at the demand of the privileged few—for the most part, of English or Scottish origin—that the Houses of Lords and Commons at Dublin were relieved from the jurisdiction of the Houses of Lords and Commons at London. The great masses of the people were in no respect the gainers. The Catholics were as harshly and insolently treated as before; even the Protestant Dissenters were still denied equal rights with members of the Church of England. Pitt succeeded in passing a Bill through the British Parliament for establishing freedom of trade between the two islands; but it was rejected by the Irish Legislature—the representative of the Protestant landowners. With the liberality and far-seeing statesmanship which often distinguished his rule, he compelled the Irish Parliament, in 1792, to accept measures for the admission of Romanists to the franchise, and to civil and military offices. But by this time the discontent of the Irish Catholics had passed into a state of incipient rebellion. Seditious societies were formed, which the Protestants hunted down with merciless severity; great atrocities were committed on both sides; the country broke into open revolt in 1798; and shortly after the suppression of the movement, a French army landed in Mayo, revived the spirit of disaffection, defeated the English at Castlebar, but was ultimately vanquished by the superior forces of Lord Cornwallis. It was not until 1799, nor without a terrible effusion of blood, that the last smouldering embers of rebellion were extinguished. The Bill for the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland was passed next year, and came into operation on the 1st of January, 1801.

England never stood in greater peril than in the ten years from 1790 to 1800. Her armies were worsted on the continent of Europe; her power was disputed in India; Ireland was hostile; sedition was widely diffused throughout the three kingdoms; the Bank of England suspended cash-payments in 1797; and, in the same year, three mutinies of the

fleet (notably that of the *Nore*) threatened the Empire in its most important stronghold. During all this time of prolonged and agonising crisis, Pitt was at the head of affairs; and it was mainly owing to his dauntless resolution, unfailing spirit, and great administrative genius, combined with a passionate faith in the destinies of his country, that England was saved from the ruin which at one time seemed imminent. In the absence of all land-commanders of ability, the nation had nothing but its fleet with which to resist the power of the French Republic; but at sea the supremacy of the race was vindicated by a band of naval heroes whom it would be difficult to parallel. It was no light contest on which Pitt had entered; for when Holland and Spain made peace with France, in 1795, the navies of the three Powers were soon united against England, and the combined force was truly formidable. A brief time, however, sufficed to show that the national energies were equal to the triple strain. On the 14th of February, 1797, the Spanish fleet was beaten near Cape St. Vincent by Sir John Jervis—an action in which Nelson greatly distinguished himself. Admiral Duncan defeated the Dutch off Camperdown on the 11th of October; and the victory of Nelson over the French on the 1st of August, 1798—the battle of Aboukir, or the Nile—crippled the power of France in the Mediterranean. These and other triumphs resulted in the transfer to Great Britain of several Spanish and Dutch colonies, some of which are still retained. On land, the incapacity or the ill-fortune of our generals was conspicuous. Encouraged by the assistance of a Russian army, the English made a descent on Holland in August, 1799, when, after some successes by the division under Sir Ralph Abercromby, and the defection of several Dutch ships, which forsook the revolutionary Government for the English alliance, the Duke of York was obliged to capitulate to the French, at Alkmaar, on the 18th of October. The Russians had been of little or no service, and about the same time their forces in Switzerland were entirely discomfited by Masséna, who, in a series of brilliant combats and ingenious manœuvres at Zurich (on August 26th) and other places, drove them out of the Helvetic territory. As a consequence of these reverses, the Emperor Paul retired from the Coalition, although, in the previous year (1798), Suwaroff had reduced the French to extremities in Northern Italy, where even Masséna was unable to make head against him.

The Italian peninsula still continued one of the most important theatres of the war; and in 1799 the South experienced the same fate that had

previously overtaken the North. Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, endeavoured to keep on good terms both with the French Republic and the older Powers; but it soon came to the knowledge of the former that the Neapolitan sovereign had concluded with Austria an alliance of a threatening character. The French representative at Naples thereupon presented a number of demands, with some of which the King felt himself unable to comply; and the news of Nelson's victory in the Bay of Aboukir encouraged him to a decided resistance. The requirements of France became more extravagant with the prospect of a rupture; but the appearance of Nelson in the Bay of Naples, on the 22nd of September, 1798, encouraged Ferdinand to a declaration of war, which was represented to him, both by the naval hero, and by Sir William Hamilton, the British Ambassador at Naples, as the safest course he could pursue. Hostilities commenced with an advance on Rome, at that time occupied by the French under a pretence of Republican independence. General Championnet retreated towards the north, and the Papal city was entered by the Neapolitans towards the end of November. An attempt was made to incite an insurrection in Tuscany, so as to intercept the French communications; but General Joubert retorted by expelling the King of Sardinia from his dominions. At Rome, the success of the Neapolitans was but short-lived. In advancing farther to the north, the troops of Ferdinand experienced several defeats at the hands of the French, who recovered Rome on December 15th. It was now the turn of the latter to invade Naples. The King and his family fled to Sicily on the 24th of December, and the French entered Naples, after a desperate conflict with the *lazzaroni*, in January, 1799. They soon established what they called the Parthenopean Republic, and proceeded to rule the conquered territory according to their own ideas. But this phantom of the democratic brain quickly dissolved before the influence of the military and naval Powers. Selim III. of Turkey concluded an alliance with Russia, Naples, and England, and an united Turkish and Russian fleet took possession of the Ionian Islands (then held by France), and afterwards proceeded to the Neapolitan shores. Otranto, Brindisi, and Bari, were taken in April; all Apulia was speedily conquered; and on the 5th of July the French garrison at Naples surrendered to a Royalist army and a popular movement. It was then that Nelson disgraced himself by persuading Ferdinand to disavow the capitulation, and execute several of the revolutionists. Overcome by the fascinations of Lady Hamilton, who was

opposed to a merciful policy, he hanged Prince Caraccioli and others, after hasty and prejudiced trials, from which he suffered no appeal. A strange and incongruous host of Russians, Turks, and Neapolitans, marched to Rome in the autumn, entered it by capitulation on the 30th of September, and destroyed the dominion of the French.

The war with France was at first popular in England; but the ill-success of our armies, and the heavy taxation which had necessarily become imperative, produced a feeling of sullen discontent, and a considerable part of the population (though doubtless not the largest part) clamorously demanded peace with the French Republic. Pitt himself would gladly have avoided the war, had that been possible without a sacrifice of the national interests and honour; and he was not indisposed to an arrangement, provided a similar inclination existed on the part of France. In the autumn of 1796, and again in the summer of 1797, Lord Malmesbury was commissioned to open negotiations with the French; but both attempts failed, and in 1799 the Confederacy to which Austria, Russia, Naples, and Turkey, were parties, gave the British Government fresh hopes of suppressing the revolutionary spirit in its cradle and centre. Even Pitt, however, had miscalculated the force inherent in the revived energies of the French people; and the exhausting struggle was yet to endure for another sixteen years.

The revolution of the Nineteenth Brumaire, while leading by a natural consequence to the extinction of the Republic, strengthened it for a time. The new Constitution was promulgated on the 15th of December, 1799. It vested the Executive power in three Consuls, named for ten years, and capable of re-election. Another body was the Council of State; but this was nominated by the Consuls, and was therefore strictly under their control. A Tribune of one hundred members, and a Legislative Chamber of three hundred, gave a quasi-popular character to the reformed Government, though the functions of both were much restricted. To these bodies was added a Senate, consisting of eighty members appointed for life, whose duties were to guard the new Constitution, and to select the members of the Tribune and the Legislative Chamber from the lists presented by the electoral colleges. The elections were by an intricate process, purposely contrived with a view to control the influence of the democracy; so that, after all their struggles for freedom, the French people now found themselves subjected to a system which, while it preserved some of the forms of popular liberty, left very

little of the substance. Napoleon Bonaparte was of course the First Consul; the other two—Cambacérès and Lebrun—were nominated by himself; and it is needless to add that the direction of the State was almost entirely in the hands of the triumphant soldier who had made for himself so dazzling a reputation in Italy. The new Constitution was submitted to the suffrages of the people, and ratified by more than three millions of votes, the significance of which was scarcely qualified by the few hundred dissentients who registered their dissatisfaction with the new arrangement.

Bonaparte began his rule by a modification of those revolutionary extravagancies which had offended all temperate persons; by the re-opening of churches, the release of non-juring priests, and the recall of numerous emigrants, who were now permitted to re-enter France. It seems not unlikely that the First Consul was animated by a sincere desire to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the several factions, and to heal the wounds which years of internal contention had inflicted upon France. He certainly behaved with much consideration to the Vendéans, who had commenced a fresh civil war in 1799, which his energy suppressed. Possibly he had not at that time conceived those plans of universal dominion which soon afterwards shed a meteoric splendour round his name, but ultimately lured him to his fall. At any rate, it is certain that early in 1800 he addressed a letter to George III. in person, urging the desirability of peace, and asking why the two most enlightened countries of Europe should sacrifice their prosperity, and the happiness of families, to vain ideas of greatness. These overtures were promptly declined, and Lord Grenville, replying on behalf of his sovereign to the French Minister, Talleyrand, on the part of the First Consul, observed that the best security for peace would be found in the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France. Bonaparte afterwards declared that he was glad of this refusal, as war was indispensable to the unity of parties in France, and to the maintenance of his own ascendancy; but he may have been sincere in making the proposal, for the country certainly needed an interval of rest and recruitment. At any rate, the decision of the English Government was unfortunate, for it confirmed Napoleon in his warlike instincts, and enabled France to appear before the world as the victim of a coalition which paid no regard to the right of her people to determine their own government.

The reply of Lord Grenville was at once succeeded by active preparations for a new campaign, and Bonaparte determined to retrieve the credit of

the French arms in Italy, where they had of late been covered with misfortune. Masséna and Soult were driven into Genoa by the Austrians in April, and Souchet was compelled to find shelter in Borghetto. The successes of General Melas, the Imperial commander, were indeed so great that France was threatened with invasion. Bonaparte therefore felt that he must himself enter the field of conflict, and renew the triumphs of an earlier year. It was now that he performed his celebrated passage of the Alps—a feat which entailed severe hardships and exertions on the whole army, and which the French engineers themselves had pronounced to be barely possible. The route was by the Great St. Bernard, and the passage occupied from the 10th to the 16th of May. Having reached the valleys of Piedmont, the French proceeded with little obstruction, poured into Lombardy, and cut off the communications of the Austrian army with Vienna. On the 2nd of June they took possession of Milan, and, marching shortly afterwards towards the position of General Melas, defeated that officer at Marengo on the 14th of the same month. The battle, however, was of a most desperate character, and, before the arrival of a fresh division under Desaix (who was killed in the action), very nearly resulted in a French reverse. An armistice was concluded two days later, by which a large portion of Northern Italy, including several important fortresses, fell into the hands of Bonaparte. After these important successes, the First Consul returned to Paris, where his popularity was vastly increased by the triumph of his arms in Piedmont and Lombardy. In a little while, negotiations for peace were opened between France and Austria; but, as England refused to join the contemplated arrangement, Austria resolved to continue the struggle, at whatever hazard to herself. The determination of the British Government to break the power of the French Republic, and of its most gifted champion, was one of the principal reasons why a general pacification was not effected at this period of the revolutionary war.

The campaign on the Rhine, conducted by Moreau, was as fortunate as that which Bonaparte himself had directed in Italy. Munich was entered by the French commander, and, after a brief suspension of hostilities, consequent on the truce with Austria, which, however, ended in the autumn, the conflict was resumed with fresh vigour and determination. Near the close of November, the Archduke John advanced towards the Bavarian capital through the great forest of Hohenlinden, where, on the 3rd of December, he was attacked

by Moreau, and disastrously beaten. The battle of Hohenlinden cost the Imperialists 7,000 men in killed and wounded, 8,000 prisoners, and a hundred cannon. The spirit of the Austrian Emperor was completely broken by this terrible reverse, and peace was signed at Lunéville on the 9th of February, 1801. Before the conclusion of the treaty, the French army in Italy had driven the Austrians beyond the Adige and the Brenta, so that, in the settlement of terms, the Imperialists were at a great disadvantage. Austria, however, was allowed to retain the Venetian territories; but Tuscany was taken from the Grand Duke Ferdinand, and bestowed upon Louis, son of the Duke of Parma, who had married a princess of Spain. Through the mediation of the Emperor Paul, peace was granted to the King of Naples. The new Pope, Pius VII., was acknowledged by Bonaparte, not merely as head of the Church, but as a temporal sovereign. The Legations, however, still remained with the Cisalpine Republic, to which they had been annexed. In the meanwhile, some very important events had occurred in Egypt, where the French army of occupation had been left under the command of General Kléber. On the 14th of June, 1800—the day of Marengo—that officer was mortally stabbed by a fanatical Turk. The command devolved upon General Menou, who was defeated on the 21st of March, 1801, by an English force which had landed at Aboukir a few days earlier. After an obstinate conflict, the French were driven into the fortress of Alexandria; but the British success was overclouded by the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby, the gallant and able commander of the expedition. General Hutchinson, who succeeded to the vacant post, concluded a convention with the enemy on the 31st of August, and, in accordance with this agreement, the French army was permitted to withdraw from Egypt.

The French designs on that country being thus annihilated, and the island of Malta having been captured by the British in the previous September, George III. was less disinclined than previously to make peace with the Republic. Pitt, offended by the King's determination not to sanction his plans of Catholic Emancipation, had resigned office in February, 1801, and his successor, Mr. Addington, was willing to abandon the war-policy which had been so vigorously upheld by the late Minister. A Congress, therefore, assembled at Amiens, and peace was signed in that city by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic, on the 27th of March, 1802. By this arrangement, Malta was restored to the Knights of St. John, and it was agreed that the forts were to

be occupied by a Neapolitan garrison. The independence of the Cisalpine, Batavian, Helvetic, and Ligurian Republics was guaranteed. France engaged to evacuate the kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States, which had again been occupied by her forces, and to replace in their full integrity the dominions of the Queen of Portugal, which had very recently been attacked by a French army, acting in conjunction with Spain—an attack for which the only excuse was the persistent alliance of the Portuguese with the English. Egypt was restored to the Sultan, and the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, while the French West India Islands reverted to France. England retained Trinidad and Ceylon; but, in both Houses of Parliament, great complaints were made that this was all she had gained by a long and costly war.

Shortly before the commencement of the peace negotiations, the North of Europe had been the scene of operations arising out of the Armed Neutrality established by Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia, for the protection of their commerce. The main principle of this league was that the neutral flag covers contraband of war—a proposition which the English Government denied, and which had already occasioned several collisions at sea. Vessels had been searched, and not unfrequently seized, by the English squadrons in the North, and Denmark in particular suffered from these arbitrary acts. Since the withdrawal of Russia from the Coalition, the Emperor Paul had shown considerable animosity towards England, together with an enthusiastic admiration of Napoleon Bonaparte, who omitted no opportunity of stimulating his half-insane passions. In November, 1800, an embargo was laid on all British ships in the ports of the Russian Empire, and the Armed Neutrality of an earlier date was revived shortly afterwards. It being considered by the English Cabinet that Denmark was chiefly to blame for these arrangements, a naval expedition was sent against Copenhagen in the early part of 1801. The chief Admiral was Sir Hyde Parker; but the reduction of the Danish fleet, on April 2nd, was mainly owing to the resolution of Lord Nelson, who disregarded the signal of his superior to cease firing, and thus gained a complete victory over his opponent. In the meanwhile, Admiral Duckworth had conquered the Danish islands in the West Indies, so that the Danish Government had no choice but to accept a convention at the hands of Nelson. Sir Hyde Parker then proceeded to the coasts of Sweden, and hostilities would have broken out in that quarter also, but for the assassination of the Emperor Paul, who had been the inspiring genius of

the defensive league. The Czar had made himself generally odious, not only by his tyranny, to which Russians are accustomed, but by the childish,

the Imperial position, is not unlikely to be cut short by a very summary process. Paul was strangled on the night of March 24th, 1801, and



THE BATTLE OF ZURICH.

vexatious, and fantastical nature of his interference in the most trivial customs of society. There can be little doubt that he was to some extent insane; but a madman in Russia, who happens to occupy

his son, Alexander I., who had been concerned in the plot, though on condition that his father's life should be spared, succeeded to the vacant throne. The new monarch speedily arranged the differences

between Russia and England, when the latter Power obtained a recognition of the main principles for which it had contended; and the conclusion of a general peace in the following year removed all occasions of quarrel between Great Britain and the other members of the Armed Neutrality.

Although Bonaparte had added immensely to the power and reputation of France abroad, and had restored order and prosperity at home, he was hated by the factions, and, on the 24th of December, 1800, narrowly escaped assassination by the explo-

plate; and it is more agreeable to consider Bonaparte in the light of a social reformer, to which, indeed, he has no slight claims. Manufactures, commerce, agriculture, education, and public works, were promoted by his intelligent and fostering care. The Napoleonic Code, to which the First Consul himself gave unremitting attention, and which reduced to a compact and intelligible system the confused mass of legal traditions which had grown up in France during many ages—a work comparable with that of Justinian—is generally ad-



NOTRE DAME, PARIS.

sion of what was termed an "infernal machine," the destructive force of which caused death or injury to fifty-two persons. The authors of this base outrage were two Vendéans who had been concerned in the insurrection of 1799; but the plot appears to have had extremely wide ramifications, and to have included several malcontents of very different opinions. Executions and proscriptions followed as a matter of course; the reins of government were tightened; a body of secret police was organised by Fouché, who exhibited remarkable ability in the conduct of his office; and numerous informers, some belonging to a high position in society, were regularly employed by the department of police, and paid according to their services. However necessary they may have been, these contrivances of a despotic Government are painful to contem-

mitted to have been a great benefit to France. The details of the Code were worked out by a Commission consisting of the most distinguished lawyers, headed by the Second Consul, Cambacérès. The deliberations of this body extended over three years, and the Code was promulgated on the 21st March, 1803.

The negotiation of a Concordat with the Pope of Rome was another of those measures by which Bonaparte hoped to conciliate the older forms of opinion, without entirely renouncing the ideas of the Revolution. The Papacy had been in abeyance from the death of Pius VI., on the 29th of August, 1799, until the election of Cardinal Chiaramonte by a conclave held at Venice, under Austrian influence, on the 14th of March, 1800. The Cardinal had always shown considerable sympathy with the

French Revolution ; on which account, Bonaparte felt the less difficulty in coming to an arrangement with him. The Concordat was signed at Rome on the 15th July, 1801. It re-established Roman Catholicism as the State religion of France, but at the same time placed that religion under restrictions very necessary to the national independence and the supremacy of the secular law. Those who objected to all religion, and those who would gladly have seen France prostrate at the feet of the Roman hierarchy, were equally annoyed at the Concordat ; but it secured a fair amount of religious toleration, and satisfied the views of probably the majority of Frenchmen. Another measure of Napoleon—the institution of the Legion of Honour, on the 19th of May, 1802—displeased the Republicans, as seeming to partake of an aristocratic character ; but it has lasted to the present time, and may therefore be fairly assumed to have corresponded to some feeling deeply implanted in the national character.

The great soldier, and equally remarkable administrator, now felt that he had obtained such a hold on the French people that he could take yet another step in the forward march of his ambition. The electorate were required to declare by their votes whether or not Napoleon Bonaparte should be made Consul for life, and whether he should have the power of nominating his successor. Both questions were answered in the affirmative by an immense majority, and the result was proclaimed on the 2nd of August, 1802. Bonaparte had already acquired so complete a power over the whole of France that the prefects of departments, and the mayors of cities, were appointed by himself, to the destruction of local self-government. This system, it was now apparent, was to be perpetuated throughout the life of the First Consul, and probably to be handed on to his successor. Yet the people, flattered by the splendour of his military success, and reassured by the firmness of his rule, seemed perfectly contented with the arbitrary government which had grown out of the democratic revolution of 1789. The opponents of the new system were held in check, and doubtless formed only a minority ; so that, had Bonaparte refrained from embroiling himself with the great Powers of Europe, he might have died in the full glory of success. Unfortunately, his genius was too restless for such a course, and the renewal of the war was due to his injudicious and disquieting policy. In the year 1802, he reorganised the constitution of the Cisalpine Republic, and procured his own election to the office of President. The Ligurian Republic was similarly remodelled about

the same time ; Piedmont was incorporated with the French dominions in September, 1802 ; and the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, were placed under a French administration.

Disturbances having broken out in the Helvetic Republic, Bonaparte sent an army under Ney into Switzerland, and the result was that the First Consul was invested with the title of Grand Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation. Geneva, Basle, and Valais, were annexed to France, and the power of Bonaparte was so largely increased by these proceedings that the jealousy of other nations was not unnaturally aroused. The First Consul, on the other hand, was irritated by the refusal of Great Britain to evacuate Malta, in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. Exasperating disputes between the two Governments arose in 1803, and, on the 13th of May, the British Ambassador at Paris (Lord Whitworth) demanded his passports. All French vessels then staying in the harbours of Great Britain were at once seized and appropriated ; upon which, Bonaparte retaliated by arresting all British subjects then travelling in France—a large number, owing to the long closure of the Continent. Hanover was conquered by the French, for the Elector of Hanover was also the King of England. Naples was invaded, and vast preparations were made for a descent on England, which was never even attempted, nor, perhaps, really designed. At the same period, the French were engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to put down the Negro Republic which had been established in the island of St. Domingo—one of the possessions of France—by Toussaint l'Ouverture. The independence of the black population had been secured as far back as 1794, though not without a bloody struggle. The Directory failed in all its efforts to restore the supremacy of France, and Bonaparte, on becoming First Consul, recognised the authority of Toussaint. Nevertheless, he was attacked by General Leclerc, Bonaparte's brother-in-law, in 1802, and, after a defence of wonderful energy and valour, was compelled to surrender. He was conveyed to France, and treated with so much severity that he expired on the 27th of April, 1803. The French army in St. Domingo, however, was almost destroyed by yellow fever ; and when an English force landed on that island, the shattered remnant capitulated in November.

But Bonaparte had to encounter much more serious matters than a negro insurrection in a remote dependency. He had still to deal with conspiracies at home, which threatened his power and his life. One of these was formed among the Royalist refugees in London, headed by a Breton

named Georges Cadoudal, the son of a miller, who had long been identified with anti-republican movements. As one of the leaders of the Vendéan insurrection, he had distinguished himself by courage and good conduct; and in later years he had openly opposed the power of Bonaparte, at the head of an army not inconsiderable either in numbers or in spirit. From time to time, this enterprising chieftain visited England, where he was greatly honoured by the French emigrants, who regarded him as the most capable man to carry out a plot which they were then meditating. The object was to assassinate the First Consul—a design which, base as it was, received the support of Pichegru, formerly one of the most distinguished generals of the Republic. An attempt was made to enlist Moreau in the same project; for the victor of Hohenlinden was known to entertain unfriendly sentiments towards Bonaparte. To his credit, he refused all active participation in the plot; but he was undoubtedly aware of its existence. Fouché discovered what was proceeding, and, on the 15th of February, 1804, Moreau, Pichegru, and Cadoudal, together with many others, were arrested and sent to prison. Before they could be brought to trial, the Duke d'Enghien, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, was seized by a party of French dragoons at Ettenheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, and rapidly transferred to Vincennes, near Paris, where he was tried, in the middle of the night, on a charge of being accessory to the conspiracy which the secret police had just unearthed. He had undoubtedly contemplated taking some steps against the existing order in France; but it was never proved that he had any connection with the designs of Cadoudal. In any case, his seizure on foreign territory was a gross and unpardonable outrage, and the inquiry into his alleged guilt appears to have been characterised by all the prejudice and unfairness of a foregone conclusion. He was shot in the fosse of Vincennes, at six in the morning of the 21st of March, 1804.

It was shortly after this painful fact that Bonaparte took the final step in the realisation of his ambitious designs. It was considered, or at least assumed, that the Republican form of government did not offer sufficient security against the repetition of plots such as that which had just been discovered, and that a more fixed and stable constitution was indispensable. The proposal to change the Consular into an Imperial office, and thus to re-establish a form of monarchy in France, ostensibly originated with the Senate, and was afterwards accepted by the Legislative Chamber, without any dissentient votes. On the 18th of

May, 1804, an organic *senatus consultum* proclaimed Napoleon Bonaparte Emperor of the French, and declared the throne hereditary in his male descendants. The new title was submitted to the ratification of the popular vote, with the result that 3,572,329 voters declared in its favour, and only 2,569 to the contrary. A few days later, General Moreau, Georges Cadoudal, and the other conspirators, were brought to trial: Pichegru had committed suicide on the 7th of April. Moreau was now condemned to two years' imprisonment, and sentence of death was passed on Cadoudal and eighteen others. In consideration of his former services, Moreau was simply exiled to the United States of America. Cadoudal and ten of his accomplices were executed, and the rest were pardoned by the Emperor.

The coronation of Napoleon was performed at Notre Dame on the 2nd of December by Pope Pius VII., who, at the urgent request of the new potentate, came to Paris for that purpose. The crown having been blessed by the Pontiff, Napoleon himself took it from the altar where it lay, and with his own hands placed it on his head, as an indication that he received it from no earthly power but his own. He then crowned Josephine as Empress, and the heralds proclaimed the accession of "the high and mighty Napoleon I., Emperor of the French." The Cisalpine Republic was next transformed into a kingdom, and Napoleon, in compliance with a wish expressed by the local Senate, accepted the iron crown of Lombardy, under the condition that he was to appoint a distinct successor to the kingdom thus created. The ceremony of coronation was performed in the Cathedral of Milan on the 26th of May, 1805, when the French Emperor, again placing the crown on his own brows, exclaimed, "God has given it to me: woe to him who shall attempt to lay hands on it!" On the 7th of June, Napoleon opened in person the session of the Italian Legislative body; and, two days later, Genoa, at the request of its Senators, was united to France. The Republic of Lucca was soon afterwards changed into a principality, and given to Napoleon's sister, Elisa, and her husband Baciocchi, to be held by them as a fief of the French Empire. These acts were naturally calculated to arouse the jealous disapproval of the Austrian Emperor, who, as an Italian potentate himself, dreaded the constant advance of Napoleon's pretensions in the peninsula. By the Treaty of Lunéville, France had acknowledged the independence of the Italian and Batavian Republics; but the engagement was now openly violated, and, at the same time, Holland

and Hanover were occupied by French troops. Both Russia and Austria protested against these acts; as a counter-demonstration, Francis II. of Germany declared himself hereditary Emperor of Austria; but it remained for England to form a hostile combination against the new Empire. Pitt had again become Prime Minister in May, 1804, and it was the cherished object of his policy to form another Coalition, which he hoped would be more successful than the first.

Whether with a view to force the English Government to show its hand, or from whatever motive, Napoleon addressed a letter to King George III. on the 2nd of January, 1805, in which, as in the previous communication, he expressed his earnest desire for peace. The British Cabinet replied in a despatch to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating that England could not enter on any definite negotiations for peace until she had consulted with her Continental allies, and particularly with the Emperor of Russia. A quarter of a year later, a treaty was signed between King George III. and the Emperor Alexander, by which the two sovereigns bound themselves to employ every effort to form a general league of resistance to the encroachments of France. At a subsequent period of the same year, Austria joined the Coalition, and Napoleon immediately determined on an invasion of Germany. He was opposed by 80,000 Austrians under General Mack; but in a few weeks, after a series of trifling engagements, the Imperial commander was completely out-manœuvred by the consummate strategy of the French monarch, who, on the 20th of October, forced his adversary to capitulate at Ulm. Napoleon entered Vienna on the 13th of November, without opposition. During the autumn, Marshal Masséna drove the Archduke Charles out of Italy, and obtained possession of the Tyrol. Again the French had been brilliantly successful on land; but at the same time they suffered a defeat at sea, which was absolutely irremediable. On the 21st of October, Admiral Nelson gained the Battle of Trafalgar, when the combined French and Spanish fleet was so utterly vanquished that twenty vessels out of thirty-three struck their flags to the British. Four others were captured a fortnight later, and the naval power of France was almost annihilated by this stupendous blow. Again had Nelson exhibited those extraordinary gifts as a tactician, and those splendid qualities as a hero, which had endeared him to the whole British race. In the moment of victory, he was struck down by a shot from the enemy's shrouds; but he had lived to do his work, and it may be said,

without exaggeration, that nothing remained for him to conquer.

Though greatly staggered by the triumphant advance of Napoleon, the Austrians were not entirely crushed. New forces were raised in Hungary, and an army, composed of Austrians and Russians, advanced from Moravia. To encounter the latter, the French Emperor crossed the Danube on the 22nd of November. The objects of the Austro-Russians were to place themselves between the invaders and Vienna, and to effect a junction with the forces in Hungary. Detecting their design, Napoleon retired upon Austerlitz, where, on the 2nd of December, he gained one of the most brilliant and masterly of his victories. The combined legions of Austria and Russia were utterly shattered, and the two Emperors, who had witnessed the struggle from a neighbouring hill, fled with the disheartened fragments of their army. The result was a treaty of peace between France and Austria, which was concluded at Presburg on the 26th of December. All the Venetian States were now ceded to the kingdom of Italy, and the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, whose dominions were considerably enlarged, were elevated to the rank of kings, in recompense of the support they had given to France. Another consequence of the victory at Austerlitz was the death of the great English Minister, William Pitt, who expired on the 23rd of January, 1806, worn out by incessant labour and anxiety, but, in the last instance, literally killed by the sudden frustration of his hopes, and the ruin of the political combinations from which he had anticipated so much. The death of this illustrious statesman was followed by the formation of a Coalition Ministry, in which the Whigs under Lord Grenville united with the Tories under Lord Sidmouth. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was given to Charles James Fox, the most distinguished of Pitt's opponents—a politician always favourable to revolutionary France, and sincerely desirous of peace. Communications were at once opened with Napoleon; but the overtures of the English Cabinet were declined by the French Emperor, and the ambition of that potentate acquired such alarming developments that a pacific policy on the part of Great Britain became impossible even to those who were most desirous of an accommodation. Fox expired on the 13th of September, 1806, and the Cabinet was left without its most brilliant and intellectual member.

In the course of 1806, a war broke out between France and Prussia, which was attended by most lamentable consequences to the latter. Prussia

had been irritated by many provocations; but the worst of all was the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, which was among the fruits of Napoleon's recent understanding with Austria, and which established his power over all the smaller States. As a consequence of this revolution, the old German Empire, originating with Charlemagne at the close of the eighth century, was dissolved, and, on the 6th of August, 1806, Francis II. formally renounced the dignity of Emperor of Germany and King of the Romans, which his family had held uninterruptedly for nearly four hundred years. In every direction, France was becoming the dominant power in Europe. At the beginning of 1806, a French army conquered the kingdom of Naples, compelling the Bourbon sovereign again to seek refuge in Sicily; and the crown was conferred by Napoleon on his brother Joseph. In June of the same year, Louis Bonaparte was created sovereign of Holland, and it seemed as if the Republican propaganda of former days was to be supplanted by a system of king-making, to the advantage of the Bonaparte family, and therefore to the indirect aggrandizement of France. Under these circumstances, Frederick William III. of Prussia, who had previously shown great hesitation as to the course he should adopt, considered that the time had arrived for taking decisive action. The fitting moment had in truth gone by; for Austria had come to terms with France, and Russia was discouraged by the reverse at Austerlitz. On the 1st of October, the Prussian Minister at Paris made a peremptory demand that all French troops should immediately quit Germany. This was of course refused, and Napoleon, rapidly marching into Prussia, defeated the army of that State at the memorable battle of Jena. The whole of Prussia was speedily at the feet of the conqueror, who, after entering Berlin, treated the people with such furious arrogance that the memory of his insults rankled in the German heart until the war of 1870-1. It was from Berlin that the French Emperor issued, on the 21st of November, 1806, those decrees against England by which the British Islands were declared in a state of blockade, and all trade or intercourse with them was forbidden under heavy penalties. This attempt to destroy British commerce was, however, wholly ineffectual; for England was mistress of the sea, and Napoleon had no power to enforce the prohibitions which his decrees sought to establish.

Russia, though smarting under her recent discomfiture, could not view with complacency the destruction of a neighbouring Power. Alexander accordingly sent an army to the help of Prussia,

and, in the latter days of November, Napoleon advanced towards the Vistula, to encounter this new adversary. He took up his quarters at Warsaw, entered into some insincere negotiations with the Poles, who supplied him with four regiments of cavalry, and awaited the attack of the Russian general, Beningsen, in the winter of 1807. The battle of Eylau, in which the French were defeated with frightful slaughter, was fought on the 8th of February, and Napoleon retreated to the line of the Vistula. Here he recruited his forces, and again took the field in June, with more than 200,000 men. The Russians were repulsed at Friedland on the 14th, and Beningsen, retreating in good order, halted at Tilsit, close to the Russian frontier, on the 19th of the same month. A personal interview between Napoleon and Alexander followed on the 25th. The scene was a raft, moored in the middle of the river Niemen; and Napoleon, on being assured by his late opponent that he was ready to support him in his projects against England, for which country he professed a lively hatred, replied that in that case peace was already concluded. The treaty between France and Russia was signed on the 7th of July; that between France and Prussia followed two days later. By the latter arrangement, all the Prussian dominions between the Elbe and the Rhine were taken from Frederick William, and bestowed on Jerome Bonaparte, who received the title of King of Westphalia. That division of Poland which Prussia had acquired in 1772 was declared independent of its recent masters, and, under the designation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was assigned to the Elector of Saxony, who was permitted to assume the regal style and rank.

All that was required of the Emperor Alexander was that he should adhere to what was called the "Continental System" of Napoleon—namely, the prohibitions with respect to England contained in the Berlin decrees—and that he should place himself at the head of a new Confederacy of the North, for the more complete realisation of those designs. To the treaty with Russia were appended secret articles, which permitted the Emperor Alexander to take Finland from Sweden, and bound him to make war on England, in case that Power should reject the peace. Russia at the same time concluded an armistice with Turkey, with which she had been at war in consequence of the Ottomans having allied themselves with France, withdrew her forces from Wallachia and Moldavia, and accepted the mediation of Napoleon. The only sufferer was Prussia, which lost nearly half of its possessions, and was reduced to a kingdom of the second

rank. The Prussian fortresses were for a time garrisoned by the French, and a heavy war indemnity was extorted from the unhappy people. But even these material afflictions were not the worst that Prussia was called upon to bear. The people were treated with a contemptuous insolence which wounded them to the quick, and, as a German historian has remarked, it would seem that the only wish of Napoleon was to goad the humiliated nation to the resistance of despair, in

in conjunction with the three Consuls, and whose function was to discuss the measures recommended by those officials, was now abolished; and, in its place, three Committees—one of administration, one of legislation, and one of finance—were formed, to consider the projects of law proceeding from the Ministry of the Emperor. A regular censorship was imposed upon the press, and education was subjected to the direct interference of the State. Yet, blinded by the fierce light of martial glory, the French



MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE, SHOWING THE FRENCH EMPIRE IN 1810.

order that the conqueror might be enabled to say, as in the case of Venice and Naples, "The House of Brandenburg has ceased to reign." *

Intoxicated by his unparalleled successes, Napoleon returned to Paris in the course of the summer, and was received, as might fairly have been expected, with the wildest outburst of enthusiasm. The Council of State hailed him almost as a demi-god, and the popular voice ratified the most extravagant of its panegyrics. It might have been supposed that the Emperor would have chosen this opportunity for establishing more liberal institutions in the government of the country. In point of fact, he did the very reverse. His object was to make himself supreme at home as well as abroad, and he at once began a series of encroachments on the very small amount of freedom left to the French people. The Tribunal of one hundred members, originally appointed

people bore quietly from Napoleon what, at the hands of Louis XVI., would have roused them to the bloody vengeance of the streets.

The Peace of Tilsit led to a war between Russia and Sweden, which was not without some results of interest. Alexander of Russia, after many specious pretences of friendship, quarrelled with his brother-in-law, Gustavus IV. of Sweden, because the latter refused to act in accordance with the Continental System of Napoleon. In this unequal struggle, the Northern Power had the assistance of England, which, as in other instances, granted a large subsidy as well as military help. During the war, Russia received the support of Denmark, and the north of Europe was convulsed, in 1808 and 1809, by an exhausting and unnecessary conflict. Gustavus was forced to resign in the latter year, and his successor, Charles XIII., made peace in September, when the Continental System was adopted, and Finland, together with some other Swedish territories, passed into the hands of Russia.

* Heeren's Manual of the History of Europe.



BURIAL OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIVERSAL DOMINION.

Growth of the Ambition of Napoleon—Ideas of an Universal Monarchy—Joseph Bonaparte at Naples—Attack on Portugal—Designs of Napoleon on the Western Peninsula—Deposition of the King of Spain—Commencement of the Peninsular War—Successes of the Spaniards—Defeat of Junot by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Vimiera (Portugal)—Unfortunate Expedition of Sir John Moore into Spain—Battle of Corunna—Renewed War of France with Austria—Gallant Defence of the Tyrol by Andrew Hofer—Napoleon at Vienna—Desperate Contests on the Danube, and Defeat of the Austrians at Wagram—The Treaty of Schönbrunn—Subjugation of the Tyrol—Quarrel of Napoleon with Pope Pius VII.—Annexation of the Papal States to the French Empire—Napoleon excommunicated—Entire Conquest of Spain by the French—Retreat of Soult from Portugal—Battle of Talavera—Disastrous Expedition of the British to Holland—Ministerial Changes in England—Operations of Lord Wellington in the Peninsula—The Lines of Torres Vedras—Napoleon's Divorce from Josephine, and Marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria—Rupture with Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland—Seizure by Napoleon of the North German Coast—Bernadotte in Sweden—Further Progress of the Peninsular War—Renewed Disagreements with Russia—The War of 1812—Advance of Napoleon on Moscow—Battle of Borodino—Moscow burned by its Inhabitants—Terrible Retreat of the French—Napoleon returns to Paris—Raising of a New Army—Alliance of Prussia and Russia—Disastrous Campaign of Napoleon in Germany—The Alliance joined by Austria—Crushing Defeat of the French at Leipzig—Disastrous Retreat from Germany—Breaking up of the Napoleonic Empire.

NAPOLÉON had gradually assumed, in the marvellous development of his power, a very different position from that with which he was apparently satisfied in the earlier days of his career. He was at first nothing more than the citizen-soldier of France, intent upon promoting the glory and establishing the fortunes of the young Republic. After the Nineteenth Brumaire, it was evident that he aimed at a personal predominance over the whole of France. The Empire followed as a matter of course; but it was not until after the victory of Austerlitz and the Peace of Presburg that the triumphant soldier developed in its fulness that system of general interference with the constitution of Europe which seemed to indicate the design of establishing an universal monarchy. Kingdoms began to be created for the benefit of

the Bonaparte family; and that these subordinate sovereignties were to consider themselves simply as outlying portions of the French Empire, was soon made abundantly clear. Everything, even in their internal government, was to be managed with a view to the supposed interests of France. Whether by direct annexation, by the placing of his relations and dependents in the position of ruling princes, or by matrimonial connections, Napoleon acquired, during the year 1806, a despotic influence over a large part of Europe. For a time, the system appeared to succeed very well, and its author considered that he might safely extend it. But no more Republics were created. The ideas of the Revolution were abandoned, or turned into other channels. Roman Catholicism was restored, and, on the 1st of January, 1806, the Republican

Calendar, which had been first sanctioned in 1792, was abolished, and the Gregorian style once more prevailed throughout the French dominions.

When the royal family of Naples again withdrew to Sicily, on the second invasion of their realm by the French, Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King, and proceeded to exercise the rights of sovereignty. Ferdinand IV., however, would not accept his fate without a struggle; in which resolve he was encouraged by his spirited consort, Maria Carolina, a daughter of the Empress Maria Theresa, and sister of Marie Antoinette. Aided by her two sons, the Queen excited an insurrection in the Abruzzi and Calabria; the English troops in Sicily crossed the straits in support of the expelled sovereigns, and, on the 4th of July, 1806, defeated the French near the village of Maida; but the British commander was obliged soon after to retreat into Sicily, and the cause of Joseph Bonaparte stood successful on the mainland. Napoleon, therefore, had no reason to regret his interference in the south of Italy; and the crushing defeat of Prussia and Russia, in the campaign of 1806-7, left the French sovereign the more free to prosecute his schemes of ambition. Soon after the Peace of Tilsit, his attention was directed towards the great peninsula of the west of Europe, which had suffered in a comparatively slight degree from the effects of the French Revolution. The wrath of the Emperor was, in the first instance, kindled against Portugal, which, as an ancient ally of England, admitted British merchandise to her ports, in defiance of the Berlin decrees. The Prince Regent of that kingdom (Don John, son of Queen Maria I., whose mind was affected) was required to exclude all British vessels, to arrest British subjects, and to confiscate British property; and any hesitation in carrying out these commands was to be followed by war. The Portuguese ruler remonstrated and delayed; whereupon, the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French Government, announced that "the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe." A body of 30,000 men, under the command of General Junot, entered Lisbon on the 30th of November, 1807; but the Prince Regent had already sought refuge on board a British vessel, in which he sailed for South America, where he fixed the seat of his government in Brazil.

Napoleon had for some time contemplated appropriating the whole peninsula, and he now intrigued with Don Manuel Godoy, the principal Spanish Minister, for the partitioning of Portugal—with a secret view, however to subsequent opera-

tions against Spain itself. Godoy was originally a private in the Royal Guards, but had been raised to his exalted position by the personal favour of the Queen, who, displeased with her weak-minded husband, Charles IV., had contrived that Godoy should be the virtual ruler of the State. Several years before, he had been made Duke of Alcudia; and when an amicable understanding was effected between France and Spain, in 1795, he was rewarded with numerous presents, and honoured with the title of "the Prince of the Peace." His character, however, was unscrupulous, and he had no objection to furthering the schemes of the French Emperor, so far as he saw them. One part of the Portuguese territory was to be made over to this adventurer; another was appropriated to the King of Etruria—Louis, Prince of Parma, a son-in-law of the Spanish sovereign, on whom Napoleon had bestowed the regal style in 1801, but whose Italian dominions had lately been ceded to the Emperor; a third division, including Lisbon itself, was to remain with France until the conclusion of a general peace. Before long, the true designs of Napoleon were revealed with unblushing effrontery. On the 1st of February, 1808, Portugal was made an integral part of the French Empire; the northern districts of Spain were occupied by French troops; and on the 1st of March the Court of Madrid was informed that those provinces must, for reasons of policy, be annexed to France, but that Spain might have Portugal in compensation. The King and Queen would at once have quitted the old country for the American colonies, but for the outbreak of an insurrection, the leaders of which forced them to remain, and imprisoned Godoy, who had advised the flight. Charles IV. then abdicated the throne in favour of his son, who succeeded as Ferdinand VII.

Murat had been appointed to the command in Spain, and he entered Madrid on the 23rd of March. Ferdinand proceeded to Bayonne, on the French side of the Pyrenees, in the hope of making some impression on the mind of the Emperor, but, after reaching that place, was compelled to renounce his rights to the crown—an act in which his father joined, though he had but recently protested against the illegal violence of which he was the victim. Joseph Bonaparte was then transferred from the kingdom of Naples to that of Spain, and the Neapolitan throne was filled by Murat. The populations of Spain and Portugal were incensed at these outrages on their independence. They rose tumultuously against their oppressors, and the armies of France underwent some grave discom-

tures during the summer. Saragossa, in Aragon, resisted the attacks of the invaders with extraordinary heroism; on the 20th of July, General Dupont was surrounded in Andalusia by the forces of the Spanish commander, Castaños, and compelled to surrender. Joseph Bonaparte retired beyond the Ebro, and the greater part of the country was restored to freedom. The Portuguese movement was equally successful; and when the British Government sent an army to the help of the insurgents, the French were signally, and even crushingly, defeated. The commander of the English expedition was Sir Arthur Wellesley, whom we have already found distinguishing himself in the wars of Hindoostan. Between his last Indian victory, in 1803, and his appointment to the Portuguese command, in 1808, he had seen very little service; but he was now about to enter on the most brilliant period of his career—a career which was to prove him the successful rival of Napoleon himself. On the 21st of August, he defeated the French under Junot at Vimiera, and thus led the way to the Convention of Cintra, signed on the 30th of the same month, by which the French agreed to an immediate evacuation of Portugal. The British occupied Lisbon on the 12th of September, so that one portion of Napoleon's scheme was already frustrated. But the French Emperor had obtained a promise of support from Alexander of Russia, and the struggle had but just commenced.

Matters, however, looked sufficiently serious to induce Napoleon to take command in person of the Army of Spain. After defeating three Spanish generals in succession, he reached Madrid on the 4th of December. The popular resistance gave way before the advance of the great conqueror; but the British troops in Portugal had been reinforced, and were under the orders of Sir John Moore, an officer of intrepidity and address. In the course of October, he set out to form a junction with another English force which had recently landed in the Peninsula. This was effected on the 20th of December at Mayorga, in Portuguese Estremadura, and the united body marched towards Madrid. Napoleon immediately set out to meet the enemy; but the British commander, after penetrating some way into Spain, determined to retreat, as he had by that time discovered that the forces concentrating against him were vastly superior to his own. Marshal Soult had manœuvred with such skill as to cut him off from Portugal, and he therefore retired northwards on Galicia. Events in Germany called Napoleon away from Spain at this juncture. He

left the chief command to Soult, who followed closely on the track of Moore, but declined to give or accept battle until the 16th of January, 1809, when an action was fought before Corunna, on the north-western coast of Spain, where Moore was detained by the non-arrival of the transports which were to re-embark his troops. The battle was obstinately contested, but ended in the defeat of Soult, notwithstanding his advantage in numbers, and his genius as a commander. The sufferings of the British, during their retreat through a mountainous country in the dead of winter, were very great, and they had now to lament the death of Sir John Moore, who was struck down with a cannon-ball in the thickest of the battle. The transports arrived shortly after, and the victorious but imperilled army got safely on board. For a few days, the Spaniards themselves defended Corunna, but were speedily obliged to capitulate. On the other hand, the French were nearly worn out by the pursuit of the retreating enemy, and the exertions of the ensuing combat.

The peace imposed on Austria after the Battle of Austerlitz, near the end of 1805, had always been very unwillingly borne by that Power, which thus lost its Italian possessions, and was otherwise humiliated in the eyes of Europe. An opportunity for renewed war seemed to be presented by Napoleon's preoccupations in Portugal and Spain, and, on the 9th of April, 1809, the Archduke Charles crossed the river Inn, and entered Bavaria. As that country was in alliance with France, Napoleon hastened to its assistance, drove out the Austrians, whom he defeated at several points, and again entered Vienna on the 13th of May. By this time, the Archduke Charles had retreated into Bohemia. The Archduke John was equally unsuccessful in Northern Italy, where the Viceroy, Eugène Beauharnais, repelled all attacks; and the army of the French Emperor at Vienna was speedily reinforced by that of his stepson. In the Tyrol, however, the fortune of war went against the French. The Tyrol had for many centuries been an Austrian province; but, at the Peace of Presburg, the brave and simple-living mountaineers were handed over to Bavaria. This arrangement they never accepted; and, after the renewal of the war in 1809, they did their utmost to shake off the yoke. Under the leadership of an innkeeper named Andrew Hofer, the Tyrolese defied the French and Bavarians, harassed their forces by incessant attacks, and in a little while reduced them almost to despair. The efforts of the patriots were not ultimately successful; but, until overwhelmed by superior strength, they defended their

villages and mountains from the rage of the oppressor.

For some weeks it appeared as if the Austrians were entirely crushed; but the war was resumed in May, when an army of 80,000 men confronted Napoleon on the Danube, a little below Vienna. A furious battle near the villages of Aspern and Essling, which took place on the 21st and 22nd of the month, resulted in a partial defeat of the French, who were compelled to withdraw into the small island of Lobau, in the channel of the Danube. The losses of the French had been enormous, and their situation was extremely critical until their communications with the northern bank of the river were restored, and their reinforcements had arrived. The Battle of Wagram was fought on the 5th and 6th of July, when the French were again victorious, but at a terrible price in killed and wounded. The Emperor of Austria now felt that further resistance would be ineffectual, and the treaty of Schönbrunn was signed on the 14th of October, when the Emperor Francis was compelled to submit to conditions which still further diminished his power as one of the principal sovereigns of Europe. France received from him the provinces of Carniola, Friuli, parts of Croatia, Carinthia, and Dalmatia, and the seaport of Trieste; all of which were formed into a separate government of the French Empire, under the general title of Illyria. The Tyrol was confirmed to Bavaria, which also received Salzburg, together with the adjoining territory. The Polish province of Galicia was divided between Russia and Saxony. Compelled by hard necessity, the Austrian Emperor acknowledged the rights of all the sovereigns created by Napoleon, and adopted the prohibitory system against British commerce. By the various cessions which Francis was obliged to sanction, Austria lost three millions and a half of subjects, and by the same process was surrounded by a large number of hostile States, intended to act as a counterpoise to her military strength. The undertaking to abstain from all correspondence and relationship with Great Britain was at once an injury and a humiliation. But Napoleon had again proved himself a master of the art of war, and there was no arguing with his pitiless and unrelenting might.

After the conclusion of peace, the Austrian troops were withdrawn from the Tyrol, and the devoted mountaineers continued the struggle unaided. The Bavarians, however, were determined to hold, or rather to regain, their new possession, and a large force was sent against Scharnitz, where the

insurgents were posted in considerable force. The place was taken on the 25th of October, and towards the middle of November the Bavarians effected a junction with Eugène Beauharnais, who had recently entered the Tyrol. Hofer would have made his submission, had not the oppressors of his country announced a policy of unsparing vengeance. He renewed the insurrection after a momentary pause; but the strength of the patriots was not equal to the military force directed against their brave and scattered bands. The French generals ordered repeated executions; the people were struck with terror; and when the Bavarian King promised a pardon, they submitted. Hofer was either discovered in his retreat, or given up by a traitor, and, after being tried before a French court-martial at Mantua, was shot on the 20th of February, 1810. It is said that King Maximilian Joseph interceded for his life; but the nature of Napoleon was not sufficiently magnanimous to pardon a man who, in the vindication of his country's independence, had thwarted for a time the veteran soldiers of the Empire.

On the 17th of May, 1809, while in the camp at Vienna, Napoleon had issued a decree which must have been especially hateful to a Catholic Power like Austria. By this edict, the Pontifical States were annexed to the French Empire, for reasons which cannot be explained without a short retrospect. French troops had for some time occupied Ancona and Civita Vecchia; but in 1808 Napoleon insisted on the Pope declaring war against England. Pius VII. answered that he was a sovereign of peace, and could not make war on any Christian Power. Napoleon rejected this excuse, and affirmed that, as the successor of Charlemagne, he was Emperor of the West, King of Italy, and Suzerain of the Pope. He made an appeal to religious passions by remarking that the English were heretics, and therefore enemies of the Holy See, and that it was a duty of the Emperors to defend the Church against all opponents. Finally, he announced that if Pius would not do as he was bidden, the successor of Charlemagne would proceed to extremities. By a decree of the 2nd of April, 1808, the Adriatic provinces of the Pope were added to the Kingdom of Italy; and a little before this, a French army had entered Rome, and occupied the Castle of St. Angelo. The annexation of the Papal States in 1809 was the natural consequence of what had gone before. The deposed Pontiff was granted an annual revenue of two millions of francs, and suffered to retain his palaces; but it could hardly have been expected that he would accept such terms. A Bull of

excommunication was launched against the French Emperor and all his supporters; upon which, General Miollis, the French commandant in Rome, placed a military guard around the Quirinal, seized the Pope, and sent him to Grenoble. Thence he was removed to Fontainebleau, but, refusing to annul the sentence of excommunication, was held in captivity until the beginning of 1814. There is nothing in the career of Napoleon Bonaparte less justifiable than this attack upon a sovereign over whom he possessed no right of control, either immediate or remote.

After the retreat of Sir John Moore, and his departure from the Peninsula, Soult and his fellow-generals had little difficulty in securing the submission of all Spain. Saragossa, from which the French had been compelled to retreat in 1808, was again besieged about the close of the year, and, after one of the most heroic defences on record—a defence in which priests, women, and children joined the soldiery, until all were worn out by famine and pestilence—surrendered on the 20th of February, 1809. In April, Soult invaded Portugal, and occupied Oporto; but he was now to meet with more than his match. Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the chief command of the English forces, and his operations were conducted with such admirable skill, promptitude, and vigour, that the French Marshal was speedily obliged to quit Oporto, and retire into Galicia, where he had but recently pursued the retiring English under Moore. The army of Wellesley had been lately reinforced, while that of Soult was seriously weakened by the diversion of his best troops to the banks of the Danube. It may have been partly owing to this fact, as well as to the genius of Wellesley, that the regiments of the latter, when moving on Oporto, were enabled to cross the Douro in the presence of Soult's army, and without the protection of darkness, while the French commander had no alternative but to retreat. Instead of pursuing his adversary, Wellesley suddenly turned towards the south-east, and marched in the direction of Madrid. Thirty thousand Spaniards joined him on the way, and a battle, lasting two days, was fought at Talavera on the 27th and 28th of July. The French were defeated with great loss, and retired in disorder behind the river Alberche. For this brilliant achievement, Sir Arthur Wellesley was rewarded with the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera; but the victory was attended with less important results than had at first sight appeared probable. Soult, Ney, and Mortier were advancing from the north against the English general, and, as the latter felt no great

reliance on his Spanish auxiliaries, he considered it prudent to retire on Badajoz, near the Portuguese frontier. The humiliation of Austria, at the same period, gave additional darkness to the fortunes of Napoleon's adversaries; and an English expedition, consisting of nearly 40,000 men, which had been despatched against Antwerp in July, was attended by irreparable disaster. The commander of this expedition was the Earl of Chatham (the elder brother of William Pitt), whose procrastination, and general absence of capacity, formed a subject of indignant criticism at home. The design of the British Government was to defeat an attempt then being made by Napoleon to convert Antwerp and Flushing into great naval depôts. Flushing capitulated to Lord Chatham on the 15th of August; the islands of Walcheren, South Beveland, and Schowen, were occupied; but, in the meanwhile, Antwerp, which might have been easily taken if attacked at first, was entered by a large French army under Bernadotte, and the opportunity was lost. Half of the British died in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren, and the whole scheme ended in failure. The departure of the troops took place in the early part of December, 1809, and, as they had set sail on the 28th of July, the ruin of an important enterprise was effected in less than five months.

The Grenville Administration in England, which had been formed after the death of Pitt by a union of the Whigs and Tories, did not last much more than a year. It was succeeded by the second Government of the Duke of Portland, the most important member of which was the Foreign Secretary, George Canning, then a rising man, animated by the spirit and resolution of William Pitt, of whom he considered himself a disciple. The Portland Cabinet resigned in the latter part of 1809, owing to the death of its chief, who was succeeded by Mr. Spencer Perceval, a statesman of good character, but mediocre abilities. The Marquis of Wellesley, the elder brother of the general then acquiring so high a reputation in Spain, was Foreign Secretary in the new Administration; and this fact alone was a guarantee that the war would be continued with unflinching determination. The majority of the people were undoubtedly in favour of such a policy; but there were some whom the unparalleled successes of Napoleon had affected with despondency, and the City of London even petitioned for a withdrawal of the English forces from Spain and Portugal. In the absence of allies, the cause of England did indeed seem almost hopeless; and when, in the early part of 1810, the whole of Andalusia, with the



CAPTURE OF ANDREW HOPER (1860).

Fig. L'Alameda

exception of Cadiz, was reduced to submission by the French, Perceval threw on Lord Wellington the responsibility of remaining in the Peninsula, or abandoning it to the enemy. Wellington determined to hold on to the utmost of his power, and, after defeating Masséna at the heights of Busaco, fell back, in October, on three lines of defence, which, without the knowledge of his antagonist, he had constructed on the mountains near Torres

Emperor seems to have had a real affection for Josephine, who was certainly devoted to him ; but their marriage was attended by no issue, and Napoleon was desirous of transmitting to his own posterity the Imperial dominion he had founded. The scene of parting was one of profound grief, at any rate on the side of Josephine ; but reasons of State prevailed over personal feelings, and, on the 15th of December, 1809, the dissolution of the first



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Vedras, a city of Portuguese Estremadura. The first of these lines—which, like the two others, consisted of numerous redoubts, mounted with cannon—was twenty-nine miles long ; the second, and most formidable of the three, stretched a distance of twenty-four miles ; while the third, intended simply to cover a forced embarkation, should that be necessary, was very short. Behind these lines, which were separated by some miles of open country, Wellington lay in safety until he could issue forth against the foe.

Shortly after his return from Schönbrunn, Napoleon determined to separate from his wife Josephine, and to contract a marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria. The

marriage was pronounced by a *senatus consultum*, afterwards confirmed by the Ecclesiastical Court of Paris. The second marriage was celebrated in the chapel of the Tuileries on the 2nd of April, 1810. The offspring of this union was a son, born on the 20th of March, 1811, and immediately dignified with the title of King of Rome. Napoleon was desirous of identifying his position with that which had so long been occupied by the rulers of Austria, but which they had recently forsaken. He wished to be considered the Emperor of the West, and thus to revive at Paris the ancient authority of Rome. But his marriage with Maria Louisa gave great offence to a large number of his subjects, who regarded it as a final abandonment of those

revolutionary principles out of which the Empire had arisen, and which were held by many to be its only title to respect.

The Continental blockade, by which Napoleon hoped to shatter the prosperity of England, proved in the end the ruin of his own. It lured him into the Peninsular War, which was ultimately to be attended by heavy misfortunes to his arms; and it now caused him to turn revengefully on his brother Louis, whom he had created King of Holland in 1806. The prohibition of all intercourse with Great Britain became in time an insupportable injury to a commercial country like the Netherlands, and Louis Bonaparte—a liberal and humane man, desirous of promoting the interests of his subjects—refused in 1810 to be any longer bound by so oppressive an edict. Marshal Oudinot, at the head of 20,000 men, was therefore sent into his dominions. Louis, having signed an act of abdication in favour of his son, withdrew into the Austrian Empire, whence he issued a protest against the favourite project of his brother, and the arbitrary act by which it had been enforced. By a decree, dated July 10th, 1810, Holland was annexed to the French Empire, of which Amsterdam was declared to be the third city; Paris, of course, being the first, and Rome the second. In pursuance of his anti-English policy, Napoleon also seized the Hanseatic towns, and the whole northern coast of Germany between the Ems and the Elbe. An enormous system of smuggling, protected and furthered by the British fleets, had enabled all the European nations not absolutely in the possession of French armies to obtain whatever English manufactures they required. The seizure of the North German coast enabled the French Emperor to close the door against British trade throughout a very important region; but it raised up a host of enemies against the despot who was prepared to ruin every country but his own, in the assertion of a vindictive policy. The Russian Emperor, Alexander I., took active measures against the prohibitive system of Napoleon, and the German rulers looked with growing detestation on a Power so arbitrary and unscrupulous. The Continental System was in fact so monstrous, and so difficult to enforce, that opposition to it arose even in a quarter where, as in Holland, it might have seemed improbable. During the reign of Charles XIII. of Sweden, that kingdom was left without an heir, owing to the death of the Prince of Holstein; and in 1810 the Swedish Diet, desiring to conciliate the French Emperor, elected Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, to fill the vacant dignity. But Bernadotte had always entertained a feeling of

antagonism to Napoleon, and, on establishing himself in Sweden, used all his influence to thwart the policy of the Emperor in the matter of English commerce. Swedish Pomerania soon became a principal depôt for British merchandise; but, for the present, Napoleon was unable or unwilling to take measures against the Swedish monarchy.

His attention was occupied by the contest in the Western Peninsula, where, posted behind his lines of Torres Vedras, Lord Wellington defied all the assaults of Masséna during the winter of 1810–11. The French Marshal was at length compelled to fall back on Ciudad Rodrigo; but his forces suffered so terribly from the severity of the weather, and the devastated condition of the land, that their numbers were greatly reduced by the spring of 1811. The retreat of Masséna had been managed with consummate ability; and it was indeed no light task which the French commander had to perform, for his steps were closely followed by Wellington, who pressed him hard, but was unable to prevent his gaining a position of security. The new campaign began in May, 1811, when the fortress of Almeida and the city of Badajoz were simultaneously attacked by the British. An attempt by Masséna to relieve Almeida failed, owing to the defeat of the French at Fuentes d'Onoro. The baffled assailant fell back on Salamanca, and gave up all hope of driving Wellington from Portugal. The French, however, were still masters of Spain, and some of the most gifted of the French generals were stationed in that country, in command of large and well-appointed armies. Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, proceeded rapidly from Seville to the relief of Badajoz, but was defeated by Beresford at Albuera on the 16th of May. The attempt was therefore foiled, though at a frightful cost of life; but when Lord Wellington ascertained that a fresh body of troops was on its march from Salamanca, he broke up from Badajoz on the 18th of June, and again entered Portugal, where he felt himself secure. The campaign of 1812 found him again in the field. Ciudad Rodrigo was captured on the 19th of January, and Badajoz on the 6th of April. These successes enabled him to advance far into Spain, and to confront the French Army of the North under Marmont. The French were again worsted at the Battle of Salamanca, fought on the 22nd of July. Madrid was next occupied by the British forces and their Spanish auxiliaries, and Wellington then advanced northwards against Burgos, in Old Castile, but relinquished the expedition on finding that so large a force was being brought against him as to render success almost impossible with the comparatively

small numbers at his disposal. His men suffered fearfully on the retreat, and were closely followed by Marshal Soult, who had now succeeded to the chief command in Spain. Joseph Bonaparte once more established himself at Madrid; but his power had been considerably shaken by the recent action of Lord Wellington, and it must have been with some uneasiness that he contemplated the future course of events, when that wary but energetic captain should again confront the legions and the Marshals of France.

By this time, war had broken out in another quarter of Europe, and Napoleon had taken a step which, in combination with his attacks on Spanish and Portuguese independence, led ultimately to his ruin. The amicable relations established between France and Russia at the Peace of Tilsit, in 1807, were destined to be of but short continuance. Towards the end of 1811, various subjects of dispute arose between the two countries, and it was obvious that peace would not be long maintained. Alexander, however, hesitated to renew his former struggle with so powerful an adversary; but events in Sweden precipitated a crisis which might otherwise have been indefinitely delayed. One of the matters at issue between Napoleon and Alexander had reference to the Continental blockade, which the Russian sovereign allowed to be frequently evaded. We have seen that Sweden, especially after the election of Bernadotte to the position of heir-apparent, was committed to the same policy of admitting English goods by whatever means it could be effected. This defiance of his wishes roused the fury of Napoleon, and, on the 27th of January, 1812, without any declaration of war, a French army, under Davoust, invaded Swedish Pomerania, which, together with the island of Rugen, was subjected to the French Empire. Two months later, Bernadotte signed a treaty of alliance with the Emperor Alexander, and the plan of the coming war was settled by that general in consultation with the Czar. Some of Napoleon's counsellors remonstrated with him on an expedition which was evidently attended with the utmost danger; but he would not listen to their advice, and declared that the time had come when he must establish one monarchy in Europe, of which Paris should be the undisputed capital. Russia, he said, was dragged on by fatality, and her destinies must be accomplished. He could not see that the fatality applied rather to himself.

In the spring of 1812, the French Emperor poured large bodies of troops into Russia, Pomerania, and the Duchy of Warsaw. On the 9th of May he quitted Paris, to place himself at

the head of the Grand Army already marching towards the Vistula, and, after staying for some weeks at Dresden, where several European monarchs flattered him with the adulation of sycophants and slaves, set out for Königsberg and Dantzic. His army consisted of 450,000 men—one of the most enormous hosts known to modern history. The regiments had been recruited from various nations under the direct rule, or indirect influence, of Napoleon; and it cannot be questioned that many soldiers in this indiscriminate mass of fighting men were ill-affected to the arbitrary power which thus drove them into doubtful fields of battle. The cavalry were under the command of Murat, King of Naples—a dashing and brilliant officer, familiarly known as the *beau sabreur*; and the whole force was accompanied by a train of artillery numbering twelve hundred guns. At Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, which he reached on the 28th of June, Napoleon stayed eighteen days, to recruit his troops and provide for his commissariat. The army was in movement again on the 16th of July, and at Witebsk the Emperor was strongly urged by his Marshals to bring the campaign to an end for that year. This advice he was at first inclined to accept, but eventually flung it aside in favour of an immediate advance on Moscow. Smolensk was attacked on the 17th of August, but, after a terrible combat, remained in the hands of its defenders, who, during the ensuing night, set fire to the city, and effected their retreat.

Alexander soon afterwards gave the chief command of his forces to the veteran Kutusoff, who was ordered to bring on a general engagement as soon as possible. The result was the murderous conflict of Borodino, a village situated on the river Moskowa. The action was fought on the 7th of September; and although Napoleon succeeded to the extent of taking the enemy's entrenchments, the Russians retreated in such good order that the superiority of the French proved of little avail. The dead alone amounted to 12,000 on the side of the assailants, and 15,000 on that of their adversaries; the wounded were 20,000 and 30,000 respectively; and the Russians left 2,000 prisoners in the hands of the invading force. Kutusoff retreated upon Moscow, but it was resolved to abandon, rather than defend, the ancient capital of Russia. The rigours of a northern winter were not far distant; the country had been wasted by the Russian soldiers in order that it might yield no sustenance to the enemy; and it was wisely judged that the expedition must perish of itself, without the necessity of further battles,

of which the results were doubtful, and the losses certain. A large proportion of the citizens of Moscow followed the departing legions of Kutusoff. When the French entered that picturesque and interesting city, on the evening of September 14th, they found it almost deserted, the magazines emptied of their contents, and the most valuable property removed. Napoleon took up his abode in the Kremlin on the following day; but, even before his arrival, a great fire had broken out, which was not extinguished without considerable difficulty. It was renewed on the following night (that of the 15th), and spread with such rapidity that nine-tenths of the city were destroyed. Moscow had been burned by its own inhabitants, as the most terrible blow that could be struck against the invaders of Holy Russia. Aided by a strong wind, which blew sometimes from one quarter, and sometimes from another, this appalling conflagration lasted five days and nights, during which the efforts of the French soldiers failed to arrest, or even to check, its devastating progress.* Napoleon was compelled to quit the Kremlin, and retire to a château three miles distant from the city. The Kremlin, however, was spared by the flames, together with the churches and a small proportion of the dwellings; and when the fire had burnt itself out, the Emperor returned to his former quarters. But an overwhelming calamity had commenced, and the victor on innumerable fields trembled before the gloomy omens which met him alike in the glare of conflagration, and the blackness of utter ruin.

To add to the perils of the time, the Russians threatened the communications of the French with their magazines and reserves at Smolensk. Napoleon acknowledged that he must retreat with the utmost despatch possible; but this could not be effected at once, seeing that it was necessary, in the first instance, to collect provisions and ammunition, to take some heed for the sick and wounded, and to organise the transport service. In the meanwhile, he attempted to open negotiations with the Emperor Alexander, but was treated with a contemptuous silence which added not only to the embarrassment, but to the humiliation, of his position. Murat's division was successfully attacked on the 18th of October, and next day Moscow was precipitately abandoned by the whole French army, with the exception of a rear-guard under Marshal Mortier, who, by the orders of Napoleon, blew up the Kremlin before he

departed—an act for which there was no reason or excuse, and which can only be described as the barbarous revenge of a baffled and exasperated soldier. The building, however, was only partially destroyed, and was afterwards restored to its original state.

The retreat from Russia which now set in was one of the most fearful catastrophes that have happened since the Middle Ages. Even the advance of the invading hosts, when first they entered Russia, and had every advantage which scientific warfare could confer, had been attended by a vast amount of suffering; so much so, indeed, that 100,000 men are said to have dropped off during the march through Lithuania. When the army started on its homeward journey, it had been reduced, by fatigue, hardships, and the casualties of war, to 120,000 men; and of these only a few ever returned to their own lands. The winter set in earlier than usual; a heavy fall of snow occurred on the 6th of November, and from that time the weather continued terrific in its rigour. Men and horses perished in vast numbers between Moscow and Smolensk, and upwards of three hundred guns were abandoned out of sheer failure in the means of transport. Smolensk was reached on November 12th, when it was found that 30,000 men had perished since the 19th of October, the day on which Moscow was evacuated. The Emperor had been compelled to adopt the least advantageous line of retreat—that which had already been wasted by the Russians—because the more southern route was blocked by Kutusoff, who fought a desperate action with the French on the 24th of October, and forced them back on to the northern road. From Smolensk, which Napoleon quitted on the 14th of November (riding, as before, in a carriage with Murat), the army directed its march on Krasnoi; but the fugitives were now continually harassed by the Russians, who, while avoiding a general engagement, inflicted the utmost damage by desultory attacks. The rear-guard of the French was commanded by Marshal Ney, who was nearly cut off from the main body, but exhibited the most admirable courage and skill in foiling the enemy, and rejoining his comrades. As the winter deepened, the sufferings of the unhappy soldiers became still more extreme. The ways were strewn with dead bodies like a continuous battlefield; many died of cold, many of hunger so extreme that, in the fury of delirium, they devoured the bodies of their comrades. The crossing of the river Beresina, on the 27th of November, was disputed by the Russians; but Napoleon contrived to force the passage,

* By some writers it has been doubted whether the fire was not accidental; but this seems improbable.

though at the price of an enormous slaughter. He had now scarcely more than 20,000 men capable of bearing arms, and even those were almost worn out by the sufferings of the retreat. Malodeczno was reached on the 3rd of December, when the Emperor issued a bulletin admitting the full extent of the calamity which had befallen the army. It was at this place that he resolved to put the wreck of his forces under the command of Murat, and to hasten back to Paris, where his presence had in truth become necessary. A false report of his death had been circulated, and the Republicans were again active. The departure of Napoleon was really no detriment to the regiments he quitted, for his great reverse seems to have stupefied his intellect, and left him helpless. But the soldiers regarded it as a base desertion, and many cursed him openly for his lack of spirit and of comradeship. The march was resumed in a mood of sullen exasperation, mingled with despair. The cold became still more intense; the Russians hung on the rear of the fugitives; the deaths were increasingly numerous; and it was a mere skeleton of the Grand Army which, towards the end of that fatal year, crossed the frontier into Prussia.

Travelling in disguise, and attended by only three officers, Napoleon reached Paris on the evening of December 18th, only two days after the receipt of the bulletin which revealed the entire discomfiture and enormous losses of the army. It is surprising that, after such a defeat, the Emperor should have been able to retain his position for a day. But the fascination or the terror of his name was not yet exhausted, and he was soon enabled to raise a fresh host of more than 500,000 men. His object now was to make war on Prussia as well as Russia; for the former Power, smarting under the recollection of its wrongs, had concluded an alliance with the latter—an alliance, of which the declared object was to expel the French from Germany. In the spring of 1813, Napoleon arrived at Erfurt, and on the 2nd of May defeated the Allies on the plains of Lützen, where, nearly two centuries before, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden met his death. The German and Russian armies fell back beyond Dresden, and Napoleon, continuing his advance, discovered the enemy in a strong position near the town of Bautzen. Here the Allies were again beaten, in a conflict commencing on the 20th of May, and ending on the 21st; they retired, however, in such excellent order as to leave no prisoners, guns, or standards in the hands of the French. The carnage had been dreadful, but the results were immaterial; for the allied force

retreated without molestation to Schweidnitz, and Napoleon, after penetrating to Breslau, consented to an armistice of eight weeks' duration. Negotiations for a general peace were presently opened, and the Austrian Minister, Count Metternich, intimated that his master could no longer remain neutral, but must take part either for or against the French Empire. The terms he proposed, however, were so extremely humiliating to Napoleon—involving as they did the surrender of nearly all his conquests—that he angrily refused to accept them. Nevertheless, a Congress was opened at Prague on the 5th of July; but its deliberations, which were prolonged over several weeks, led to no result, and on the 10th of August hostilities began afresh.

The forces of Russia and Prussia were now augmented by those of Austria, and a furious action was fought before Dresden on the 26th and 27th of the same month. In this terrible contest, the distinguished French general, Moreau, who, having returned from banishment in America, had joined the cause of the Allies, owing to his personal quarrel with Napoleon, was mortally wounded by a cannon-shot. The result of the two days' fighting was the retreat of the Allies, who retired in a disorderly rout towards Bohemia. A pause ensued during the whole of September; but on the 3rd of October the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which had by that time been considerably reinforced, advanced into Saxony, and established themselves on the left bank of the Elbe, in the rear of the French. Napoleon turned round to confront this new danger, and sought his adversaries on the plains of Leipzig. The French were greatly outnumbered; but the Emperor attacked the enemy on the 16th of October, without either defeating them, or being himself driven from the field. The situation was so menacing, from the inability of Napoleon to obtain reinforcements, while he had every reason to believe that fresh masses of troops would soon join the Allies, that on the night of the 16th he made proposals for another armistice, preliminary to renewed negotiations for peace. He was prepared to sacrifice a great deal; but the Allied Sovereigns rejected his offers, and the battle was resumed on the 18th. Bernadotte had by that time joined the Allies with a Swedish army; the troops of Saxony and Wurtemberg, who were acting with Napoleon, deserted him in the midst of the conflict; and at the close of the day the French were driven back upon Leipzig. In the early morning of the 19th, Napoleon began his retreat to Erfurt—a retreat conducted with disorderly haste, and



THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG.

attended by the loss of many troops from fatigue and deprivation of food. On the 30th of October, the French defeated a Bavarian force which sought to oppose its passage; but the campaign was at an end, and Napoleon again reached his capital on the 9th of November, once more discredited by a gigantic failure. He had left the army at Mayence, although his troops were not even then delivered from the danger of pursuit. The campaign had been commenced with 350,000 men, and scarcely 80,000 returned.

The effects of this great reverse were speedily visible. The Confederation of the Rhine came to

an end; the French garrisons in Germany and Poland surrendered before the close of the year; most of the countries subjugated by Napoleon recovered their independence, or reverted to their former masters; and Murat, the Napoleonic King of Naples, entered into secret negotiations with Austria. The enormous fabric of dominion raised by the genius of one man, and sustained at an incalculable price of blood and treasure, was evidently tottering to its fall; but a short period of desperate conflict yet remained, ere Europe could once more enjoy the fruitful prerogatives of peace.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE RETURN OF THE BOURBONS.

Wellington's Peninsular Campaign of 1813—Entry of the British into France—Sanguinary Contests, and Retreat of Soult—Napoleon's Fresh Demands on the French People—Unavailing Peace Proposals of the Emperor—Invasion of France by the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians—Brilliant Campaign of Napoleon against the Allies—Interception of their Communications with Germany—Advance of the Allies on Paris—Capitulation of the City, and Deposition of Napoleon—The Emperor at Fontainebleau—His Act of Abdication, and Banishment to Elba—Defeat of Soult by Wellington at Orthez and Toulouse—Restoration of the French Bourbons in the Person of Louis XVIII.—The Congress of Vienna—Escape of Napoleon from Elba (1815)—Military Preparations of the Allies—Napoleon supported by the Army—The War in Belgium—Battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo (June 16th and 18th)—Final Defeat of Napoleon—Second Abdication, Capture by the British, and Exile to St. Helena—Death in 1821—Removal of the Body to France (1840)—The Allies in Paris—Reactionary Measures of Louis XVIII.—The Treaty of Paris (1815)—Establishment of the Holy Alliance—Character and Reign of Louis XVIII.—State of Spain under Ferdinand VII.—Revolt of the Spanish-American Colonies—Constitutional Struggle in Spain—Armed Intervention of France—Revolutionary Movements in Naples and Piedmont—Reign of Charles X. of France—Arbitrary Conduct of the New Sovereign—Revival of Public Spirit in France—The Revolution of 1830—Reign of Louis Philippe—The Revolution of 1848—Beginning of the Second Republic.

SPAIN continued to be the scene of great events while Napoleon was contending with the forces of Russia and Germany. During the winter of 1812-13, Wellington had kept within his lines at Torres Vedras; but the interval of rest was well employed in the discipline of a somewhat disorderly mass of troops, and in preparations for the next campaign. With an army of 80,000 men, more than half of whom were British, while the rest were natives of the Peninsula, he issued forth in the spring of 1813, and marched on Salamanca, where, in the previous year, he had gained a signal victory over the French. He was now in a much better position for following up his advantages than at the earlier period; for he had more men at his disposal, while his enemy was weakened by the withdrawal of several regiments, and by the substitution of Jourdan for Soult in the chief command. Jourdan was a general of fair abilities, and in the early days of the Republic had gained some laurels from the Confederated Powers; but he was certainly no match for Wellington. The French re-

tired before the advance of the English commander, who, on the 21st of June, inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy at Vittoria, in the Basque Provinces. The battle was one of the most hotly-contested of the Peninsular War; but, at the close of the day, Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan were driven, with their forces, through the town of Vittoria. The retreat soon became an utter rout, and, besides a large number of men, Jourdan lost 151 pieces of cannon, 451 waggons of ammunition, all his baggage, provisions, cattle, and treasure, and his bâton as a Marshal of France.

This great victory placed the larger part of the Peninsula in the hands of the British. Joseph Bonaparte—an idle, luxurious, and wholly incompetent man—gave up the contest in despair, and retired into France. Pampeluna and San Sebastian were blockaded by two of the most distinguished of Wellington's lieutenants—General Hill, afterwards Lord Hill, and General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch. Soult returned to his former position in July; but it was too late to change the

posture of affairs, and in a few weeks he was forced back into France, after having fought some bloody but ineffectual engagements. San Sebastian was stormed and captured on the 31st of August, at a cost to the victors of 4,000 men; and such was the rage of the British soldiers on entering the place, that they committed the most execrable atrocities, even on the unoffending inhabitants whom they had come to deliver from a foreign tyranny. On the 7th of October, Wellington crossed the Bidassoa, and Pampeluna surrendered to the Spaniards on the 31st. The Bidassoa divides Spain from France at the north-western extremity of the Peninsula; and as soon as Wellington had driven his opponents from their strongly-fortified positions on the northern side of the stream, his army was established on the soil of France itself. To resist this invasion, Soult took up a position on the Nivelle, which, after three days' fighting, was stormed on the 7th of November. The French Marshal retired behind the Nive and the Adour, but was expelled from his new position on the 13th of December, after a desperate struggle of nearly a week. In all these actions, although unsuccessful, Soult displayed the most admirable generalship, combined with courage and persistence; but nothing could withstand the resolution of Wellington, or the ardour of his troops, excited by a long career of victory. A fortified camp was established by the French at Bayonne, and the town was then invested by the English forces and their Peninsular allies.

On his return to Paris, after the failure of the German campaign, Napoleon laid before the Senate an account of the existing posture of affairs, in which he made no attempt to conceal or diminish the gravity of the crisis. A fresh levy of 300,000 men was required and granted; heavy taxes were imposed on the people; and the Emperor drew a large sum of money from his private treasury in the vaults of the Tuileries. The Legislative Assembly, however, was not as subservient as the Senate. It asked for assurances that peace should be made, and that the national liberties should be restored. Napoleon was greatly displeased at this presumption. He seized at the printing-office the address containing the views of the Chamber; prorogued that body on the 30th of December, 1813, without mentioning any day for its re-assembling; and afterwards, at a levee, lectured the members on their audacity in pretending to represent France, for which, in its totality, no one but himself could answer. But the people were getting weary of the perpetual and ruinous demands on their pockets and their families, especially as

there was no longer the equivalent of success. In many of the departments, but little money, and comparatively few men, could be collected for the armies of 1814, and Napoleon found himself greatly overmatched in numbers by the forces of the Allies. He had already realised the necessity of making large concessions, and, in the last two months of 1813, had agreed to recognise the independence of Switzerland, and to restore Ferdinand VII. (then a prisoner in France) to the throne of Spain. But the Confederated Powers were resolved to enter into no terms with one who had long been the scourge of Europe; and early in 1814 the French Emperor released the Spanish princes without any conditions, delivered the Pope from his captivity, and re-established the States of the Church.

At the close of 1813, three great armies—Austrian, Prussian, and Russian—were converging on the eastern frontiers, under the command of Schwartzberg, Blücher, and Winzingerode. Before the end of January, 1814, they had entered France, and occupied a line extending from Langres to Namur; so that Napoleon had to consider the safety of the capital itself, to which the Allies were evidently directing their march. On the 23rd of January, he committed the Empress and her infant son to the care of the National Guard. Maria Louisa was named Regent, and Joseph Bonaparte was to be her principal counsellor. Quitting Paris in the early morning of the 25th, Napoleon assumed the command of his army at Châlons-sur-Marne. He had to encounter forces nearly double the strength of his own; but for a little while the operations of the enemy were baffled by his extraordinary rapidity, skill, and daring. It is the opinion of military critics that the genius of this wonderful soldier never appeared more conspicuously than in the series of battles which he fought in the disastrous campaign of 1814, when ineffectually endeavouring to cover Paris. He was in truth fighting for the very existence of his Empire. The demands of the Allies continually increased, and they at length required that France should be restricted within the boundaries existing before the Revolution. To these proposals Napoleon would not accede, and he presented some counter-propositions to a Congress which was opened at Chatillon on the 5th of February. Both sides, however, pushed their claims to an extravagant degree, and the negotiations came to an end about the middle of March.

In the meanwhile, Napoleon had several times defeated the Allies, whom he attacked in detail, and in various places, with lightning velocity, and the most unexpected concentrations of power.

Blücher and Schwartzberg were for a time compelled to retreat; but the former, having been joined by the Army of the North, again advanced, and worsted his antagonist at Laon on the 9th and 10th of March. After an action with the Austrians at Arcis-sur-Aube, on the 20th of the same month—an action attended by no decisive results—Napoleon conceived the plan of getting into the rear of the Allies, carrying the war into Germany, and thus saving Paris by threatening the communications of the enemy. An intercepted letter informed the Allies of this scheme, and, at the same time, a despatch from Paris, written by Talleyrand, who was preparing to desert the cause which Fortune had already abandoned, strongly urged the commanders to press forward at once. The advice was adopted. A detachment under Winzingerode was sent to occupy the attention of Napoleon, while the mass of the invading force pushed on towards the capital. On learning the truth from some prisoners he had taken, the French Emperor instantly turned back, but soon discovered the hopelessness of a movement which the Allies had anticipated by three days. The metropolis, it was evident, must fall, unless its own powers were equal to its defence; and the loss of the metropolis would probably mean the loss of all.

Paris was at that time held by a small force under Marshals Marmont and Mortier; but the Government was feeble and hesitating, and, on the morning of the 29th of March, the Empress and her child left the Tuileries for Blois. Next day, the invaders appeared before the walls of Paris, and attacked the positions occupied by the French generals. The defence was gallantly maintained for some hours, but was at length abandoned when the arrival of Blücher made success impossible. Marmont, who had fought with admirable courage as long as any reasonable chance remained, signed a capitulation on the 30th; the allied troops marched in on the 31st, amidst the cheers of the Royalists, and perhaps also of some who simply desired any change which would deliver them from the incessant anxieties and demands of war; the Senate pronounced the deposition of Napoleon on the 2nd of April; and the Legislative Chamber, together with the various public bodies of the capital, signified its acquiescence. These events were mainly brought about by Talleyrand, the ablest of Napoleon's Ministers, but one who never permitted his conscience to stand in the way of his fortunes. His task was facilitated by the exhaustion and indifference of the Parisians, and by the presence of foreign armies which there was no force to oppose. Overstrained at every point, the Napoleonic system

suddenly broke up into fragments, which nevertheless contained a principle of vitality, not to be immediately destroyed.

It was on the 31st of March—the day on which the Allies entered Paris—that Napoleon, travelling post in advance of his troops, established himself at Fontainebleau, after having proceeded to within about ten miles of the capital, from which he soon perceived the necessity of receding. His army, still reckoning more than 50,000 men, came up by different routes shortly afterwards, and the Emperor endeavoured once more to open communications with the enemy. But the allied sovereigns had already issued a proclamation announcing that they would no longer treat with Napoleon himself, or with any member of his family; and to this determination they adhered. The fallen dictator then appealed to his troops for an immediate march on Paris; but Ney and Oudinot, together with other commanders of high rank, declared that they would not support him in a movement which was almost beyond the possibility of success. Napoleon reluctantly admitted the hopelessness of the enterprise, and, at the suggestion of Ney, wrote an act of abdication, to which he added a reservation of the rights of his son, under the Regency of the Empress. The Allies, however, would accept nothing but an unconditional abdication, and Napoleon had no choice but to submit. The Treaty of Fontainebleau, by which an arrangement was effected between the great soldier and his triumphant adversaries, was signed on the 11th of April, when it was decided that Napoleon should retain for life the title of Emperor, with a revenue of two million francs, and the independent sovereignty of Elba, an island of the Mediterranean lying between Corsica and the coast of Tuscany. This little territory, not more than eighteen miles in length, and with a breadth varying from three to ten miles, belonged at that time to the Tuscan Grand Duke, from the main body of whose possessions it was separated by a strait five miles in width. A worse place of detention for such a man as Napoleon could hardly have been selected, and events soon showed how easily the illustrious captive could quit his prison-house, and once more gain the scene of his former achievements.

For the present, the good fortune of Bonaparte was at an end. His arms were unsuccessful in every direction, and, even before he quitted Fontainebleau, news arrived that Lord Wellington had beaten Marshal Soult at Orthez on the 27th of February. After this fresh reverse, Soult retreated to Toulouse, from which he was driven on the 10th of April, after a fierce and obstinate engagement,

in which the British forces lost more than the French. For this crowning victory, his great opponent was made Duke of Wellington in the following month. The last event of the war was a collision at Bayonne on the 14th of April, when the garrison, not being positively informed of Napoleon's abdication, made a sortie at night, and inflicted considerable losses on the English army. A convention between Soult and Wellington was signed on the 18th of April, and Napoleon quitted Fontainebleau on the 20th. His farewell to the Old Guard, in the court of the château, was a dramatic and affecting incident; indeed, it is not to be doubted that, to the last, the Emperor was popular with the vast majority of the army. He embarked at Fréjus on board a British frigate, and landed at Porto Ferrajo on the 4th of May. The Bourbons had already been recalled to the throne of France, and Louis XVIII., who had lived in England for several years, landed in Calais on the 24th of April. He was the grandson of Louis XV., and was then in the fifty-ninth year of his age. As the brother of Louis XVI., he had witnessed in his early years the terrible events of the Revolution, and it was perhaps hardly to be expected that his predilections should be other than reactionary. He did, indeed, assent to a constitutional form of government; but the charter granted after his entry into Paris, on the 3rd of May (when his reception was not very cordial, except by the Royalists), placed considerable restrictions on the power of the Legislature. Peace having been concluded at Paris—at which time the French frontiers were rearranged, and Holland was united with Belgium into one kingdom under the House of Orange—a Congress of European Powers assembled in November at Vienna, where Talleyrand was the representative of Louis. In March, 1815, before this body could accomplish any results, the nations were astounded by the unexpected news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was then in the south of France. The envoys of the great Powers issued a manifesto on the 13th of the month, in which they declared that Napoleon had placed himself, by his breach of faith, beyond the pale of social relations, and that, as a disturber of the peace, he was a fit object of public vengeance. Three immense armies—of which the first was Austrian, the second British, Hanoverian, Belgian, and Prussian, and the third Russian—were at once collected by the Allies; and it was resolved to prosecute the war without a pause, until the power of the Bonapartes should be entirely broken.

Napoleon had for some months been engaged in

secret correspondence with his friends in France and Italy. He had a large number of adherents in Paris and elsewhere; the official class, created during many years of rule, was largely devoted to his interest; and the army had never ceased to regret a commander who had so often led them to the most splendid victories. A conspiracy for his restoration was set on foot, and quickly spread out into wide ramifications. Even many of the old Republicans joined the Bonapartist cause, and Napoleon was invited to return to France. It is not surprising that he should have accepted this invitation, nor that he should have considered himself entitled to do so, in response to something like a general demand for his presence. It was on the 26th of February that he embarked in hired feluccas with about one thousand men of the Old Guard, who had followed him to Elba. He landed at Cannes, not far from Fréjus, on the 1st of March. At Grenoble, a regiment of the Line threw in its lot with the Emperor. Marshal Ney, who at first undertook to oppose his former sovereign, found himself unable to resist a personal appeal from Napoleon, and in a little while the whole army, with scarcely an exception, had declared in favour of the mighty conqueror, who seemed almost as if he had returned from the portals of the grave. Louis XVIII. quitted the Tuileries in the early morning of the 20th of March, and on the evening of the same day Napoleon arrived at the vacated palace. His reception was of the most enthusiastic kind, and for a moment the dark days appeared to vanish in a sudden burst of sunlight. He soon found, however, that he would not be allowed to rule as a merely despotic sovereign, and in a few days he was compelled to grant a considerable accession to the popular liberties. He knew also that he would have to fight desperately for the maintenance of his position; and the reorganisation of his forces proceeded with feverish activity. It was not long before he had under his orders an army of 217,000 soldiers, supported by a well-equipped body of National Guards, amounting to 150,000 men. In a few months, his resources would have been even greater, if he could only have postponed the war; but this was impossible, and he had at once to consider whether he would remain on the defensive, or concentrate his divisions on the frontier of Belgium, and attack Wellington and Blücher, the commanders of the mixed force, before they could be joined by the two other armies. He determined on the latter course, and crossed the Belgian frontier on the 14th of June.

A series of contests, culminating in the Battle

of Waterloo, followed on the 16th, 17th, and 18th of June. Napoleon's plan was to assail the Prussians under Blücher, forming the left of the enemy's line, while Ney encountered the English, and prevented their forming a junction with the other division. On the 16th, Blücher was defeated at Ligny, with heavy loss; but, at the same time, Ney was frustrated in his attempts to take possession of Quatre Bras, a very important point on the right of the allied positions. Napoleon, therefore, had failed in placing Ney's division between the British and Prussian armies; but the Duke of Wellington, though successful in holding Quatre Bras, was compelled to fall back, owing to the retreat of Blücher upon Wavre. His new position was near the village of Waterloo, where he was enabled to cover Brussels from the advance of the French. On the 17th of June, Napoleon despatched Marshal Grouchy, with 32,000 men, to prevent the junction of the Prussians with the British. Together with Marshal Ney, the Emperor then followed the line of retreat which had been adopted by Wellington; but nothing occurred on the 17th, beyond a slight though sharp engagement with the rearguard of that commander's forces. The grand struggle took place on the following day, June 18th. The opposing forces occupied two lines of hills, separated by a valley about half a mile broad. The battle, which lasted all day, was a contest between two great commanders for the possession of a road which would have opened Brussels to Napoleon, could he have succeeded in driving back the stubborn ranks of his adversaries. Wellington knew that, some time in the course of the day, he might expect the assistance of the Prussians, who were stationed rather more than twelve miles off. His one great object, therefore, was to hold his ground until those reinforcements could come up, when there was a fair probability of his being able to effect a decisive repulse of the enemy. This he accomplished by the marvellous firmness of the British infantry, which, formed in squares, repelled over and over again the fiery charges of the French cavalry, one of the most brilliant and devoted bodies of horse-soldiers in the world.

The key of the English position was the château of Hougomont, which, though set on fire by the French shells, was defended by the English Guards with desperate tenacity. In other directions, equally furious combats proceeded with varying success. During the afternoon, Napoleon captured the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, forming an advanced post in front of the left centre of the British line. On the whole, however, the forces of Wellington

retained their positions; yet it is doubtful whether they would not have been finally overwhelmed, but for the tardy arrival of the Prussians at about six o'clock in the evening. In the earlier part of the day, Marshal Grouchy was engaged at Wavre by the third Prussian corps, which he is said to have mistaken for the whole Prussian army. The conduct of Grouchy has laid him open to some suspicion of treachery; but this, perhaps, is an unjust imputation. Still, from whatever cause, he did not rejoin the main body of the French army, according to his instructions, nor did he prevent the march of the Prussians towards Waterloo. Napoleon expected his arrival with the same anxiety as that of Wellington for the arrival of his allies; but, whereas the latter obtained the relief he sought, the former waited in vain for the return of Grouchy's division. Shortly after the earliest of the Prussian corps entered the field, Napoleon ordered up the Imperial Guard, placed them under the command of Ney, and sent them in two columns against the British line. They were met by so tremendous a fire that, in attempting to deploy, their ranks were thrown into confusion, and speedily gave way. The whole of the British and Prussian divisions then advanced against the staggering masses of the French, and Napoleon, exclaiming that all was lost, galloped wildly from the field. The French army was now in flight, pursued by the Prussians, who, having taken comparatively little part in the fighting of the day, were in good condition for performing that service. The memory of wrongs and insults nerved their arms, and the French received no quarter in that hour of terror and of anguish. The carnage on both sides was dreadful. The French are said to have lost, during the three days' struggle, no fewer than 60,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The casualties of the British and their allies were also very large. At Waterloo alone, more than six hundred of their officers were either killed or wounded.

Leaving the command of the army to Marshal Soult, Napoleon hastened to Paris, where he arrived in the early morning of the 21st. The authorities at the capital were fully resolved not to grant any renewal of his powers, either as Emperor or commander. His abdication was at once demanded, and on the 22nd of June he drew up a declaration to the French people, in which, while himself retiring from the political scene, he appointed his son Emperor of the French, with the title of Napoleon II. In the hope of escaping to America, where he proposed to pass the remainder of his days, he proceeded to Rochefort on the 29th; but, the coast being blockaded by British cruisers, he gave himself

up to Captain Maitland, commanding the line-of-battle ship *Bellerophon*, by whom he was conveyed to Torbay. He was not, however, permitted to land, and about the close of July was informed by the British Government that he would be conveyed to St. Helena, to remain there for the rest of his life under the care of commissioners from all the allied Powers. St. Helena is a small island—scarcely more than a rock—in the Southern Atlantic, twelve hundred miles from the western coast of

during the reign of Louis Philippe, the body was removed, by permission of the English Government, to France, where, on the 15th of December, it received a magnificent burial in the Hôtel des Invalides. That impressive ceremonial occasioned a revival of Napoleonic fervour among the French, and in the course of a few years produced results of great interest and importance. The faults of Napoleon's life, the vices of his system, the crimes of his ambition, were numerous; but, after the



ABDICATION OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Africa, and still farther removed from the eastern coast of South America. Napoleon was accompanied by Count La Cases, together with three generals, and landed on the 16th of October, 1815, in the place of his captivity. Whether that captivity was not made unduly harsh by his custodians, may be an open question; but it is certain that the spirit of the great conqueror was broken after a while by the monotony of his existence, and the sense of irreparable failure. His health began to give way in September, 1818, and on the 5th of May, 1821, he expired from the effects of an ulcer in the stomach. He was buried near a fountain overhung with weeping willows—a spot which had long been his favourite resort; but in May, 1840,

lapse of five-and-twenty years, these were forgotten, and the French people remembered only his splendid genius, his fiery career, and his devotion to what he sincerely believed essential to the glory of the land he ruled.

The period from the 20th of March, 1815, when Napoleon reappeared at the Tuileries, to the 29th of June, when he determined to throw himself on the generosity of Great Britain, is usually called (though by a somewhat inexact calculation) the Hundred Days. It was in fact a mere episode, or parenthesis, in the history of the restored Bourbons; and when Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, on the 8th of July, the previous interval must have seemed little more than a dark and troublous dream. A



THE LAST CHARGE AT WATERLOO.

few days before, the French army had retired from the capital, which was occupied by the forces of Wellington and Blücher. The King, therefore, reigned by the grace of foreign bayonets, and the national susceptibility was deeply wounded by a circumstance which degraded the French people in their own esteem. The reception of Louis was far less cordial than it had been in 1814; indeed, it was only his declared partisans who received him with cries of welcome. The Prussians, remembering Jena, behaved towards the Parisians with insulting arrogance, and the whole of France found itself under the feet of a military despotism which had not even the recommendation of being native. The restored King gave speedy proof that he had learned but little from the teachings of experience. During the brief period of his former restoration, he had shown the stuff of which he was composed, by treating with unnecessary harshness the men of the Revolution and the Empire, by surrounding himself with Swiss mercenaries, by encouraging the most reactionary of the priesthood, and by bestowing the Cross of the Legion of Honour on court sycophants who had done nothing to deserve it. Still, he had stopped short of absolute vengeance; but he now threatened extreme measures, and the Chambers supported him in what was assumed to be necessary for the protection of his dynasty. Fortunately, less was done in this respect than appeared at one time probable; but General Labédoyère was shot for having been the principal agent in restoring Napoleon, and Marshal Ney for returning to his old sovereign, after he had promised to bring him in chains to Paris. Murat, also, forfeited his life, on account of an attempt which he made, in the autumn of 1815, to recover the throne of Naples. For these executions there was undoubtedly some justification; but the reactionary measures of the Government were at once unfair and injudicious, and it was to the credit of the King that he afterwards abandoned them, though only for a time. Louis, indeed, was less to blame in these matters than his fanatical supporters, the ancient nobility and the priesthood. In the provinces, the White Terror of 1795 was revived by a set of wretches, who, in the name of legitimacy and religion, massacred Bonapartists, Republicans, Protestants, and Freethinkers, and endangered the throne itself by the violence of their advocacy.

The negotiations for the second Peace of Paris commenced in July, 1815, and the definitive treaty was signed on the 20th of November in the same year. By the terms of this agreement, an indemnity of twenty-eight millions sterling was im-

posed on France for the expenses of the war, and another large sum was claimed as compensation for the conquest of foreign countries during the supremacy of Napoleon. The boundaries of France were even further reduced than they had been in 1814. The duchy of Bouillon, the towns of Philippeville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, Saarbrück, and some adjacent districts, were assigned to the Netherlands and to Prussia. A portion of Alsace, including the fortress of Landau, was transferred to the German Confederation, and it was ordered that the fortifications of Hüningen should be demolished. By these measures, a population of some 2,500,000 souls was lost to the French monarchy. From Geneva (which received part of the county of Gex) to the Mediterranean, the line of demarcation existing in 1790 was to be followed. Finally, the entire north-eastern frontier was to be garrisoned during five years by a foreign army of 150,000 men, and the maintenance of this force was to be borne by France. As a matter of fact, these five years were afterwards reduced to three; for, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in October, 1818, it was determined to evacuate the French territories without further delay. Before the conclusion of the treaty, the Allies had sent back to the plundered capitals the various works of art which Napoleon had seized from time to time. The Parisians were deeply offended by this restitution; but it is impossible to deny its justice. Europe undoubtedly received considerable benefit from the fall of Napoleon and the return of peace; yet the benefit was far from being unmixed. The almost complete obliteration of France as a political influence in the general system, and the unchecked power which their successes had conferred on arbitrary monarchs such as those of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were facts productive of serious evils to the cause of national freedom. Before the close of 1815, the Emperor Alexander I. had persuaded the rulers of Austria and Prussia to join with him in a solemn association, which was afterwards called the Holy Alliance. The treaty establishing this bond was executed at Paris on the 26th of September, and it pledged the three sovereigns to govern their policy by what they professed to regard as Christian principles, but which were in fact the principles of military despotism. The ostensible object was the maintenance of peace; the real object was the support of the Divine Right Monarchies against the demands of their people. The league was joined in time by other States, and the despotism of the next few years was largely aided by this conspiracy against popular rights.

The reign of Louis XVIII., which lasted until September 16th, 1824, when death brought it to a termination, was distinguished by few remarkable events. Louis was a man of fair abilities and agreeable address; and, whether from indolence or good nature, he was not greatly inclined to play the part of a despot. When, in 1818, he appointed Count Decazes to the head of the Ministry, he appeared for a little while to be really entering on a liberal course. But the disposition of the eighteenth Louis was characterised by much the same irresolution as that of the sixteenth; and a lamentable circumstance, which occurred on the 13th of February, 1820, drove him back into the arms of the reactionaries. The Duke de Berri, second son of the Count d'Artois, was assassinated, when returning from the Opera, by a fanatical Republican; and, although this was nothing more than an isolated act of ferocity and folly, it occasioned so great an alarm that the electoral laws were altered, the newspapers were placed under a censorship, and the whole policy of the State took a reactionary colour. Worse things, however, occurred elsewhere. Another Bourbon sovereign, Ferdinand VII. of Spain, distinguished himself after his restoration by much more despotic measures than any sanctioned by Louis XVIII. in France. During the Peninsular War, and the absence of the King, the Cortes had established a constitution of a very democratical nature; but this was set aside by Ferdinand after his return in 1814. The Inquisition was restored, and a pure despotism established in place of the recent constitution. This policy was the more insane, as Ferdinand found himself confronted by a disastrous condition of the Empire, consequent on the disruption of the last few years. The Spanish colonies in America had refused to submit to the usurpation of Napoleon in the mother-country; and they persisted in the rebellion which special circumstances had provoked.

Ferdinand made desperate attempts to reduce the colonies to submission; but they succeeded in establishing their independence. In May, 1819, the States of the Rio de la Plata, or Buenos Ayres, were formed into the Argentine Republic. The independence of Venezuela and Granada was secured, chiefly by the exertions of the heroic Bolivar, in December, 1819, when these two States were formed into the Republic of Colombia. Bolivar also aided in securing the freedom of Chili and Peru. The Republic of Bolivia was established in Upper Peru in August, 1825. Mexico declared its independence a little earlier, and General Iturbide caused himself to be proclaimed

Emperor in March, 1822. A year later, he was compelled to abdicate; a Republican Government was formed, and Iturbide resided for a time in England. Returning to Mexico in 1824, he was seized, tried, and shot; and the Mexican Republic then entered on a stormy career, chequered by many revolutions. The insurrection of Paraguay commenced in May, 1811. Two years after, José Gaspard Rodriguez Francia became First Consul of the Republic, and sole Consul in 1814. In 1817, this vigorous politician was made Dictator for life, and, from that date until his death, in December, 1840, ruled despotically, yet with a sincere and enlightened regard for the benefit of the State. The creation of the Spanish-American commonwealths was hailed by many hopeful people in Europe as an immense accession of strength to the cause of freedom, which had decidedly lost ground in the old world. The later history of the several Republics, however, showed that the mongrel populations of Southern and Central America, together with those of Mexico, were little fitted for the responsibilities of self-government. Brazil, under a monarchy, has done much better than the miserable States which are in a condition of chronic revolt or military despotism. When John VI. of Portugal quitted his own kingdom in 1808, in order to escape the interference of Napoleon, he settled, as already related, in Brazil, and thus accustomed the people to the presence of royalty. On his return to Europe in 1821, Dom Pedro became Regent; on the 7th of September, 1822, Brazil declared its independence; and, on the 1st of December in the same year, Pedro was crowned Emperor. The separate existence of Brazil was recognised by Portugal on the 29th of August, 1825. Dom Pedro abdicated in favour of his infant son, Pedro II., on the 7th of April, 1831; and since then Brazil has made great progress under the rule of that intellectual prince, who, among other benefits conferred on his dominions, has put an end to slavery.

The loss of the Spanish colonies wounded the pride of the old country, and probably contributed with other causes to the decline of her prosperity. The people were therefore all the less disposed to tolerate the weak but spiteful despotism of Ferdinand VII. The spirit of freedom and the desire of self-government have always been strongly developed in the north of Spain, and it was in the northern provinces that the insurrectionary movement of 1820 was most powerfully supported, though it commenced in the garrison of Cadiz. Seized with a paroxysm of terror, Ferdinand yielded an insincere acquiescence to the demands of the

revolutionists; but, unfortunately, a period of turbulence ensued, in which many atrocities were committed on both sides. Whenever he had an opportunity, the King reverted to his favourite principles of despotic rule, yet, at the first appearance of compulsion, would ally himself with the democratic leaders. At length, the three chief members of the Holy Alliance, having assembled in Congress at Verona in the autumn of 1822, resolved to take action with respect to Spain. They addressed a note to the Spanish Government, requiring the restoration of absolutism. These demands being refused by the existing Ministry, which consisted of extreme revolutionists, the united Powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, withdrew their representatives from Madrid in January, 1823. The French Ambassador followed their example, and a large French army, acting on the suggestions of the Holy Alliance, was soon afterwards sent across the Pyrenees to deliver Ferdinand VII. from what his relative, Louis XVIII., described as a state of slavery, maintained by a factious and disloyal party. The invaders entered Madrid on the 23rd of April, and the Cortes (which had removed, first to Seville, and afterwards to Cadiz) declared the King in a state of incapacity, and appointed a Regent to act on his behalf. But the representative body had no military power sufficient to oppose the army of the Duke of Angoulême. Cadiz was besieged on the 16th of August, and its batteries were stormed on the 31st. After this catastrophe, the city could no longer be held against the French; and Ferdinand, who had for some time been in the power of the insurgents, was sent to the invader's camp on the 1st of October. Despotism in its most extreme forms was thus re-established throughout Spain by the arms of French soldiers; and the success of the Duke of Angoulême encouraged Louis XVIII. to ally himself more completely with the party of reaction. The French elections of 1824 were largely influenced by fraud and intimidation on the part of the Government; so much so, indeed, that the new Chamber of Deputies was found to contain no more than nineteen Liberal members. Such was the condition of France when Louis XVIII. died in the autumn of the same year; and his successor carried out the principles he found predominant, with an obstinate bigotry which before long cost him his throne.

The third Bourbon kingdom—that of Naples—was agitated in a similar way to Spain. The secret society of the Carbonari exercised great influence on public opinion, and the Spanish revolution of 1820 excited a similar movement in the south of

Italy. Ferdinand IV. of Naples, like Ferdinand VII. of Spain, conceded all the demands of the malcontents, abandoned the government to his son Francis, Duke of Calabria, and allowed the revolution to pursue its course. A Parliamentary Government, fashioned after the Spanish constitution of 1812, was established at the capital; but the demand of the Sicilians for a separate Legislature was violently suppressed by the Neapolitan troops. King Ferdinand had in the meanwhile gone to Laybach, in Carinthia, where the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were holding a Congress for the settlement of affairs. The Confederated Powers would not recognise the new constitution at Naples, and an Austrian army was sent into Italy to enforce this monstrous interference with the liberties of a foreign people. All opposition was speedily swept aside; the Austrians entered Naples at the close of March, 1821, and Ferdinand returned to his capital. The government again became absolute, and, without any further pretence of Liberalism, Ferdinand continued to reign until the 4th of January, 1825, when he died suddenly at the age of seventy-four, after a reign of sixty-five years. He had witnessed many revolutions, but had survived them all, and may possibly, in his last days, have supposed them quenched for ever. The popular spirit, however, was *not* quenched, either in Naples or elsewhere, and its power was made apparent in the north as well as in the south of Italy. The Carbonari were active in Lombardy and Piedmont, and a revolution broke out at Turin in March, 1821. The King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I., abdicated in favour of his brother, Charles Felix, and the insurrectionary movement was put down by the native troops, assisted by the Austrians. Under the able but absolutist administration of Metternich, the Austrian Empire was now the chief vindicator of reactionary principles; but the task was one of no small difficulty, since the volcano, stamped out in one direction, was apt to burst forth in another. Lombardy itself, one of the chief dependencies of Austria, was agitated by revolutionary plots in 1821; at the same time, the principles of freedom began to germinate in Hungary and Bohemia. In many respects, the epoch was one of profound darkness over the whole of Europe; but the fire of a wise and temperate liberty was still secretly burning in many places, and was destined in time to reappear as a predominating fact in the great centres of modern civilisation.

Louis XVIII. was succeeded on the throne of France by his brother, Charles X.—a bigoted, ill-trained, and narrow-minded prince. After a brief

pretence of liberality, he showed himself in his true colours, and, in 1825, not many months beyond the commencement of his reign, caused a law to be passed by the subservient Chambers, which imposed the punishment of death on all who should profane the consecrated Host, and awarded other severe penalties for the profanation of sacred utensils. Several measures of an equally unpopular character were brought forward at a later date; the press was heavily fettered; the National Guards were disbanded, in consequence of a hostile demonstration at a review; and, although a more liberal policy was adopted in 1828, the French people, knowing well the profound insincerity of the Bourbons, placed no reliance on what otherwise might have seemed like the commencement of a better system. A reactionary Administration was formed in 1829, and the country looked on in a mood of sullen exasperation and contempt. The Chamber of Deputies at length developed a spirit of independence; and when Parliament was opened, in March, 1830, the Lower House, by a majority of forty, voted a reply to the Royal speech, in which the King was plainly told that his Ministers had not the confidence of the national representatives. On the following day, March 19th, the Chamber of Deputies was prorogued to the 1st of September. A dissolution was soon afterwards proclaimed; new elections followed; and the country showed symptoms of violent agitation. The Parliamentary Opposition was now considerably increased, and, although the national vanity was flattered by the conquest of Algiers—which had given offence by the ill-treatment of French consuls and merchants—the feeling of dissatisfaction with the character and policy of Charles X. became every day more vehement and pronounced.

Infatuated with a sense of his own absolute rights as a sovereign, the King laid fresh shackles on the press, dissolved the newly-elected Chamber of Deputies before it had assembled, and, by an alteration of the electoral laws, reduced the number of deputies from 430 to 258, besides placing the elections under the direct influence of the prefects. The last of these acts was an absolute violation of the Constitution, and it aroused a spirit which soon proved fatal to the King's authority. The press, the law-courts, the late deputies, and indeed the great majority of the people, denounced the conduct of Charles X. as illegal and despotic; many persons proclaimed that popular insurrection was a duty; and on the 27th of July, 1830, a conflict took place between the citizens of Paris and the soldiers quartered there. Next day, the capital was declared in a state

of siege; but the insurrection acquired more formidable proportions after the publication of this order. The fighting in many places became desperate; and when, on July 29th, the people attacked the Louvre and the Tuileries, the regiments of the Line abandoned their posts, and Marmont quitted Paris with the Guards. The cause of Charles X. was so manifestly hopeless that on the 2nd of August he abdicated the crown in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux. The Chambers, which had now met, refused to recognise that appointment, and conferred the sceptre on the Duke of Orleans, who had been made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom a few days earlier. Charles departed for England, but afterwards removed into the Austrian dominions, where, at Goritz, in Styria, he died of cholera, on the 6th of October, 1836. The energy of the Holy Alliance must have greatly diminished in 1830, or the forces of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, would at least have attempted to restore the Bourbon monarch whom his people had cashiered.

Louis Philippe, who now succeeded to power as "King of the French," instead of "King of France," in order that his title might seem popular rather than territorial, was the eldest son of Philip, Duke of Orleans, known in the days of the first revolution by the nickname of "Egalité." He belonged to a younger branch of the Bourbon family, and was not quite fifty-seven when a successful insurrection placed him on the throne of France. His memory carried him back to the days of the great Revolution, and he had fought with credit in the early wars of the Republic. At a later date, he travelled or resided in many parts of Europe, and also in the United States of America; but his life, though adventurous and romantic, had not been greatly distinguished. He was generally regarded as a man of intelligence and of liberal sympathies; and for some years he reigned with moderation, and even with a certain shrewdness, which saved him from the commission of serious mistakes. Louis Philippe was the favourite of the bourgeois class, whose influence was predominant in the Legislature. The country rapidly became prosperous, and the unenterprising character of the King, which procured for him the title of "the Napoleon of Peace," enabled the French people to recover from the effects of long and devastating wars. The national power, however, was strikingly asserted in Algeria, where the gallant Abd-el-Kader was vanquished and made prisoner, after a long struggle for independence, lasting from 1833 to 1847. The Bey of Constantine was forced to sue for peace in 1837, and a large tract of Northern Africa was thus added to

the dominions of the French crown. Nevertheless, Louis Philippe became unpopular as his reign progressed, and on several occasions he narrowly escaped assassination. A vast amount of official corruption was known to exist; the restrictions on

Meetings in favour of reform were held in various places, and the Government was at length so imprudent as to threaten to disperse them by force. At length, the well-known barricades appeared in the streets of Paris; some rather sharp fighting



THE GARDENS OF THE PALAIS ROYAL, PARIS.

the suffrage were unsatisfactory to the great body of the people, who found themselves excluded from political life; and, finally, English opinion was estranged by the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier (the youngest son of the French monarch) to the Infanta of Spain, in October, 1846—an act which was evidently intended to bring the western Peninsula once more under the control of France. The Ministry of M. Guizot set itself resolutely against all reform, and the French people, losing temper, began to threaten extreme measures.

occurred on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of February, 1848; the King found that he could obtain no effectual support, either from the regular troops or the National Guards; and on the last of the three days he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris, and, flying to the coast, together with his Queen, crossed the Channel to Newhaven, where he landed under the name of Mr. Smith. His death took place at Claremont on the 26th of August, 1850, and, in the meanwhile, the Second Republic had been precariously established in France.



JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Last Years of the Reign of George III. of England—His Final Insanity, and Appointment of the Prince of Wales to the Regency—Encouragement of Tory Principles by the Latter—National Distress and Discontent—Affairs of the United States under the Presidency of Washington—Reform in the Constitution—Succession of John Adams to the Presidential Office—Division of Parties—Difficulties with France and England—Presidency of Thomas Jefferson—Acquisition of Louisiana—War with the Dey of Algiers—Disagreements with England on the Question of the Right of Search—Outbreak of Hostilities between the Two Countries—Actions at Sea—Defeat of the British at New Orleans—Close of the War—Premiership of Lord Liverpool in England—The Manchester Massacre and the Cato Street Conspiracy—Reign of George IV.—Trial and Death of Queen Caroline—Death of Lord Castlereagh—Liberal Policy of Canning as Foreign Secretary, and as Premier—The War of Independence in Greece—Battle of Navarino—Premiership of Lord Goderich and of the Duke of Wellington—Catholic Emancipation—Death of George IV.—The Reform Bill the Principal Event in the Reign of William IV.—Accession of Queen Victoria—Early Events of her Reign—Revolutions on the Continent—Separation of Belgium from Holland—Civil War in Spain and Portugal—Rise of the National Spirit in Italy—Union demanded by Mazzini—The Cause taken up by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia—Liberal Ideas of Pope Pius IX.—Political Agitation throughout Italy—War between Sardinia and Austria in 1848—Discomfiture of the Former—Revolution in Rome—The War resumed by Sardinia in 1849—Battle of Novara—Entire Suppression of the Italian Cause—The French at Rome—Civil War in Switzerland—The German Revolutions of 1848-9—The Hungarian War of Independence.

AGITATED, but not dismayed, by the revolutions of the Continent, England pursued her way throughout the early years of the nineteenth century, with no material interruption of her power and glory. On the 25th of October, 1809, the nation celebrated by a grand Jubilee the fact that King George III. was then entering the fiftieth year of his reign. Personally, the sovereign was very generally respected for the solid and unpretending virtues of his character; but there was much in the political conditions he supported which angered a large

number of the people, and gave occasion for internal disturbance. The menacing riots in which Sir Francis Burdett was concerned, and which for some days excited all London in the spring of 1810, showed how strongly popular feeling was enlisted on the side of one who, as a member for the democratic constituency of Westminster, stood foremost among the champions of Parliamentary Reform. But the public life of the King was now nearly at an end. The death of his favourite daughter, the Princess Amelia, on the 2nd of

November, 1810, brought on, or at least intensified, an incurable attack of that melancholy disorder which more than once before had clouded the mind of the third George. The remainder of his life, which terminated on the 29th of January, 1820, in the sixtieth year of his reign, was a dreary blank. Old, blind, deaf, and insane, the sovereign of Great Britain still clung to a miserable existence, though often afflicted with violent paroxysms, and seldom cheered by any gleam of reason. During this period, the Prince of Wales acted as Regent, and speedily disappointed the hopes of those who, remembering his former association with Fox, Sheridan, and other members of the Whig party, and his opposition to the policy of his father, believed that his accession to power would mark the commencement of a new epoch. The last of the Georges was a man of profligate life, of selfish habits, and of contracted understanding. His pecuniary extravagance, his heartless immorality, his intemperance, his vulgar and frivolous tastes, had for years offended many. But the Whigs, long excluded from supremacy, believed in his political honour until he betrayed them.

As far back as 1788, when George III. was visited by the second of his mental attacks, it had been debated in Parliament whether the Prince of Wales succeeded to the headship of the State as by right of birth, or whether his appointment should be by the act of the Legislature. Fox and his political friends, who had attached themselves to the young Prince on account of his liberal professions, maintained the former proposition; Pitt, and the majority of the House of Commons, supported the latter; and a Bill conferring the Regency had nearly become law when the King's recovery made it unnecessary. This precedent was to some extent followed on the later occasion. In February, 1811, an Act of Parliament placed the absolute conduct of affairs in the hands of the heir-apparent; but he had already, with certain restrictions, exercised the duties of the office during the previous three months. He retained Mr. Perceval at the head of the Ministry, and at once revealed his Tory inclinations. All the reformers were indignant; at the same time, the country was disturbed by numerous riots, owing to a succession of bad harvests, the high price of wheat (enhanced by the restrictions placed by the Corn Laws on the importation of foreign cereals), the introduction of machinery into manufactures, and the low rate of wages. The wealth of the country had greatly increased; so had the population; but the national revenue, which at the beginning of the reign scarcely reached nine millions a year, amounted in 1815 to

£72,210,512. From 1810 to 1816, inclusive, the average rate of taxation was something more than £67,000,000 per annum; and a large proportion of the burden fell on those whose poverty made it doubly irksome. The war with France was the main cause of this prodigious augmentation; but to the mighty struggle with Napoleon was added another, which recalls our attention to the fortunes of the United States of America.

The Presidential dignity in the new Republic was enjoyed by General Washington from the 30th of April, 1789, to the 4th of March, 1797. He had been re-elected in 1793, and the whole term of his official life was a period of transition from the state of revolution to the forms of orderly government. For some few years after the establishment of American independence, the bond of union linking the several States together was of the loosest description. It was certain that, unless strengthened, it would not long endure, and the prospects of national weakness and internal anarchy alarmed some of the noblest and most patriotic minds in the commonwealth. The fatal division between North and South—between the States which upheld slavery and the States which opposed it—was becoming dangerously apparent. Threats of secession were uttered, now by the southern planters, and again by the commercial cities of New England. Very little community of interest, scarcely any community of feeling, existed amongst a number of political societies wholly different in their origin and traditions. To several, the creation of a common nationality seemed hopeless, and the impotence of Congress was so extreme that it lacked power to enforce its decisions on the individual States, even in the discharge of debts incurred by the Federation. The evil at length became so great that in 1787 a change was effected in the constitution, and the United States received the form which, with a few slight modifications, exists to the present moment. It was then that the office of President was created; but it was not until nearly a year and a half later that Washington was elected to the chair. During the eight years in which he held that important position, the government of the United States was settled by his organising zeal, and fixed by the precedents he created. The task was one of no common difficulty; for in matters of finance, and in foreign affairs, there were two parties in the Cabinet, which the President had to reconcile as best he could. Washington quitted office with the approbation of all moderate men, though not of the factions; and when he died, on the 14th of December, 1799, the future of his country was secure.

The second President of the United States was John Adams, one of the most distinguished leaders of the revolutionary party in the days when Americans were asserting their independence of Great Britain. Adams had been the first representative of the new Republic at St. James's Palace, where he was courteously and feelingly received by George III. Whether from this circumstance, or from other causes, Adams was always favourable to a friendly understanding with the old country, and by some was considered to show too great a tendency to aristocratic and monarchical ideas of government. It cannot be denied, however, that he was an able, an honest, and a conscientious man; yet in the four years of his Presidency he gave but little satisfaction to either of the two parties into which American politicians were divided—namely, the Federalist party, to which he himself belonged, and the Democratic party, of which Thomas Jefferson was the head. The difficulties of Adams's position were increased by a quarrel with the French Republic, which had instructed its Minister in the United States to fit out privateers in American ports, with a view to the commission of hostilities against the commerce of those nations with which France was at war. England, it need scarcely be said, was the Power chiefly aimed at, and the enemies of England in America were eagerly desirous of acting in accordance with the wishes of France. This tendency was strongly opposed by Washington in the first instance, and by Adams in the second; with the result that, in 1798, war very nearly ensued between the American and the French Republics, owing to the assertion by the latter of a right to search and capture American vessels suspected of trading with the enemies of France. At no time did either country make any actual declaration of war; but hostilities occurred at sea, both in 1799 and 1800. In the latter year, however, an amicable arrangement was brought about by Bonaparte, then First Consul.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Adams was succeeded in the Presidency by Thomas Jefferson, also one of the principal authors of the Declaration of Independence, but a man of far more democratic views than his predecessor in the chief magistracy. Jefferson was for allowing a large amount of freedom to the individual States, which Adams would have kept in marked subjection to a strong Federal Government. Probably both pushed their ideas too far, and, before the close of his Presidency, Adams had certainly excited a large amount of popular feeling against the party with which he was identified. Jefferson was endowed with

stronger intellectual gifts than Adams, though perhaps his nature was hardly so exalted; and the eight years during which he ruled the United States (for he was re-elected in 1805) were years of great prosperity and growing power. In 1803, an immense addition to the national territory was acquired by the purchase from France of the whole region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains—the country to which the French had given the name of Louisiana, after Louis XIV. This western province had been ceded to Spain at the peace of 1763; but in 1800 it was re-conveyed to France. Bonaparte was persuaded by Jefferson to purchase the friendship of the United States by exchanging this vast and important territory for the sum of 15,000,000 dollars, equal to about £3,000,000 sterling; and it has since been divided into several States. In the same year (1803), the Federation carried on a successful war with the Dey of Algiers, who had for the last eight years received a tribute from American merchants, and who at length behaved with insufferable insolence to Captain Bainbridge. In the naval actions which ensued, the American sailors proved their kinship with those of England, and a military expedition was equally fortunate. Tripoli was bombarded in 1804, and in the following year the Dey, alarmed for his safety, made a treaty of peace with the United States, which conceded to the latter a more favourable position on the shores of Northern Africa. Eleven years later—on the 27th of August, 1816—the Algerines received another sharp lesson from a British naval force under Lord Exmouth, when their capital suffered bombardment, and a treaty was extorted, by which Christian slavery was abolished. The treaty was soon broken, and further measures of a peremptory character became necessary in 1824; six years after which, Algiers surrendered to the French, who hold it still.

A period of trial was approaching for the United States. In May, 1806, England declared a blockade from Brest to the Elbe, and in November Bonaparte replied by blockading the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. American vessels were seized by both belligerents; but England was much the more active in the assertion of her power, having reason to believe that a large number of seamen in the American navy were British subjects. There can be no question that such was the case; for the treatment of English sailors in those days was so harsh and tyrannical that they had every inducement to enter a service where they met with more consideration. Nevertheless, the British Government regarded with not

unnatural alarm a state of affairs which strengthened the American navy at the expense of its own; and the right of search and capture was vigorously maintained by England, and as strongly denied by America. Attempts were made to effect an arrangement by negotiation; but in 1811, during the Presidency of James Madison, an armed encounter took place between an American frigate and a British sloop-of-war. Regular hostilities broke out in 1812, when two unsuccessful expeditions were sent by the Americans into Canada. On the sea, however, the American triumphs were frequent, owing partly to the larger ships and heavier ordnance of the United States. The British losses were most serious, and the humiliation to the pride of the vanquished received additional bitterness from the memory of recent successes over the greatest Powers of Europe. In the latter part of the war, fortune shifted to the side of the English, who captured several American vessels, notably the *Chesapeake*, which was taken by the *Shannon* on the 1st of June, 1813, after a very short action.

Altogether, the war was unsatisfactory to both sides; indeed, its chief result was to renew those feelings of irritation between the two countries which were beginning to die out. Several military enterprises were conducted by each Power on the territory of the other; but the Americans were unable to secure a footing in Canada, and the British suffered a terrible reverse at New Orleans. In August, 1814, a British fleet ascended Chesapeake Bay, took Washington (which had been made the seat of the Federal Government in 1800), and set fire to the Government buildings. After some further operations, General Pakenham, one of the heroes of the Peninsular War, led an army of 12,000 men against New Orleans. This was in January, 1815, more than a month after peace had been concluded between England and America. The menaced city was defended with admirable skill and courage by General Jackson, who, posting his men behind a breastwork, repelled the British assault, after a fierce and sanguinary action, in which Pakenham and several of his officers were killed, together with a large number of the men. The great triumph of January 8th was followed by a few more actions; but on the 11th of February news arrived that peace had been concluded on the 24th of December, 1814, by the Commissioners of both nations sitting at Ghent. From that time to the present, although several disputes have arisen between the two great branches of the English race, and threats have been uttered of approaching war, there has

been no armed collision between the United Kingdom and the United States.

A little before the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and America, the English Premier, Spencer Perceval, had been removed by death. On the 11th of May, 1812, as the Minister was entering the House of Commons, he was shot dead by a Liverpool broker, named Bellingham, who had alleged some grievance against the Cabinet, for which he was unable to obtain redress. The new head of the Government was Lord Liverpool, with Viscount Castlereagh for his Foreign Secretary. The administration was decidedly Conservative, and the country was still agitated by demands for Reform, and by the distress which afflicted large masses of the people. In England and Scotland, political gatherings were suppressed by the armed forces of the law; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in 1817; and, two years later, several measures were passed for restricting liberty of speech and writing. A very angry feeling against the Ministry was excited in 1819 by the forcible dispersion, on August 16th, of a meeting near Manchester, which had assembled for the advocacy of Parliamentary Reform. On this occasion, eleven men, women, and children were killed, and about six hundred wounded; but Government refused to prosecute the persons concerned in the outrage, and the opinion even of moderate men was pronounced very strongly in their condemnation. The accession of George IV., on the 29th of January, 1820, was almost immediately followed by what is called the Cato Street Conspiracy. A body of fanatical politicians, headed by one Arthur Thistlewood, were in the habit of meeting in Cato Street, Edgware Road, where they formed a plot for the assassination of all the Ministers at a Cabinet dinner. The design, however, was betrayed to the Government; the conspirators were arrested on the 23rd of February; and Thistlewood, together with four others, was executed on the 1st of May.

The excitement consequent on this atrocious scheme had scarcely died away, when the public mind was agitated by the unhappy differences existing between the King and his consort, Queen Caroline. These differences dated from a very early period of the marriage, which had taken place in 1795. The Princess separated from her husband in the following year, after the birth of a daughter, the Princess Charlotte Augusta; and in 1808 her Royal Highness was accused of direct criminality with several persons. The charge was not proved, but in 1813 the Privy Council reported that, under all the circumstances of the case, it

was proper that the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and her daughter should be subject to regulation and restraint. In the following year, the Princess Caroline left England, and remained abroad until shortly after the accession of her husband to the throne. Her re-appearance in London, on the 6th of June, 1820, was followed by accusations of misconduct while on the Continent, and by an attempt to pass a Bill through Parliament for divorcing and degrading the Queen. While the measure was before the House of Lords, witnesses were examined in support and refutation of the charges brought against the accused. This was the celebrated trial of Queen Caroline, which agitated opinion in England to a greater extent than had been known for many years. The chief counsel for the Queen was Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, and his speech in her defence was the most effective piece of forensic oratory since the addresses of Burke and Sheridan on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. It was generally considered that the case against her Majesty was not satisfactorily proved, though there might be grounds for grave suspicion; and when the third reading of the Divorce Bill was carried in the Lords by no larger a majority than nine, it was so evident that the measure would not receive the sanction of the Commons that, in November, 1820, it was abandoned. The result was hailed with delight by a large part of the country, and the metropolis was illuminated, less in compliment to the Queen than in reprobation of the King. When the coronation of the latter was approaching, Caroline asserted her right to be crowned at the same time, and, on the 19th of July, 1821, presented herself at the doors of Westminster Hall and of the Abbey, but was not permitted to enter. Her death took place less than three weeks after, at which date the King was absent on a visit to Ireland, where, by a course of adroit flattery, he managed to secure for himself the loyal enthusiasm which he had long forfeited in England. The body was taken to Brunswick for burial, and a riot occurred in London, owing to the attempt of the authorities to conduct the funeral by the most private routes, and the determination of the populace that it should pass through the public streets—a determination which was carried out, though at some expense of bloodshed.

The distress of the country continued to increase, and many began to despair of the future, unless by changes almost revolutionary in their scope. It was at this period that the term "Radical" first arose in the political life of Eng-

land, owing to the more extreme among the Liberal party having demanded what they called "a radical reform" of Parliament. The despotic rule of the Government was mainly due to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, who, while leader of the House of Commons, was even more influential than the Prime Minister. This reactionary politician succeeded to the peerage in April, 1821, as the Marquis of Londonderry; on the 12th of August, 1822, he died by his own hand; and so great was the popular indignation at the whole course of his policy, foreign and domestic, that when the coffin was carried into Westminster Abbey, an exulting shout rose from the people assembled in the adjoining streets. Canning now became Foreign Secretary—a Minister whose tendencies were generally in favour of temperate and progressive measures. He detached England from the Holy Alliance, asserted the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, and looked with a favourable eye on movements which promised well for rational freedom. The new States of South America were recognised in October, 1823, and, in December, 1826, troops were sent to Portugal, to uphold the Princess Regent, and the constitution established by Don Pedro, against the hostile attempts of the Spanish Government, which favoured the cause of Absolutism in the neighbouring monarchy. The rebellion was soon put down, and Portugal was saved from a revolution which had been concocted on foreign soil, and found but little countenance among the people themselves. A war with the Burmese, which commenced in 1824, and terminated in the early part of 1826, gave to England a considerable accession of territory on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal; and the power of Great Britain in Asia was well maintained during the reign of George IV. The sudden death of Lord Liverpool, on the 17th of February, 1827, brought Canning to the head of the Government, and gave a generally liberal character to the conduct of affairs. All his former colleagues of the Tory party deserted the new Premier, and he threw himself on the support of the Whigs, several of whom took office under their former adversary. The life of Canning, however, was not much prolonged beyond this period. He died on the 8th of August, 1827, and a new Ministry was formed under Viscount Goderich.

About a month before the death of Lord Liverpool's successor, a treaty had been signed at London, engaging England, France, and Russia to the prosecution of mutual operations for the settlement

of affairs in Greece, the independence of which country had long been dear to the heart of Canning. Turkey had passed through many revolutions since the period when we last followed the course of her annals. She had been at war with Russia, with France, and with England, during the general convulsion of Europe consequent on the French Revolution; had been at issue with her own Janizaries, had encountered rebellion in many of her provinces, and, in particular, had found a most dangerous opponent in Ali Pasha, who for some years established a species of independence in Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, and the whole of Continental Greece. But the greatest trouble of the Ottoman Empire proceeded from the Greeks themselves, who had long been meditating a revolt against their oppressors, and who found a favourable opportunity in the contest between Ali Pasha and Sultan Mahmoud II., which terminated in February, 1822, in the surrender and execution of the brave, but unscrupulous, Albanian chieftain. The national uprising of the Greeks began in 1821, and proceeded with such extraordinary rapidity that a representative Assembly met at Epidaurus in December, and a constitution was announced in January, 1822. The war of independence continued for several years, and was characterised on both sides by an unrelenting spirit, which resulted in numerous atrocities. The movement received the assistance, and indeed had to some extent been prompted by the suggestions, of Russia; but in the main it was undoubtedly the result of a true national feeling, exasperated by long oppressions, and sustained by the memory of ancient greatness. During the first four years of the struggle, the Greeks seemed to be carrying all before them; but the tide shifted in 1825, and the patriots were nearly reduced to extremities, when the tripartite treaty of London, dated the 6th of July, 1827, committed England, France, and Russia to the policy of enforcing by armed intervention an armistice between the Turks and the Greek insurgents. Mahmoud refused to allow any interference, and the three Powers began to talk of ulterior measures. What Canning would have done, had he continued to live, is merely matter of speculation; but shortly after his death a very unfortunate circumstance occurred in Turkish waters. On the 20th of October, the combined fleets of England, France, and Russia, under the general command of Sir Edward Codrington, attacked the Turkish and Egyptian fleet lying in the Bay of Navarino, on the western coast of the Morea. There had been absolutely no declaration of war on the part of any one of the

three Powers, and an informal armistice had shortly before been concluded between the Greeks and the Ottomans. This had been perfidiously broken by the former; but Codrington had given them his support, and the action of October 20th must be described as a flagrant violation of international law. The allies were completely successful; but the British Government considered it necessary to introduce words of apology into the Royal Speech at the opening of Parliament on the 29th of January, 1828. Lord Goderich had resigned the Premiership on the 8th of that month, and the Duke of Wellington became First Lord of the Treasury on the 25th. England and Russia withdrew from the war, if so piratical an attack can be called war at all; but France landed an army on the shores of Greece, and compelled Ibrahim Pasha to evacuate the Morea in September, 1828. The independence of Greece was at that time nearly secured; yet a brief time had still to elapse before its new position as a self-governing country was acknowledged by the Porte.

The Ministry of the Duke of Wellington was in the first instance largely composed of those moderate Conservatives who shared the views of Canning. These, however, resigned in May, 1828, and the Cabinet then became more decidedly Tory in its constitution and aims. Nevertheless, liberal opinion gained strength in the House of Commons, and before the close of 1828 Parliament had sanctioned the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which imposed serious disabilities on the Dissenters of the United Kingdom. Ministers themselves refrained from opposing the Bill in the House of Lords, and in 1829 a further proof of the amelioration of bigotry was given in the introduction by the Government itself of the great measure for Roman Catholic Emancipation. This important reform had in truth been rendered necessary by the agitation of Irish opinion, at once excited and controlled with consummate mastery by Daniel O'Connell. Two of the greatest names in modern English politics were now becoming conspicuous—those of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel, and of Lord John Russell. To the latter was due the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; to the former, the redress of Roman Catholic grievances. Peel also introduced and carried, during the year 1829, a Bill for establishing an improved police-force, which has since been greatly instrumental in preserving order and tranquillity. The sanguinary character of English law was mitigated about the same period; and it must be admitted that the conclusion of the reign of George IV. contrasted favourably with its commencement.

The King died at Windsor Castle on the 26th of June, 1830, and was succeeded by his brother, William IV.

The chief events in the reign of William IV. were the abolition of slavery in the British colonies by an Act passed in 1833, and the carrying of a measure for Parliamentary Reform, the popular demand for which received an immense impetus from the Revolution in Paris. The Duke of

of that month Parliament was dissolved. The new Ministry were unable to maintain themselves in the House of Commons, and a Liberal Government, under the direction of Lord Melbourne, was formed in April, 1835, which lasted to the end of the reign. William IV. died on the 20th of June, 1837, and was succeeded by Queen Victoria, then just eighteen years of age. The chief events in the early years of her present Majesty's reign were the



SIR ROBERT PEELE.

Wellington resigned in November, 1830, owing to an adverse vote in the Commons, and the Administration of Earl Grey, which followed, entered office under distinct pledges in favour of Reform. A measure with this view passed the Lower House by large majorities during the session of 1831, but was thrown out by the House of Lords; and it was not until the 4th of June, 1832, after renewed opposition by the Peers, and the temporary resignation of the Ministry, that the Bill became law. The country proceeded to a General Election at the close of the year, and Parliament re-assembled on the 29th of January, 1833. The Cabinet of Earl Grey broke up in the course of 1834. Sir Robert Peel became First Lord of the Treasury in December, and on the 30th

outbreak of a rebellion in Canada, which, commencing in 1837, was suppressed in the following year; the occupation of Aden (Southern Arabia) by the troops of the East India Company, in 1839, since which date it has been used as a coal-depôt for Indian steamers; the prevalence of Chartist disturbances, which in some places proceeded to the extreme of violence; the marriage of the Queen with Prince Albert, on the 10th of February, 1840; the introduction of the penny post, a month earlier; the union of Upper and Lower Canada in the same year; the development and collapse of O'Connell's Repeal movement in Ireland; the establishment of Free Trade in 1846, after a long agitation; the Irish famine about the same time; some wars in the East, to which further allusion will be

made; and the commotion of 1848, consequent on the French Revolution of February—especially a ridiculous attempt at rebellion on the part of the Irish Nationalists, led by Mr. Smith O'Brien. The railway system had commenced during the reign of William IV.; but it made rapid and continual strides under Victoria, and the Electric Telegraph was soon added to the other means of inter-communication. The extension of our colonies, especially in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and their more free organisation, are also among the results of the same beneficent rule.

Reverting once more to the Continent, it should here be noted that a division between Belgium and Holland, which had been united at the peace of 1814, was brought about by a revolutionary movement in the year 1830. The association was manifestly ill-judged, for the Belgians and Dutch belong to somewhat different nationalities, speak different languages, and profess different religions. The Catholic Belgians complained of being ill-treated by the Protestant Dutch, and the opposition was so great that the Government of the Netherlands sought to conciliate its rebellious subjects by granting some of their demands. The malcontents, however, were not satisfied, and the French Revolution of 1830 occasioned a similar movement in Belgium. Insurrections occurred in several places; a provisional Government was formed; the Dutch authorities were driven out of the country; and a Congress which had assembled at London recognised the severance of the two kingdoms as an accomplished fact. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was chosen King on the 21st of July, 1831, and Holland, having declared war against the new monarchy, was compelled by France and England to relinquish its pretensions. The differences between the two countries were closed by a treaty signed at London on the 21st of May, 1833; and since then Belgium has pursued a course of great prosperity, largely promoted by the Liberal Government under which the people live.

The history of Spain and Portugal at the same period, and for several years later, presents little but a series of intrigues, insurrections, and civil wars, in which sometimes the Liberals, and sometimes the reactionary party, gained the upper hand, according as the sympathies of the military were turned in the one direction or the other. The most serious movement in Spain was that of Don Carlos, who, taking his stand upon what is called legitimate succession, maintained his pretensions by armed force from 1833 to the latter part of 1839. The nominal Queen at that time

was Isabella II., the infant daughter of Ferdinand VII. The actual Government was conducted by her mother, Queen Christina, whose cause was materially aided by a British Volunteer Legion under the command of Sir de Lacy Evans. The Queen Regent abdicated, and left the kingdom in 1840, but continued for several years an evil influence in the politics of Spain. Civil war was resumed again and again until a comparatively recent date; and it may be stated in general terms that the Liberal cause was represented by General Espartero, and that of Absolutism by Narvaez and Marshal O'Donnell. The marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assiz, and of the Infanta Louisa to the Duke de Montpensier, in October, 1846, has already been mentioned as a scheme of Louis Philippe for bringing Spain under the predominating influence of France. But in truth these matters are of only slight importance in the general current of the world's history.

Far greater interest attaches to the struggles of the Italians, who, awaking from a sleep of many generations, demanded freedom in the first instance, and unity in the second. We have before related the attempts of Naples, Sicily, and Piedmont to obtain constitutional rights, and have shown how all such efforts were balked by the tyranny of Austria. The flame thus kindled, however, could not be extinguished; and shortly after the accession of Charles Albert to the throne of Sardinia, in 1831, the idea of Italian unity was openly propounded by one of the most remarkable men in modern times—Giuseppe Mazzini. The mistakes of Mazzini were numerous, and he sometimes adopted methods of agitation injurious to the cause in which his whole nature was so deeply interested. But there can be no question as to his profound sincerity, the kindling passion of his enthusiasm, the splendour of his genius, or the electric power which he exercised over all the young and ardent spirits of his country, from the Alps to the Sicilian shores. Mazzini urged on Charles Albert the propriety, or rather the necessity, of assuming the part of national leader and liberator; and to this suggestion the King responded in some degree, though not, at first, to the extent desired by Mazzini, who gradually identified himself with the Republican party. In 1846, however, it seemed as if Italy were about to find a Liberal chieftain where such a person might have been least expected—namely, on the Papal throne itself. Pope Gregory XVI., who had reigned since 1831, died on the 1st of June, 1846, and was succeeded by Pius IX., better known by

his Italian title of Pio Nono. The new Pontiff inaugurated an era of concessions; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Kingdom of Sardinia followed his example; and, in the early part of 1848, revolutionary outbreaks occurred in Sicily and Milan, as protests against the unyielding despotism of the Neapolitan Bourbons and the Austrian Kaisers. All Italy was throbbing with excitement; secret societies were organised, and the patriots began to prepare for a general war with their oppressors. Some of these movements even preceded the Paris revolution of February; but the success of that uprising was an additional incentive to the Italians, who conceived that the moment had now arrived for uniting the whole of their historic land in one free and powerful commonwealth.

Charles Albert of Sardinia lost no time in putting himself at the head of this great cause. He issued a proclamation on the 23rd of March, in which he unreservedly adopted the flag of Italian nationality, and his troops were soon afterwards sent across the frontier into Lombardy. To challenge so great a military power as Austria was undoubtedly rash; but Charles Albert relied on the enthusiasm of the Italian people, by whom he was warmly supported, and who flocked to his standards from all parts of the peninsula. A battle took place at Goito on the 29th and 30th of May, when the Austrians were utterly worsted, and withdrew in haste. Peschiera was next taken, and Lombardy incorporated with Sardinia. The Milanese had already expelled the Austrians from their city, after five days of desperate fighting. Field-Marshal Radetsky was obliged to retreat with 70,000 troops; Venetia was free; and on a number of Roman Volunteers setting out for Lombardy, the Pope himself pronounced a benediction on their banners. Pio Nono, however, was a man of feeble and wavering nature, as likely to be peevish one moment as benevolent another. In about a month he had changed his mind as to the character of the war, which, on the 19th of April, he condemned as "unjust and hurtful." In consequence of this censure, the Neapolitan troops were at once recalled from the North, and, although the Republicans were as earnest as ever in the cause of independence, all who gave their consciences into the Pope's keeping were constrained to abandon a struggle which in March was holy, and in April wicked. The early triumphs of Charles Albert were quickly followed by reverses, and Radetsky soon regained possession of the whole Venetian territory, with the exception of Venice itself, which he proceeded to blockade. The Sardinian

army at Milan capitulated on the 5th of August, after a prolonged resistance; yet the revolutionary feeling continued strong in many of the Italian cities, and the hesitation of the Pope provoked the Romans to some deplorable excesses. It would seem that Pio Nono was sincere in the moderate reforms with which he began his Pontificate. He published an amnesty, granted municipal institutions, secularised some of the offices of State, formed a National Guard, and even inaugurated a Parliament. But it is not in the nature of things that a Papal Government should be permanently and consistently Liberal. The Pope recoiled before the demands of his subjects, and the ultra-republicans obtained the upper hand. The assassination of the Prime Minister, Count Rossi, in November, 1848, was followed by the forced acquiescence of the Pope in a more democratic government. Becoming thoroughly alarmed, he fled from Rome in the disguise of a serving-man, and, refusing to return, was deposed from his temporal sovereignty. A Republic was proclaimed on the 8th of February, 1849, and the Government was ultimately confided to a triumvirate, consisting of Mazzini and two others.

The armistice which had been concluded between Austria and Sardinia on the 9th of August, 1848, was regarded on both sides as little more than a hollow truce, and hostilities were resumed by the latter in March, 1849. Before the close of the month, the Sardinians had been entirely defeated, first at Mortara, and afterwards at Novara. The second engagement was fought on the 23rd of March, and it proved fatal to the patriotic cause. Charles Albert abdicated the same day in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, and died at Oporto on the 28th of July, broken-hearted at the failure of a cause which he may have rashly championed, but which there is every reason to believe he honestly espoused. Venice held out for some months longer than the rest of Northern Italy. The city of the Doges was magnificently defended by the noble and pure-hearted Daniel Manin, but, pressed by famine, surrendered on the 22nd of August, 1849. The other towns of Lombardo-Venetia had already been conquered by the Austrian Field-Marshal, though in some instances not without a severe bombardment. Victor Emmanuel made peace with Austria. Ferdinand II. of Naples (the infamous "Bomba," as he was nicknamed) succeeded in reducing his rebellious subjects to obedience, after scenes of massacre and violence which even the Neapolitan annals can hardly surpass. The Romans capitulated to a French army under Marshal Oudinot on the 30th June, 1849, in spite of a brave

resistance, commencing on the 3rd of the month, and conducted by Giuseppe Garibaldi, originally a seafaring man, but one who had for some years been identified with revolutionary movements. The authority of the Pope was re-established by the Republican bayonets of France, and, in April, 1850, Pio Nono re-entered the city he had abandoned at the latter end of 1848. The reaction was complete throughout the whole peninsula, with the exception of Sardinia, which, under the rule of its chivalrous sovereign, Victor Emmanuel, aided by his watchful and sagacious Minister, Count Cavour, kept alive the hope of better days through many dangerous and weary years.

A little before these events, Switzerland had been agitated by the contests of Catholics and Protestants, which after a time resulted in a war between one portion of the Cantons and another. The Radical Government of Aargau abolished the eight monasteries of the country, as meeting-places of rebellion, and confiscated their property. The seven Catholic Cantons remonstrated, but were unable to produce any effect upon the Diet. The Jesuits soon after obtained a controlling power over education in the Canton of Lucerne, and, in March, 1843, the Radicals and the Jesuits were involved in desultory contests. A "special confederation" was formed by the Catholic Cantons in defence of their supposed interests, and, when this was opposed by the Diet, a civil war broke out in July, 1847. The struggle was sharp, but terminated before the close of the year in the subjection of the Catholic Governments, which were compelled to renounce their separate confederation, to banish the Jesuits, to alter their constitutions, and to pay the expenses of the war.

Germany continued, with but slight exceptions, to live under a despotic rule during the melancholy days intervening between the Napoleonic wars and the great movement of 1848. A spirit of resistance was indeed awakened, and tumultuous gatherings revealed from year to year the existence of a party which desired to restore the German Empire in all its ancient grandeur, and at the same time to admit the democracy to a share of power. But these aspirations were suppressed by the Holy Alliance, and the nation lay helpless beneath the heel of power. The Germanic Confederation, which affected to govern Germany from Frankfort-on-the-Main, exercised but little control over the several States, each of which pursued its own course, with slight regard to the general interest. The spirit of modern Liberalism found its way into Germany, as elsewhere; and in February, 1847, Frederick William IV. of Prussia authorised

some reforms having a tendency to popular self-government. This change might have produced a greater and more beneficial effect, had it not been for the distress existing among the people, which resulted in a number of insurrectionary movements. Frederick William, moreover, was by no means steadfast in his attachment to Liberal principles; and the contagion of the French example, on reaching Germany, affected most of the Teutonic States, and Prussia in no slight degree. A sanguinary battle was fought in the streets of Berlin on the 18th and 19th of March, 1848; but the barricades were at length taken by the soldiery, and the King then dismissed his Ministers, consented to the formation of a militia for the defence of the city and the protection of the palace, granted an unconditional amnesty, and promised, in a proclamation dated March 21st, that he would place himself as a Constitutional King at the head of a free and united Germany. A constituent National Assembly was elected by universal suffrage a few weeks later, and the work of framing a representative Constitution for the Prussian monarchy was begun. During the disturbances, the mob had frequently raised the cry of "Long live the Emperor of Germany!" But Frederick William declared that he had no wish to occupy such a position, and protested that his only object was to restore the unity of the Fatherland. Similar insurrections, of more or less violence, took place in most of the other German States, and, in Bavaria, King Louis I. was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son, Maximilian II.

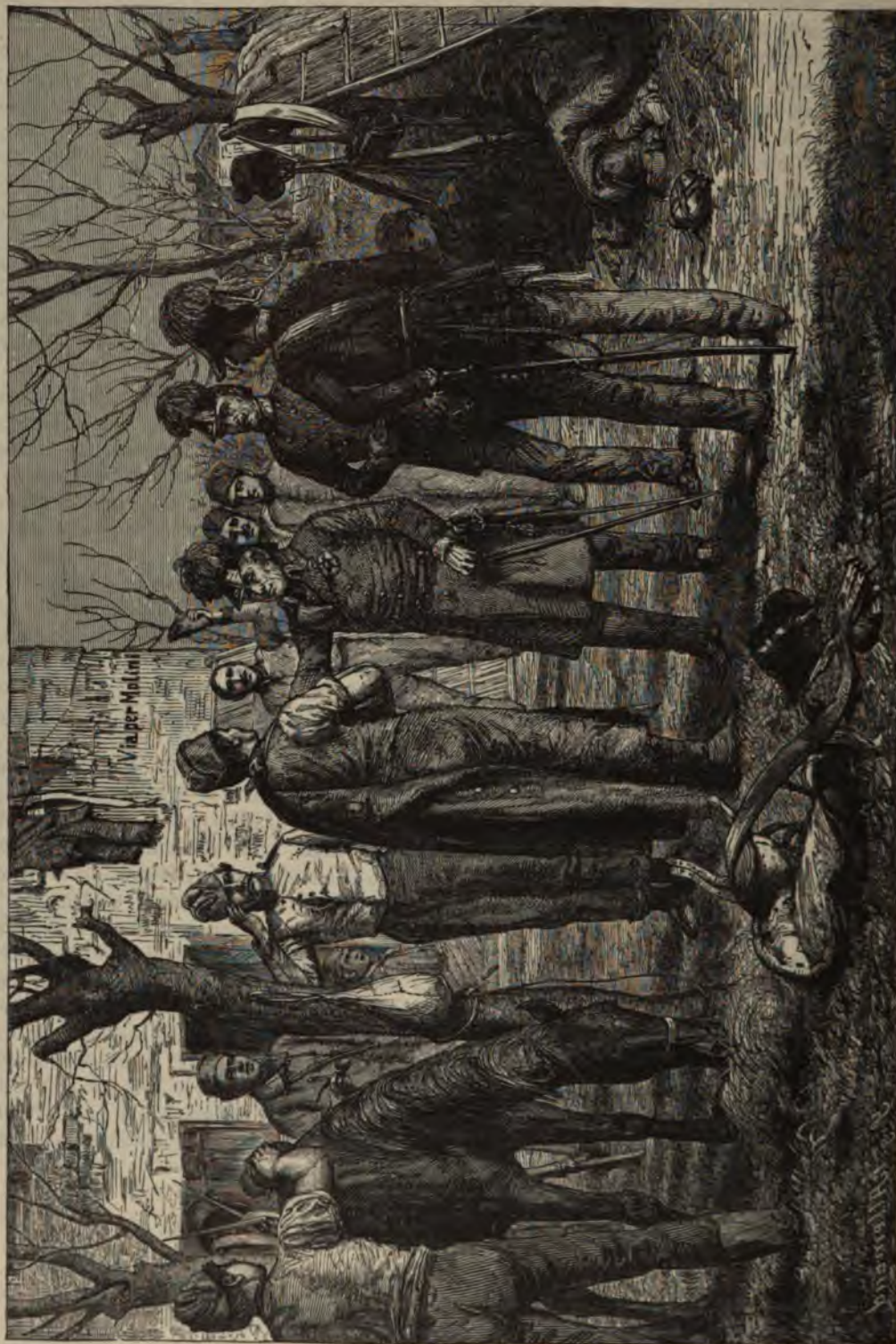
On the 13th of March, a rising occurred at Vienna, which struck such dismay into Prince Metternich, the greatest supporter of Absolutism since the days of the French Empire, that he fled to England. The capital was again in the throes of revolution on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of May, and the Emperor Ferdinand departed for Innsprück. A constituent Assembly met on the 22nd of July, but another insurrection burst out on the 6th of October, when Count Latour was murdered. The Emperor abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, on the 2nd of December, and order was ultimately restored, though at the expense of freedom. An attempt on the part of the Bohemians, in June, to set up a Provisional Government of their own, ended in failure, and the insurgents gave in their submission on the 20th of July. Germany in its collective capacity was as much influenced by the revolutionary fever of the time as were the individual States. A Provisional Assembly met at Frankfort on the 31st of March. The authority of this body,

though really illegal, was recognised by the Diet, and it was determined that a freely-elected National Assembly should prepare a Constitution for Federal Germany. The new Assembly met on the 18th of May, when the assembled legislators resolved that an irresponsible Regent should be chosen, who should appoint a responsible Ministry. On the 29th of June, the Archduke John, brother of the Emperor of Austria, was elected to the post, with the title of Vicar-General of the Empire. The Diet then declared its functions at an end. Austria was excluded from the German Empire, and, by a vote passed on the 28th of March, 1849, the King of Prussia was made hereditary Emperor of the Germans. Austria protested against these proceedings, and the Prussian sovereign declined the proffered honour. After a period of disorder and anarchy, the former Diet was restored in 1850, and the revolutionary ideal of 1848 followed many others into oblivion.

One of the most important contests of the time was that of Hungary with the sovereign power of Austria. The position of Hungary was peculiar and difficult. Its association with the Empire resulted from the marriage, in 1526, of Ferdinand I. of Austria to the sister of the Hungarian King, Louis II., who was killed at the fatal battle of Mohacs, fought against the Turks. The people of the great Danubian kingdom retained their institutions, their Parliament, and their laws, and always contended, with perfect justice, that their country was independent of Austrian rule—that, in fact, the Emperor, so far as they were concerned, was simply King of Hungary, and therefore bound to protect their nationality and customs. In time, the Austrians made encroachments, and a powerful opposition arose in the Diet. The French Revolution of 1848 had the same effect in Hungary as elsewhere: it excited the people to greater boldness, and induced the sovereign to make concessions. But, unhappily, the Hungarians sought to tyrannise over the subordinate provinces of Croatia and Slavonia, and to impose on them the use of the Magyar language in all official communications. The Slavonic populations protested, and appealed to the Emperor. Proceeding after-

wards to hostilities, they despatched an army into Hungary under the command of the Ban Jellachich, chief general of Croatia. The Emperor Ferdinand, while affecting to discountenance these acts, in reality encouraged them, and at length Count Lemberg was sent to Hungary as Royal Commissioner, with directions to dissolve the Diet, and assume the direction of affairs. While crossing the bridge between Buda and Pesth, he was dragged from his carriage by an angry mob, and assassinated. The Hungarian Ministry then resigned; a revolutionary Government was formed under the directions of Louis Kossuth and Louis Batthyany; and, on the abdication of Ferdinand in December, the Magyars refused to recognise Francis Joseph as King of Hungary.

War at once ensued, and the Austrian general, Windischgratz, obtained some marked successes. The Hungarians were at issue among themselves, and one of their commanders, Görgei, openly condemned the proceedings of the Provisional Government. Several of the natives were offended at the chief command being given to a Pole, named Dembinsky, who was accordingly deposed by a council of officers. Several brilliant successes were obtained over the Austrians at the beginning of 1849, and, on the proposal of Kossuth, the entire independence of Hungary was proclaimed on the 14th of April. The provisional Presidency was conferred on Kossuth; but that eloquent speaker was no match for Görgei, who, though Commander-in-Chief and Minister of War, pronounced against the declaration of independence. Nevertheless, the national cause made extraordinary progress, and the Austrians were nearly beaten out of Hungary. But, in the early summer, a Russian army marched to the assistance of the Imperialists, and a series of engagements followed, which were fatal to the patriots. The Government, in despair, conferred a Dictatorship on Görgei, who surrendered unconditionally on the 17th of August. Kossuth fled into Turkey, together with a Polish general, Bem, who had won some splendid victories. A bloody tyranny followed, and Louis Batthyany was among the victims of triumphant and remorseless power.



RADETSKY AFTER THE VICTORY AT NOVARA 1849.



STORM OFF BALACLAVA.

CHAPTER XLVII.

AFFAIRS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.

Russia under the Emperor Nicholas—Successful Wars with Persia—Relations with Turkey—Reign of Mahmoud II. at Constantinople—Mutinies and Suppression of the Janizaries—War of Turkey with Russia in 1828-9—The Peace of Adrianople—The Progress of Greece—Rebellion of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, against Sultan Mahmoud—Turkey Saved by Russia—War in Syria—Accession of Abdul-Medjid to the Turkish Throne—Interposition of European Powers in the Affairs of Egypt—Death of Mehemet Ali—Insurrections in Poland and Circassia against the Russian Government—State of Sweden and Norway—The Second French Republic—Insurrection of June, 1848—Early Life of Louis Napoleon—His Election to the Presidency—The *Coup d'État* of December 2nd, 1851—Restoration of the Empire (December 2nd, 1852)—Foreshadowings of a Renewed Attack by Russia upon Turkey—Proposals of the Emperor Nicholas to England—The Question of the Holy Places—Progress of the Crimean War—Siege and Capture of Sebastopol—Peace of 1856—Relations of England with China—The Rebellion of the T'ai-pings—Affairs of Afghanistan—Destruction of a British Army in the Khyber Pass—Subsequent Events in Afghanistan—Progress of British India from 1813 to 1857—The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857-9—Transfer of India from the Government of the Company to the direct Sovereignty of the Queen.

ALEXANDER I. of Russia—the enemy, the friend, and again the enemy of Napoleon, the author of the Holy Alliance, and, in spite of all, the promoter of some useful reforms in his own dominions—died on the 1st of December, 1825, and was succeeded by his brother, the Emperor Nicholas, a man of stern and rugged nature, as fully possessed of absolutist ideas as Peter the Great himself. With remarkable strength of will, but with merciless severity, he suppressed, immediately after his accession to the throne, a conspiracy of several military officers, who desired to establish a constitutional Government. As he began, so he proceeded. The political speculations of the nineteenth century, which had at length found their way even into Russia, were by him persistently and rigorously

repressed, so far as mental operations are susceptible of repression. In the army he was popular, for he had the habits and the bearing of a soldier; and the serfs looked up to him with that sort of veneration which may be described as the superstition of hereditary bondage. His foreign policy was the policy of the Empress Catherine II. It aimed at extending the power of Russia to the south and east, and, on the whole, it was not unsuccessful. The first war undertaken by Nicholas was with Persia, then governed by Shah Futtch Ali, whose reign commenced in 1797, after the assassination of Aga Mohammed Khan. There had been a war between Russia and Persia, lasting from 1804 to 1813, and ending in the cession of most of the Caspian provinces. That which was waged by the

Emperor Nicholas occupied a much shorter time,—namely, from 1826 to 1828,—but was productive of equally important results. By the treaty of peace, Russia gained the province of Erivan, and the countries situated on the Lower Kûr and the Araxes; at the same time, the Shah undertook to pay some three millions sterling to the conquering Power. The reign of the Shah, however, was not altogether inglorious, for he reconquered Khorassan from the Afghans and Uzbeks, and broke the power of the tribal chiefs. Futteh Ali died in 1834, and was succeeded by his grandson, Shah Mohammed, during whose reign, the ruler of Herat—an important town on the frontiers of Afghanistan, of which we have heard much in recent times, in connection with Russian designs on India—made his submission to Persia in 1843.

Immediately after humbling Persia, the Czar Nicholas prepared for war with Turkey. He had extorted from that Power, in 1826, the injurious Treaty of Akerman, in Bessarabia, by which the Dardanelles and the Black Sea were opened to Russian merchant-vessels, and Turkey was bound not to attempt the recapture of any fortress on the eastern coast of those waters. To these stipulations were added others, calculated to diminish the power of the Ottomans, and to mortify their self-esteem; and towards the end of 1827—shortly after the battle of Navarino—Mahmoud II. issued a proclamation to his people, which may have been imprudent, but the justice of which cannot be denied. In this document, the Sultan accused Russia of a systematic design, pursued throughout a course of sixty years, of ruining Turkey, and destroying the Mohammedan religion. He therefore resolved on war with the great Northern Empire, though his resources were wholly unequal to such an enterprise. Mahmoud was a man of remarkable gifts—unscrupulous in the creation of power, despotic in the use of it, but really devoted to the interests of his race, and bent on carrying out certain reforms which time had rendered necessary. He had succeeded to the throne in 1808, in consequence of a palace revolution, when his brother, Mustapha IV., the successor of Selim III., was deposed by Baïraktar, the Pasha of Rustchuk. Selim had been a reformer; Mustapha represented the Conservative or reactionary interest; and Mahmoud returned to the policy of Selim. But he had undertaken a perilous task. The Janizaries, who feared the loss of their privileges, rose in insurrection, set fire to Constantinople in various places, and deluged the streets with blood. During this convulsion, Mahmoud slew every one of his relations, that he might remain the only living representative

of the line of Othman. The dominion of the Turks is believed by themselves to be dependent on the family of its founder; and when the Sultan stood in the exceptional position to which he had reduced himself, he no longer found any difficulty in coming to terms with the revolted soldiers. The danger, however, was avoided only for a time. Mahmoud gave great offence, during the period of the Greek insurrection, by endeavouring to impart a European character to the institutions and manners of his country; by introducing the western style of dress into Turkey, substituting the fez for the turban, and giving theatrical entertainments in the seraglio itself. The army also was remodelled after the European fashion; and when the Janizaries again rebelled, on the 15th and 16th of June, 1826, some thousands were massacred in their barracks (which they had fortified, but which the loyal troops battered down with cannon), and the rest were exiled to various parts of Asia Minor. On the following day (June 17th), this famous corps was dissolved, after an existence of about five centuries.

When Mahmoud determined on war with Russia, in 1827, he had made but little progress with the reorganisation of his army. He had no more than 80,000 trained soldiers in the whole Empire, and even those were badly armed and equipped. At sea, he possessed merely the remnant of the fleet which had escaped from Navarino; while the Russians were powerful both by sea and land. The struggle began in 1828, and the Turks showed the greatest courage and resolution in defending the several positions attacked by the enemy. On the whole, the first campaign was rather in their favour; but that of 1829 was disastrous. Field-Marshal Diebitsch crossed the Balkans, and took Adrianople on the 20th of August. Erzeroum, in Turkish Armenia, was captured by Field-Marshal Paskiewitsch, who, in the previous year, had conquered Kars, Anapa, and other places in the region of the Black Sea. But the efforts of the Russians had cost them dearly, both in men and money; and Diebitsch, on entering Adrianople, took with him only 20,000 men, and might, in the opinion of the great German strategist, Count Moltke, who accompanied the invading force, have been easily overwhelmed, had the Turks prolonged the contest. But the Sultan was alarmed for his capital, and, not knowing the real condition of the enemy, gladly consented to an armistice. By the Peace of Adrianople, concluded on the 14th of September, 1829, the conqueror acquired a considerable territory in the vicinity of the Caucasus; the Sultan acknowledged the independence of Greece; the separate administration of Wallachia and Moldavia was guaranteed

by Russia; Serbia was recognised as a vassal State; and the Czar secured the protectorship of the Greek Church throughout the whole of Turkey—a concession which opened the door to numerous possibilities of interference in the future.

The welfare of Greece was now assured, so far as it was in the power of war and diplomacy to assure it. But the government of the country had yet to be organised, and this was a work of the utmost difficulty. After a period of anarchy and misrule, Otho of Bavaria was made King of Greece, by a convention signed on the 7th of May, 1832; but, owing to his not being then of age, he did not assume the actual government until June, 1835. He ruled at once feebly and despotically, until a revolutionary movement in 1845, conducted with remarkable skill and daring, compelled him to accept a Parliamentary constitution, and to dismiss the multitudinous Bavarians whom he had brought with him. The country, however, continued to make very slow progress. The sovereign was extravagant and dishonest, and in 1850 the Greek ports were for three months blockaded by a British fleet, to enforce the liquidation of certain claims made by British subjects. In the time of the Crimean War, England and France occupied Athens for a little while, to prevent the attempts of Greek adventurers to revolutionise Thessaly and Epirus, the neighbouring provinces of Turkey. The subsequent history of Greece consists of little else than democratic insurrections, military outbreaks, successful brigandage, and feverish struggles for the redemption of those parts of the common nationality remaining under the rule of the Ottoman. In June, 1863, the crown was conferred on a son of Christian IX. of Denmark, Otho having been deposed in the previous October; and since then Greece has made more satisfactory progress.

On the return of peace, the Turkish Sultan devoted himself to the creation of a new army and navy, and to the improvement of his finances, which were desperately involved. By the terms of the late treaty, he was bound to pay Russia an indemnity of 10,000,000 ducats; but this demand was so far beyond his means that after a while he was obliged to crave the remittance of one-third. Misfortunes continued to attend his rule. The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, made himself almost independent of Constantinople, and established his power over the whole of Syria. This led to a war, which began in April, 1832. In the following December, Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Mehemet Ali, defeated the Turkish army at Konieh, the former Iconium, and advanced as far as Broussa, the Asiatic capital of the Ottoman Empire. Mahmoud might not improbably have

been deposed, but for the assistance of a Russian army and fleet, which appeared off the Bosphorus in April, 1833. That a Turkish Sultan should be saved by a Russian Emperor, seems at first sight extraordinary; but it was to the interest of Nicholas to maintain at Constantinople a monarch whose weakness fitted him to be the puppet of a superior Power. The Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, concluded on the 8th of July, 1833, bound the Czar to assist Turkey with an army whenever she should require it, but only in consideration of a promise on her part that no armed ship of any foreign nation should be allowed to pass the Dardanelles without the permission of Russia. The understanding was simply a device for bringing Turkey more completely within the grasp of Muscovy; yet the assistance of the Czar had the temporary advantage of saving the Ottoman from his rebellious subjects. Mehemet Ali remained in possession of Egypt and Syria, though as a tributary of the Turkish sovereign; but the Pasha again placed himself, six years later, in opposition to his superior. He showed symptoms of a disposition to conquer Arabia on his own behalf; and on the 24th of June, 1839, the Turkish army was defeated near Nisibis, or Nezib, in Syria. On the 1st of July in the same year, but before intelligence of this disaster had arrived at Constantinople, Mahmoud II. expired, in the thirty-first year of his reign. The new sovereign was his son, Abdul-Medjid, a youth of sixteen, ignorant of politics, and wholly disqualified to deal with so difficult a condition of public affairs as that to which he had succeeded.

It seemed as if the Empire were breaking up into fragments. The Capitan Pasha, Achmet, deserted to Mehemet Ali with the whole of the Turkish fleet, and arrived at Alexandria on the 14th of July. Achmet belonged to the Old Turkish party, which detested the reforms of Mahmoud; but Abdul-Medjid, prompted by his Ministers, issued from Gulhané, on the 3rd of November, 1839, a Hatti-Sherif, which confirmed, and even extended, the liberal concessions of the former reign. The difficulty with Egypt was settled by the interposition of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which, in July, 1840, brought pressure to bear on Mehemet Ali. The Sultan pronounced the formal deposition of the Pasha. Beyrout was bombarded and captured in October by a combined English, Austrian, and Turkish fleet. Other towns were either taken or blockaded, and Mehemet Ali, then more than seventy years of age, found it necessary to submit. The Sultan, however, granted him the hereditary possession of Egypt, and, on his death (August 2nd, 1849), he was succeeded by his grand-

son, Abbas Pasha, the son of Ibrahim, who died a few months before his father. Mehemet Ali was originally a Macedonian peasant, who had raised himself by military genius to the position he ultimately filled. The prosperity of Egypt largely increased under his rule, despotic though it was, and, could he have refrained from ambitious enterprises, he might have conferred a lasting benefit on the land with which his name is associated. Abbas died on the 14th of July, 1854, and Saïd, his brother, on the 18th of January, 1863, when the Viceregal dignity passed to Ismail Pasha, who, in 1867, received from the Sultan the title of Khedive, meaning "King" or "Lord."

The principal incidents in the reign of Nicholas of Russia, between the Turkish war of 1828-9 and the war which commenced in 1854, were the struggles for freedom of the Poles and the Circassians. Parts of the Polish territory seized by Prussia in the latter part of the eighteenth century had been erected, at the Peace of Tilsit, into a sovereign State, called the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. At the general re-arrangement of 1815, the Congress of Vienna formed the city of Cracow, together with a small amount of territory surrounding it, into a species of Republic, and also established what was ridiculously described as the Kingdom of Poland, though the country in question was nothing more than a province of the Russian Empire. A pretence of nationality and of constitutional government was maintained for a few years; but, in 1830 and the following year, the dissensions between the Poles and the Russians had reached such a point that an insurrection broke forth, which was speedily quenched in blood. In 1832, Poland was declared an integral part of the Russian Empire; but a wretched fragment of Polish nationality still remained in the Republic of Cracow. This was extinguished in 1846, when Cracow was handed over to Austria; and since that time the struggles of Poland to recover her freedom have led to nothing but renewed misfortunes and added oppression. Equally unlucky has been the fate of Circassia, which came beneath the rule of the Czars by virtue of the Treaty of Adrianople, but which for many years, under the leadership of the devoted hero Schamyl, struggled vainly with the overwhelming might of despotism. The advance of Russian power during the present century has been enormous, and the Emperors have even been suspected of designs on Sweden and Norway. Those two Scandinavian nationalities were united by the Treaty of Kiel in 1814, when Norway was transferred from Denmark to the larger kingdom, though with the retention of

its own constitution and laws. The union has subsisted to the present time, with apparent satisfaction to both parties; and the sister States have for several years been in the happy condition of possessing scarcely any history at all. The French general, Bernadotte, succeeded to the throne, as Charles John XIV., on the 5th of February, 1818, and the sceptre has since remained in the hands of his descendants.

The French Republic of 1848 was destined to even a shorter life than its predecessor of 1792. The Provisional Government established after the deposition of Louis Philippe was characterised by great weakness, and the Executive Commission, elected by the National Assembly which met on the 5th of May, showed no greater capacity for ruling a turbulent and volcanic population. A rising of the Red Republicans commenced on the 23rd of June, 1848, and was not suppressed until the 26th. In the course of this tremendous insurrection 16,000 persons were either killed or wounded; 8,000 prisoners were taken; and it was found necessary to bring cannon to bear on the insurgents before they submitted to the national arms. Cavaignac was the general to whom the success was mainly due, and on the 28th of June he was appointed President of the Council. A military government had in truth become imperative, and no one was so well entitled to such a position as the skilful and resolute officer who had suppressed the revolt. But another man was soon to appear upon the scene. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a son of Louis, King of Holland, and of Hortense Beauharnais, had been elected to the National Assembly for the department of the Seine, and three other departments, on the 13th of June; and, although the Government looked with great disfavour on his presence, and even endeavoured to prevent him from taking his seat, it was plain that he had a large number of followers among the populace, probably for no better reason than that he was the nephew of the Great Emperor. His previous life had been wild, irregular, and not very judicious. He had taken part in the Italian insurrection in 1831; had made an attempt at Strasburg, in 1836, to seize the government of France; had afterwards lived in various parts of the world, occupying himself in literary compositions which contained the germs of his political system; had attempted another insurrection at Boulogne, in 1840; had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but had escaped from the château of Ham, the place of his captivity, in 1845. From that time to the summer of 1848, he had resided in England—a silent, meditative man, constantly

revolving in his mind the scheme of a revived Empire, to be based on the suffrages of the French people, and dedicated to their interests, which were to be furthered by methods having some affinity with the class of communistical ideas.

Owing to the death of the son of Napoleon I., who expired at Vienna in 1832, and to the decease of his two elder brothers, Louis Napoleon was now the representative of the Bonaparte family, and it cannot be reasonably doubted that, in presenting himself for election to the National Assembly, he contemplated a resuscitation of the Empire. On the 20th December, 1848, he was elected President of the Republic for four years, and it is interesting to compare the number of votes which he obtained with those given for Cavaignac, the only competitor who had any chance against him. Louis Napoleon received the suffrages of 5,587,759 Frenchmen, while Cavaignac, who had saved the Republic only half a year before, could not obtain more than 1,474,687. The next three years were years of party contention and embarrassed rule. The Orleanists, getting the upper hand in the Government, imposed restrictions on the suffrage. The Pope was restored at Rome by the forces of the French Republic, which stultified its very existence by the fact; and, as the period for another Presidential election approached, the strife of parties was so extreme as to threaten serious results. It was under these circumstances, and with this justification, that Louis Napoleon and his advisers carried out the celebrated *coup d'état* of December 2nd, 1851. By this act, which took all Paris by surprise, the Legislative Assembly was dissolved, universal suffrage was re-established, and the metropolis found itself in a state of siege.

The representative of the Bonapartes had already accustomed the people to monarchical ideas by causing himself to be styled the Prince-President, and he now proposed the election of a responsible chief magistrate for ten years, with a second Chamber, or Senate. Several leading statesmen and generals had been arrested and sent to Vincennes in the early morning of December 2nd, and the blow was so adroitly, rapidly, and firmly struck, that it appeared at first as if there would be no opposition. Paris was filled with troops; yet the Republicans, though stunned for a moment, soon recovered their energies. On the 3rd and 4th of December, sanguinary conflicts occurred in the streets; but the troops were victorious, and the Presidential election took place on the 21st and 22nd of the month. On this occasion, Louis Napoleon received 7,473,431 votes; the negative votes were not more than 641,351. The Prince-President was installed at

Notre Dame on the 1st of January, 1852, and a period of rigorous government ensued, which seems to have been necessitated by the unsettled and menacing condition of the capital and other large cities. The next step was taken towards the close of the year. In a message to the Senate on the 4th of November, 1852, the Prince-President, acting in accordance with several demonstrations, which had undoubtedly occurred, announced the contemplated restoration of the Empire, but at the same time submitted the question, as before, to the popular suffrage. The election was on the 21st of November, when the votes for the Empire were 7,824,189, and the negative votes 253,145, together with 63,326 which were nullified on account of certain informalities. The Prince-President was accordingly declared Emperor on the 2nd of December, 1852, and assumed the title of Napoleon III., the son of the first Emperor being counted as Napoleon II. On the 29th of January, 1853, the Emperor married Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Téba; and from that time until the spring of 1854, little of importance occurred in the history of France.

The Crimean War was the first remarkable act of foreign policy which distinguished the reign of Napoleon III. This short but memorable struggle was preceded by an attempt on the part of the Emperor Nicholas to obtain a command over the Greek Christians of Turkey, and a predominating influence in the protection of what are called the Holy Places of Jerusalem. These claims were mere excuses for a renewed attack on the Ottoman Empire, and possibly for its complete subjugation. In the early part of 1853, Nicholas spoke very confidentially to Sir Hamilton Seymour, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the necessity of taking some measures with respect to Turkey, which he symbolised as a "sick man," remarking that it had fallen into such a state of decrepitude that it might at any time die on their hands. After several times bringing forward the subject, he distinctly proposed what at first he had only shadowed forth — namely, a partition of Turkey between the British and Russian Empires. England was to have Egypt and Crete, and Russia was to occupy Constantinople, though in what capacity did not clearly appear. The British Government repudiated any such scheme, and the Czar then made the same proposal to France, with the like result; after which he appears to have considered himself entitled to proceed alone.

The question of the Holy Places had long been a subject of contention between the Greek and Latin Churches, and from 1757 the Greeks had obtained

exclusive control of the localities most interesting to Christian lands. This privilege was ratified, on the 9th of March, 1852, by a firman of the Sultan, which in fact conceded to Russia, the chief member of the Greek communion, that exceptional position in the East which France had formerly enjoyed on behalf of the Latin Church, and doubtless wished to regain. But the Emperor Nicholas

had actually begun, and on the 30th of November a Turkish fleet lying in the harbour of Sinope, on the Black Sea, was, with the exception of one vessel, totally destroyed by a Russian squadron. The fleets of France and England entered the Black Sea on the 4th of January, 1854, and on the 12th of March a treaty of alliance was signed by England, France, and Turkey. The British Prime Minister



THE SIEGE OF SILISTRIA.

demanding more, and manifested so arrogant and threatening a spirit towards the Porte that, on the 6th of June, 1853, the Sultan appealed to England and France for assistance against the palpable designs of her old enemy. The English and French fleets anchored in Besika Bay on the 13th of June; the Russians crossed the Pruth on the 2nd of July; but, although matters had thus been brought to the verge of war, both sides refrained from striking an immediate blow. The Danubian Principalities, however, were occupied by Russian troops, and on the 5th of October the Sultan declared war against his adversary. Before the end of the month, fighting

at that period was the Earl of Aberdeen, a personal friend of the Emperor Nicholas, and a statesman whose predilections certainly inclined him to a good understanding with Russia. His reluctance to enter on the war was obvious, and, for several months, operations were carried on with a degree of languor which excited general surprise and dissatisfaction. During the whole of the summer, the armies of France, under Marshal St. Arnaud, and afterwards Generals Canrobert and Pelissier, and of England, under Lord Raglan, and subsequently Generals Simpson and Codrington, were kept waiting at Varna, a fortified seaport in Bulgaria, where large

numbers died of cholera. The Russians had not been so dilatory. On May 17th, 1854, they besieged the strongly-fortified Turkish town of Silistria, on the Danube, but, after thirty-nine days, were compelled to retreat with an enormous loss of men. It was not until the middle of September that the Allies landed in the Crimea, where it was resolved to attack the powerful fortress of Sebastopol, the destruction of which would, in the opinion of the Allies, cripple the

was called to the head of the Government, as the man best fitted, by his energy and his knowledge of foreign affairs, to conduct so onerous a struggle. The Emperor Nicholas died on the 2nd of March, and, on the 15th of the same month, a Conference was opened at Vienna, in the hope that a pacific arrangement might be effected. Russia, however, rejected the proposed terms, and the war continued. Sardinia, the destinies of which were at that time directed by Count Cavour, had joined the Allies



MARSHAL CANROBERT.

power of Russia in the Black Sea. The battle of the Alma was fought on the 20th of September, 1854, and the siege of the great stronghold was commenced shortly after.

It is not necessary to relate in this place all the incidents of that exciting time; but it is proper to mention that the terrific sufferings of the British troops, in the winter of 1854-5 (aggravated by an awful hurricane off Balaclava on November 14th, in which nine vessels were sunk, and a vast amount of property was destroyed), the utter failure of the commissariat, and the general mismanagement of the war, occasioned such a storm of indignation at home that the Aberdeen Ministry resigned on the 1st of February, 1855, and Lord Palmerston

towards the end of January, and her soldiers, though few in number, distinguished themselves in the later operations of the war. Much was expected from the action of the British fleets in the Baltic and the Black Sea, but very little was effected, and some impatience was expressed, as the year wore on without any decisive event either by sea or land. The capture of Sebastopol by assault on the 8th of September, 1855, after a long and terrible bombardment, which reduced many of the works to heaps of ruin, re-awakened public interest in the conflict; but about the same period the Turks were unfortunate in Asia, and the capitulation of Kars on the 28th of November, despite the noble defence of General Fenwick Williams, was a serious disaster

to the Ottoman cause. It now became evident that both sides were tired of the war, and that negotiations for peace would have a far better chance than in the previous March. A Council was assembled at Paris on the 11th of January, 1856; conferences were commenced in the same city on the 25th of February; and on the 30th of March a treaty of peace was concluded. The terms of the agreement secured the neutrality of the Black Sea, guarded the free navigation of the Danube, provided for the rights of the vassal States, and abolished the Russian protectorate over the Christians of Turkey. The integrity of the Turkish Empire was guaranteed, and, while Russia engaged to restore Kars to the Porte, the Allied Powers undertook to evacuate Sebastopol, and all their other conquests in the Crimea. The delimitation of the Russian and Turkish frontier was left over for future arrangement by delegates of the contracting Powers, and was finally determined by the Treaty of Paris, concluded on the 19th of June, 1857, when the islands forming the delta of the Danube, including the Isle of Serpents, which had for some time been in dispute, were restored to the sovereignty of the Porte.

From the east of Europe we must now turn our attention to remote parts of Asia, where events of considerable importance occurred in successive years. The association of England with China dates from 1792, when Lord Macartney was sent to Peking in the hope of establishing a better understanding between the British and Chinese merchants. A second embassy was despatched in 1816 under Lord Amherst, and the trade of the two countries largely increased after the cessation, in 1834, of the commercial monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company. Frequent dissensions, however, broke out between the British authorities on the one hand, and the Chinese Mandarins on the other; and a war commenced in 1840, which did not terminate until August, 1842. A treaty was then signed, by which the ports of Amoy, Fu-chow, Ning-po, and Shanghai were thrown open to foreign trade, in addition to Canton, where it had existed for several years. The island of Hong-Kong was at the same time ceded to England, and the Emperor of China undertook to pay twenty-one million dollars towards the expenses of the war. Another collision followed in October, 1856, when the native authorities of Canton seized the crew of the *lorcha Arrow*, which was suspected to be engaged in acts of piracy. On the part of the British Government, it was affirmed that the *lorcha* was under British protection—a fact which seems extremely doubtful; and as the Imperial Commissioner, Yeh, refused all apology,

although he delivered up the men, Canton was stormed on the 28th of December, 1857, by an allied French and English force. The war continued until the middle of 1858, on the 26th of June in which year, a treaty was signed at Tientsin, by which Great Britain was permitted to appoint diplomatic agents to the Court of Peking, and the Chinese Empire was thrown open to all British subjects who desired to travel there. The great object of this treaty, as of previous arrangements, was to increase the trade of England with those immense regions of Eastern Asia; in itself a very laudable object, but one which has been promoted by methods extremely unfavourable to reciprocal good feeling. The persistency with which the opium of British India has been forced or smuggled into China, against the wishes of the Government, which is only too well acquainted with its pernicious effects, has been a disgrace to Western civilisation; and the frequent resort to military violence has sown bitter recollections in the native mind. War again sprang up between England and China in 1859–60, owing to some Tartars concealed in the Taku forts having repulsed the escort of the British and French Ambassadors, who were on their way to Peking to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of Tientsin. An English and French army was despatched to China in the latter part of 1860, and Peking, having been invested, surrendered on the 12th of October. The results were, that the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified, that an apology was made for the hostile operations at the Taku forts, and that a large indemnity was paid, together with compensation in money to the families of certain English and French prisoners who had been murdered.

At the same time, China was distracted by a civil war originating with a sect of religious enthusiasts called the Tae-pings, who first arose in 1851, and were not finally suppressed until many years later. The leader of this sect was a man of obscure origin, named Tien-teh, who became acquainted with the principles of Christianity while staying at Canton. Into his newly-adopted religion he afterwards imported a number of fantastical ideas tending very much to his own glorification. He even described himself as the brother of Jesus and the second son of God, and on this ground demanded universal submission. A large number of followers attached themselves to his flag, and many districts of China were devastated by these savage hordes. The word Tae-ping is said to mean "prince of peace"; but no Mohammedan was ever more earnest in propagating his faith by the sword than were the adherents of Tien-teh. Atrocious massacres,

accompanied by the destruction of cities and the ruin of crops, marked the progress of the zealots. At one time it seemed not improbable that the Taipings would succeed in expelling the Tartar dynasty of China; for the military resources of the Empire, overtaken by foreign wars and internal disruptions, were unequal to the suppression of the danger. The native forces, however, were organised by a British soldier, the celebrated Colonel Gordon, who afterwards acquired a melancholy fame in other parts of the world; and the rebellion came to an end about 1865, or a little later. In more recent years, China has made some progress in orderly government and general intelligence. Difficulties with foreign Powers have occurred from time to time; but European ideas are beginning to spread in the Celestial Empire, and it may be expected that ere long the rigid Conservatism of the land will give place—whether beneficially or not—to Western forms of culture. Japan has been advancing in the same direction with greater eagerness.

In Afghanistan, England has more than once had to encounter an enemy of remarkable courage and determination. The country was delivered from Persian rule by Ahmed Khan, who reigned from 1747 to 1773. This chieftain was the founder of the Duranee dynasty, but, after the death of the Ameer Mahmood, in 1829, the State was divided amongst three brothers, the eldest of whom, Dost Mohammed, ruled at Cabul, the most important division of the realm. On the 1st of October, 1838, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, declared war against Afghanistan, on the ground that Dost Mohammed had attacked our ally, Runjeet Singh, and evinced a hostile spirit towards British India. Another reason was that Shah Sujah, who was described as the rightful heir to the Afghan throne, had placed himself under British protection. The expedition advanced to Candahar, and finally to Cabul, which was entered on the 7th of August, 1839. Shah Sujah was established in the sovereignty, and Dost Mohammed surrendered on the 5th of November, 1840. For a while, all worked well; but a conspiracy was being formed, which ultimately led to a catastrophe of the most tragical nature. Sir Alexander Burnes and others were murdered at Cabul on the 2nd of November, 1841, and, in the early part of January, 1842, the British evacuated the Afghan capital, under terms of capitulation which bound Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, to provide an escort, and make all necessary arrangements for the retreat. These conditions were treacherously broken, and the unfortunate regiments, while struggling through the Khyber Pass in the depths

of a severe winter, were literally annihilated, with the exception of one man, by the incessant attacks of the enemy. Large numbers of women and children had accompanied the expeditionary force, and the persons thus devoted to a terrible death have been reckoned at 26,000.

In the meanwhile, General Sale was holding a precarious position at Jellalabad, and other forces were sent into Afghanistan to chastise the faithless adherents of Dost Mohammed, and re-establish the military reputation of England. Ghizni was taken by General Nott, and Cabul by General Pollock; some English officers and ladies, held as hostages by Akbar Khan, were rescued by Sir Richmond Shakspeare, and the troops regained the borders of India before the end of the year. After these events, Dost Mohammed succeeded to the throne, and concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with England. He continued faithful to our cause during the time of the Indian Mutiny, and died on the 26th of May, 1863. The succession passed to his son, Shere Ali, whose authority was disputed by his brothers, and by other claimants to the sceptre. After a period of great trouble, he succeeded in establishing his power; but his reign altogether was unfortunate, and, failing to obtain from England the degree of support which he required for resisting the advances of Russia, he threw himself into the arms of that Power, to the ultimate destruction of himself.

British supremacy in India was confirmed and further extended under the rule of the Marquis of Hastings, who became Governor-General in 1813, and retained that position until 1823. The power of the warlike Pindaris was entirely broken by this administrator, who also defeated the Goorkhas, and so completely established English predominance in India that all hope of overthrowing it was abandoned for several years. The Government of Lord Amherst, which commenced in August, 1823, was signalised by the Burmese War to which allusion has before been made; that of Lord William Bentinck, lasting from July, 1828, until March, 1835, was principally directed towards social reforms which were carried out firmly and judiciously, and with the very best results. It was during this period that the practice of suttee, by which widows were compelled to immolate themselves on the pyre of their deceased husbands, was abolished. The extirpation of the Thugs, a sect of fanatical assassins, was another of those acts which distinguished the pacific rule of Lord William Bentinck. An attempt to suppress this infamous body had been made in 1810; but the reform was not accomplished until 1830. The disastrous Afghan

War took place under the Earl of Auckland, who was succeeded in 1842 by Lord Ellenborough. The chief events in the administration of the latter were the vengeance taken on the Afghans, and the conquest of Scinde by Sir Charles Napier, who thus added another territory to the British possessions in the East. Under Sir Henry Hardinge, whose term of office extended from 1844 to 1848, the English power in India was threatened by a greater danger than it had been called upon to encounter for many years. The Punjab was in a state of disorganisation, and the Sikhs, fearing they would be soon attacked, but believing that by a vigorous effort they could deal us a blow equal to that which we had suffered from the Afghans, sent an army across the Sutlej on the 14th of December, 1845, and attacked the British at Ferozepore. Sir Henry Hardinge reached Moodkee, after a rapid march, on the 18th of the month, and repulsed an attack by 20,000 Sikhs, but not without an arduous contest. On this occasion, the gallant Sir Robert Sale, who had defended Jellalabad during the Afghan War, was mortally wounded. The enemy, however, lost many of their number, together with fifteen pieces of cannon; but their spirit was far from broken, and at Ferozeshah on the 21st and 22nd of December, at Aliwal on the 28th of January, 1846, and at Sobraon on the 10th of February, they again assailed the British forces with indomitable courage and great military skill, but on each occasion without success. On the 20th of February, the citadel of Lahore was occupied by Sir Hugh Gough, who had greatly distinguished himself throughout the war, and who, together with Sir Henry Hardinge, was soon afterwards advanced to the Peerage.

This terminated the struggle. A British Resident and British troops were then stationed at Lahore; but the boy-prince, Dhuleep Singh, the grandson of our former ally, Runjeet Singh, was acknowledged as Maharajah. A portion of the Sikh territory was annexed to British India, and for a time all was quiet; but under the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie the Sikhs again attacked the English, and once more proved the excellence of their military organisation, and the fiery enthusiasm of their valour. On the 20th of April, 1848, two British officers were murdered by a Sikh chieftain; but the forces of this warrior were attacked by a small body of troops under Lieutenant Edwardes, and defeated on June 18th, after a conflict of nine hours. A second reverse followed on the 1st of July, and Multan was then besieged. Owing to the defection of 5,000 auxiliary Sikhs under Shere Singh, the British were after-

wards compelled to retreat; but on the 22nd of November the enemy was defeated by Lord Gough at Ramnugger. Another victory was gained by the same commander at Chillianwallah on the 13th of January, 1849; but on this occasion the British general was nearly defeated, owing to the haste with which he attacked the advanced position of the Sikhs. Nothing but the extraordinary courage and steadiness of the troops saved us from a crushing disaster, and Lord Gough was a good deal blamed for his inconsiderate zeal. Another battle was fought at Gujerat on the 21st of February, when the power of the Sikhs was completely destroyed. The fortress of Multan had surrendered on the 22nd of January, and on the 29th of March the Punjab was formally annexed to British India. At the same time, Dhuleep Singh received a pension of £40,000; for the hostility of the Sikhs could not be attributed to him, and the seizure of his hereditary dominions required a handsome compensation. The administration of Lord Dalhousie was also distinguished by a Burmese war, by the annexation of Pegu in 1852, of Nagpur in 1853, and of Oude in 1855, and by many internal improvements.

The next Governor-General was Viscount Canning, whose rule commenced in 1856. He succeeded to a state of profound and unusual calm; but this repose was soon to be dispelled by a series of convulsions, which for several months appeared not unlikely to prove fatal to British sovereignty in the East. On the 1st of May, 1857, the *Bombay Gazette* stated that India was quiet throughout; on the 10th of May, some native troops at Meerut rose in mutiny, and on the two following days took possession of the old Mogul capital, committed a number of outrages, and conferred the title of Emperor on the native ruler of Delhi, who still preserved a feeble relic of that power which was once predominant in India. Disloyal movements among the native troops had taken place at a somewhat earlier period, and it had been found necessary to disband some regiments. Notwithstanding the complacent assurances of the *Bombay Gazette*, it is certain that a wave of excitement was then passing through the Indian population, and that secret intimations were conveyed from city to city, and from village to village, to the effect that the head of the Faithful in the East would shortly manifest his power, and that the Feringhees, or strangers, would be exterminated. This seems to show that the movement originated with the Mohammedans; but the Sepoys, or soldiers of Hindoo race and religion, were also disaffected, in consequence of having been supplied with certain greased cartridges, the biting of which

was believed by them to destroy their caste. It was not, however, until the 10th of May that the spirit of insubordination began to look serious. Delhi was afterwards besieged by the British, and re-taken by General Archdale Wilson in September. The flame of mutiny spread with fearful quickness, and the English troops in India were at first unable to do more than stand on the defensive until reinforcements could be sent to them. In many places the British garrisons were overpowered, and a number of frightful massacres, including women and children, were committed by the infuriated natives. The worst of these was at Cawnpore, in the Doab, where the merciless Nana Sahib, an adopted son of Bajee Rao, the Peishwa of Poonah, earned an undying infamy. In the first instance, this wretch pretended to support the British, but soon afterwards joined the rebels, besieged Cawnpore, and took that city on the 26th of June. The British general, Sir Hugh Wheeler, was deluded by a treaty, in which Nana Sahib promised the English troops and residents a safe-conduct to Allahabad. All the men, however, were massacred immediately after, and the women were slain on the 15th of July, when the Nana heard of Havelock's march from Allahabad, commenced on the 7th of the month. The Europeans in the Residency at Lucknow, a city of Oude, were besieged on the 30th of June by a body of the mutineers. The commandant, Sir Henry Lawrence, died of wounds five days later; but the city held out until relieved by Havelock on the 25th of September. In the meanwhile, Havelock—one of the noblest heroes of that terrific struggle—had defeated Nana Sahib at Futtehpoore on the 16th of July, when the assassin escaped. The Nana is said to have died of fever in August, 1858; but his end has never been exactly known. Cawnpore was re-captured on the 17th of July, and mutinies were suppressed at Hyderabad on the 18th, and at Lahore on the 20th.

Lucknow, though temporarily saved by Havelock, was too weakly occupied to bid defiance to the rebels, who, being reinforced by fresh bodies of revolted troops, closed round the Residency, and again threatened the entire subjection of the place. By this time, however, Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde)—an officer of great experience in Eastern warfare, and one of the commanders in the Crimea—had been hastily sent out from England. Immediately directing his energies to the relief of Lucknow, he marched from Cawnpore on the 9th of November, with an army of 4,200 men, and before the end of the month had relieved the Residency, after storming the enemy's fortified positions. The garrison, together with the sick

and wounded, the women and children, the money and treasure, were brought away by this small force of valorous soldiers in the face of 50,000 armed natives, and without any molestation on their part. Havelock died of dysentery, and no British soldier in India has ever left behind him a purer or grander reputation. For the present, Lucknow was left in possession of the rebels; but it was besieged by Sir Colin Campbell in March, 1858, and taken by assault on the 19th of that month. This was a great blow to the insurgents, whose cause soon began to decline. Many important actions, however, followed in various parts of India, and numerous laurels were gathered by Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Hope Grant, Sir Edward Lugard, and Generals Roberts, Whitelock, Mitchell, Horsford, and others. The Ranee of Jhansi, the most heroic of the rebel leaders, was killed on the 17th of June, 1858, in an action before Gwalior, which was re-taken on the 19th. No city or fortress of importance now remained in the hands of the mutineers. Oude was conquered at the beginning of 1859; yet Tantia Topee, a rebel of enterprise and courage, still remained in the field, and gave much trouble to the British forces. After several defeats, he was deserted by his followers, and, being taken on the 7th of April, was hanged on the 18th.

Some slight embers of the great insurrection continued to smoulder until near the end of 1859; but it had long been apparent that there was no power in India capable of withstanding the organised strength of England. Several of the native chiefs and princes, together with many of the Sepoys, gave their services to the British throughout the mutiny, and this fidelity was afterwards acknowledged by rewards and honours. On the other hand, the sovereign of Delhi, the last representative of the Great Moguls, was for his treachery transported to Pegu, where he died in 1862. One of the most important results of the mutiny was the transfer of India from the partial government of the Company to the undivided sovereignty of the Queen. This change was effected by an Act of Parliament which received the Royal assent on the 2nd of August, 1858. On the 1st of November in the same year, her Majesty was proclaimed throughout India, and since then she has received the title of Empress. The later history of India presents no features of sufficient importance to be here recorded; but it may be observed, in general terms, that the Imperial Government of that magnificent dependency has been administered in a spirit of justice and clemency, which, it is to be hoped, has established a better understanding between the European and Asiatic races.



INCIDENT IN THE INDIAN MUTINY: LIEUT. DE KANTZOW CALMING THE SEPOYS AT MYNPOOREE



QUEEN VICTORIA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FIVE MODERN WARS.

Retrospect of English Affairs from 1859 to 1871—The Italian War of 1859—Peace of Villafranca—Progress of the National Movement—Garibaldi's Campaigns in Sicily and Naples (1860)—The South of Italy added to the Possessions of Victor Emmanuel—Retrospect of American History from 1817 to 1861—The Monroe Doctrine—Successful War with Mexico (1846-7)—Dissensions between the Northern and Southern States on the Question of Slavery—Anarchy in Kansas—John Brown's Attack on Harper's Ferry—Election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency—Secession of the Southern States—Civil War between the Union and the Rebel Confederation—Collapse of the Rebellion—Assassination of President Lincoln—Reconstruction of the Union—The War of Austria and Prussia with Denmark, in respect of Schleswig and Holstein (1864)—Subsequent Quarrel between Austria and Prussia—The War of 1866—Terms of the Treaty of Peace—Cession of Venetia to Italy—Dissatisfaction of the French People and the Emperor Napoleon with the Aggrandisement of Prussia—The Prince of Hohenzollern accepts the Crown of Spain—Declaration of War with Prussia—Ill-success of the French—The great Catastrophe at Sedan—Captivity of the Emperor—Revolution in Paris—Beginning of the Third Republic—Surrender of Strasburg—Investment of Paris—Capitulation of Strasburg and of Metz—French Successes towards the Close of 1870—Victory of d'Aurelles de Paladines over Von der Tann—Gallant Efforts of Chanzy and Faidherbe—Restoration of the German Empire in the Person of the King of Prussia—Terrible Disasters of Boursbaki—Sufferings of Paris—Conclusion of Peace (1871)—Two Episodes of the War.

WITHIN the limits prescribed to this History, only five more leading events, or sets of events, remain to

be related: the Italian Wars of 1859-60; the War of Secession in the United States; the Schleswig-

Holstein War; the Austro-Prussian War; and the Franco-German War. With the Peace of 1871 we close our labours, events since then being too recent to be described after the fashion proper to a work like the present. It is a lamentable fact in the records of human nature that so much of history has reference to the deadly strifes of nations—conflicts which in many instances might have been avoided by a higher moral sense and more instructed reason. But it is satisfactory to remark that, during the period between 1859 and 1871, England was engaged in no European contest, nor even in any colonial struggle of great importance—though the invasion of China (already narrated), and the expedition to Abyssinia in 1867-8, to avenge the ill-treatment of certain British subjects, must be classed with our minor wars. The annals of Great Britain during the twelve years referred to are for the most part confined to such facts as the several changes of Ministry, by which power was divided between the Liberals and Conservatives, though on the whole to the advantage of the former; the conclusion of a Commercial Treaty with France in 1860; the development of the Volunteer movement; the death of the Prince Consort on the 14th of December, 1861; the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1862, second in the series beginning with the brilliant success of 1851; the spread of Ritualistic practices in the Church of England, consequent on the High Church or Tractarian agitation of an earlier date; the distress in the cotton-manufacturing districts, caused by the American civil war; the cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, in 1864; the laying of the Atlantic telegraphic cable in 1866; the Fenian agitation a little later; the Reform Act of the Derby-Disraeli Government, 1867; the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church by the first Gladstone Government in 1869; the alteration in the Irish land-system in 1870; the abolition of compulsory Church-rates in 1868, followed in 1871 by the removal of all religious tests for admission to offices or degrees in the Universities; the re-organisation of the Army, with the abolition of purchase, spreading over the years from 1867 to 1871; and the establishment of compulsory education in 1870.

The Italian war of 1859 was a resumption of the struggle which had been suspended ten years before by the disastrous battle of Novara, and the other misfortunes of that time; but peculiar circumstances called it forth. The French Emperor, Napoleon III., had in his young manhood taken an interest in the freedom of Italy; but he had

done nothing to aid the cause since his accession to power, and his maintenance of an army at Rome, to support the Pope against the wishes of the patriotic party, gave great offence to all the active spirits of the peninsula. Several conspiracies against the life of the Emperor, in which Italians were the agents, startled Paris in successive years; and that of Felice Orsini, in January, 1858, when Napoleon narrowly escaped death by the explosion of three shells while going to the Opera, seems to have directed the attention of the French sovereign to the necessity of assisting the people of Italy against their Austrian oppressors. On the 1st of January, 1859, at the usual New Year's reception, Napoleon III., addressing the Austrian Ambassador, observed:—"I regret that our relations with your Government are not as good as formerly; but I beg of you to tell the Emperor that my personal sentiments for him have not changed." These words created great excitement throughout Europe, and the marriage of Prince Napoleon Bonaparte (the son of Jerome) to the Princess Clotilde of Sardinia, on the 30th of the same month, gave note of an approaching alliance with Victor Emmanuel. War broke out in April, on the 27th of which month the Austrians crossed the Ticino. The French entered Genoa on the 3rd of May, and the Austrians were defeated at Montebello on the 20th of the month, at Palestro on the 30th and 31st, at Magenta on the 4th of June, at Marignano on the 8th, and at Solferino on the 24th.

On these occasions, the French and Sardinian armies, which were under the personal direction of their respective sovereigns, fought side by side in the good task of liberating Northern Italy. At the same time, Garibaldi, at the head of the *Cacciatori delle Alpi*, created a useful diversion among the mountains and lakes of Lombardy and the Valtellina; and popular movements at Florence, Parma, and Modena led to the establishment of Provisional Governments acting in the interests of Sardinia, the champion of Italian nationality. Some of the Papal cities were equally agitated. Bologna and Ferrara voted their annexation to the little sub-Alpine kingdom; but at Perugia the movement was savagely repressed. The Allies crossed the Mincio on the 1st of July; an armistice between Austria and France was concluded on the 8th; and preliminaries of peace were signed at Villafranca on the 11th. The Emperor Napoleon had suddenly abandoned the war, in fear that Germany would enter the field on behalf of Austria, and that France would lose all her laurels before the terrible fortresses known as the Quadrilateral. The chief features of the agreement, effected at a personal

interview between the French and Austrian Emperors, were that the greater part of Lombardy should be ceded to France, by whom it was to be reconveyed to Sardinia; that Italy was to form a confederation under the Presidency of the Pope; that the princes of Tuscany and Modena should be reinstated; and that the revolted Legations (Bologna, &c.) should be restored to the Pope, but without foreign intervention. The actual Treaty of Peace was signed at Zurich on the 10th of November, 1859.

Victor Emmanuel and the patriotic party of Italy were enraged at the sudden frustration of their hopes; Cavour resigned, and Garibaldi exhorted the Italians to arm. But the Treaty did not prove so mischievous as was feared. The insurrectionary towns and provinces maintained their independence, and in March, 1860, were incorporated with Sardinia. In the spring, Savoy and Nice were made over to France, and the French troops quitted Italy. Sicily was now showing signs of agitation, and Garibaldi (who had previously retired from the Sardinian service) landed at Marsala on the 11th of May, with a thousand devoted volunteers, including some foreigners. The enterprise was more like a chapter of romance than a piece of history; but, though hazardous, it was entirely successful. On the 14th of May, Garibaldi assumed the office of Dictator; on the following day he defeated the Neapolitans at Calatafimi; on the 27th, he stormed Palermo; on the 20th of July the Royal troops sustained another reverse at Melazzo; and, ten days later, the Neapolitans agreed, by a convention, to evacuate Sicily. Having fully established his power in the island, Garibaldi, on the 18th of August, crossed the straits to the opposite shores of Calabria. His volunteers were now four times the number of those who started with him for Marsala; but he had in front the main body of the Neapolitan army, and the road was beset with difficulties and possible dangers. Nevertheless, there were hopeful elements. Ferdinand II. ("Bomba") had died on the 22nd of May, 1859, and his son, Francis II., continued the traditions of the house. Discontent, therefore, prevailed throughout the land, and Garibaldi was received with enthusiasm wherever he appeared.

The successful invasion of Sicily had frightened King Francis into a number of those unwilling concessions which despots make in the hour of peril, only to revoke them at the first convenient season. The Neapolitan people placed no reliance on his liberal professions, and the hour of his fall was close at hand. Reggio surrendered to Garibaldi on the 21st of August. From that sea-coast city to the capital itself, his advance was a triumphal

progress; the navy, and a large part of the army, abandoned a failing cause; and the deliverer of the South entered Naples, without any troops, on the 7th of September, the day after that on which Francis had left for Gaeta, a strong fortress beyond the Volturno. At once assuming dictatorial powers, as in Sicily, Garibaldi released the political prisoners in the gaols, expelled the Jesuits, established trial by jury, and gave up the Neapolitan fleet to the Sardinian Admiral, Persano. That portion of the army which remained faithful to the King rallied first at Cajazzo, and afterwards on the Volturno, but were utterly defeated on the 12th of September and the 1st of October. Victor Emmanuel entered the kingdom of Naples on the 11th of October, and the Sardinian forces then co-operated with the volunteers in finishing the war. A few weeks previously, there had been an insurrection in the Papal States, which the Sardinian troops entered on the 11th of September. The Pontifical army under Lamoricière was overthrown at Castelfidardo on the 18th, and Ancona was taken on the 29th. After achieving these results, General Cialdini, of the regular army, defeated the Neapolitans at Isernia on the 17th of October, and at Venafro on the 18th; but Gaeta did not surrender until the 13th of February, 1861. In the meanwhile, a popular vote had conferred the Two Sicilies on Victor Emmanuel, who thus became the veritable King of Italy, though portions of the peninsula yet remained under distinct Governments. Garibaldi, acting against the commands of his own sovereign, made two ill-judged and unsuccessful attempts to seize Rome—one in 1862, the other in 1867; but the Italian cause did not greatly suffer, and for a time the Liberator retired into private life in the island of Caprera.

Before briefly sketching the War of Secession in the United States, it will be necessary to glance over the previous history of that country from the point at which we last quitted it to the year 1861. President Madison was succeeded in 1817 by Mr. James Monroe, who is chiefly identified with what is called the "Monroe Doctrine," contained in the statement, "That the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Power;" and that any attempt to extend the principles of European government to America would be viewed in no other light than "as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." * Mr. Monroe, like

* Annual Message of the President, Dec. 2nd, 1823.

three out of his four predecessors, obtained his re-election for another term of four years, but in 1825 was succeeded by John Quincy Adams, a son of the celebrated John Adams. The younger, like the elder Adams, supported the views of the Federalist party; but his successor, General Jackson, the defender of New Orleans in 1815, who assumed office in 1829, and retained it until 1837, was a Southerner by birth and sympathy, and consequently inclined to most of those political doctrines which were dear to the slave-holding commonwealths. Nevertheless, he was opposed to any attempt at secession, and in 1832 prepared to put down by force a threatened rising of South Carolina, which resented the high protective tariff imposed by Congress to meet the expenses of an Indian war on the frontier. The matter was finally settled by a compromise Tariff Act, introduced into the Senate by Henry Clay on the 12th of February, 1833. It was about this time that the American Republic began to be troubled by the religious enthusiasts, or impostors, called the Mormons, who, after being driven from place to place in their progress westward, penetrated the Rocky Mountains, and in 1847 established themselves, with their polygamous practices, on the Great Salt Lake, Utah.

The Chief Magistracy of the United States fell for several years into the hands of politicians remarkable in no high degree either for ability or social position. Men of political genius and character, such as Daniel Webster and Henry Clay, served their country in the capacity of Ministers, Ambassadors, or Members of Congress, and either did not seek, or failed to obtain, the highest post. Power was for the most part enjoyed by the advocates of the slave-holding interest, as represented by the Southern States—a party which ultimately acquired the appellation of Democratic, whilst its opponents were called Republican. During the Presidency of Mr. James Knox Polk, who succeeded to the White House on the 4th of March, 1845, war was declared against the United States by the Republic of Mexico. The cause of quarrel was the territory of Texas, which was claimed both by Mexico and the United States, and had long been the scene of border warfare. This extensive tract of country was formally annexed by the American Government on March 1st, 1845, apparently with a view to strengthening the slave-holding interest in the Union; but Mexico had never acknowledged its previous existence as an independent Republic, and now prepared to assert her rights. The Mexican war followed in 1846–7, when Generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott

distinguished themselves by a series of brilliant victories. Several cities were taken by the invaders, who, though few in number as compared with the Mexicans, penetrated steadily into the heart of the land. General Santa Anna made every effort to defend the capital; but the city of Montezuma was successfully assaulted by General Scott on the 15th of September, 1847, and this put an end to the war, although the treaty of peace was not ratified until May 19th, 1848. The defeated Republic not merely gave up all claim to Texas, but, for a consideration of fifteen million dollars, ceded to the United States the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California.

It was after these events that the differences between the Northern and Southern divisions of the United States—between the free and the slave-holding communities—became embittered beyond all former precedent. The Free-soil party proposed to limit the extension of slavery by excluding it from all new States, while recognising the legal and constitutional existence of the institution where it was already established. The Southern States were for making continual additions to the slave-holding commonwealths, in order that they might maintain and increase their predominance in Congress. They complained of the Abolitionist propaganda carried on by Northern agitators, and of the protection given to runaway slaves in several of the Northern States. The Federal laws required the surrender of these unhappy beings, and the people of New England decried the Constitution for thus supporting the iniquity of human bondage. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had placed geographical bounds on the extension of slavery, which was not to exist north of a certain parallel of latitude; but this arrangement was repealed in 1854, when a Bill was sanctioned by Congress, leaving the people of every Territory, on becoming a State, free to adopt or reject the institution of slavery. The consequence of this measure was a condition of frightful anarchy in Kansas, where the Free-soil and Pro-slavery parties contended for the mastery. In the end, slavery was excluded, and the fury of the Southerners knew no bounds. They were still powerful in the Union, and their great candidate and friend, Mr. James Buchanan, became President in 1857.

There can be no question that Mr. Buchanan foresaw the probability of a disruption after the termination of his official career, and that he did everything he could to increase the belligerent strength of the Southern States, and diminish the military resources of the Union. The chivalrous but ill-advised attempt of John Brown, in October,

1859, to free the negroes of Virginia by an attack on Harper's Ferry—an attempt which was easily suppressed, and which cost him his life—increased the alarm and animosity of the slave-holding States, but at the same time stimulated the resolution, and excited the hopes, of the Abolitionists. The Presidential election of November, 1860, conferred the highest office in the Union on Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois—a man of humble origin, but of a practical shrewdness and heroic determination which almost amounted to genius. Mr. Lincoln was far from an extreme politician; he could not be counted among the Abolitionists; he had avowedly no desire to put an end to slavery where it existed, but he wished to limit its extension. This was enough to precipitate the secession of the South; and the moment the result of the election was known, the Legislature of South Carolina ordered a State Convention, which assembled on the 17th of December, and on the 20th unanimously declared that the union of that State with the Federation was thenceforth dissolved. The example was speedily followed by other slave-holding communities, and, on the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from the States thus seceding met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a Provisional Government, under the title of the Confederate States of America. Mr. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was elected to the Presidency, and on the 24th of May, the general Government was established at Richmond, Virginia. This secession was accomplished before the expiration of the official term of Mr. Buchanan, who did little or nothing to defend the Union from the enormous danger by which it was confronted. President Lincoln was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1861, and at once took measures to vindicate the authority of the United States. He endeavoured to relieve Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbour, which for some few weeks had been besieged by the forces of South Carolina; but the place surrendered on the 11th of April, and the civil war then fairly began.

Both parties to this great quarrel were equally determined in the assertion of what they regarded as their just and lawful claims; but at first the Confederates were in much the better position. The population of the Southern States was more naturally warlike than that of the North. Mr. Buchanan had taken care to concentrate arms and ammunition in the Southern fortresses, and, as the agricultural operations of the seceding States were left to the negroes, the greater part of the adult male population could enter the field as fighting-men. The Federal armies were numerous, but

badly organised, and the disgraceful panic which occurred at Bull Run, on the Potomac (July 21st), caused for a little while a profound depression of spirits among the Northern population. Throughout the years 1861 and 1862, the Confederate victories, both by sea and land, were numerous and important. Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, Beauregard, Joseph Johnston, Stuart, Longstreet, and other of the Confederate generals, were men of remarkable ability in the art of war; whereas the Federal armies were at first commanded (with but few exceptions) by men having no knowledge of military science, or experience in the open field, and whose boastfulness was equal to their ignorance. General McClellan, however, was a cautious and instructed officer, and he blocked the approaches to Washington, besides at one time penetrating to within five miles of Richmond, when he was driven back, after a series of terrible battles, in the summer of 1862. The great object of each side was to reach the capital of the other, and there to dictate peace; but for a long while the war swayed backwards and forwards between Washington and Richmond, without any decisive result. On the 2nd of January, 1863, President Lincoln proclaimed the freedom of the slaves in the rebel States, except in those parts that were held by the United States' armies; and shortly afterwards the tide of fortune turned in favour of the Federals. In General Ulysses Grant they had a commander trained to arms, acute, clear-headed, watchful, and possessed of the most indomitable determination. He conducted a campaign in Tennessee with excellent results; and on the 4th of July the fortress of Vicksburg, which had been invested and bombarded by his army, surrendered to the military and naval forces of the Union. About the same period, General Sherman began to exhibit those remarkable abilities which made him, before the close of the war, one of its most distinguished ornaments.

The soldiers of the Union were now inured to fighting, so that there was no longer any repetition of the discreditable scenes occurring in the earlier days of the contest. Hostilities drifted away from the North, and, although the Confederates still fought with amazing skill and valour, and often prevailed in individual actions, it was evident that they were getting exhausted, while the resources of the North were only just coming into full operation. In various directions, the Federal armies worked their way into the Southern States. During May, 1864, Sherman was operating in Georgia, in June, General Grant (then Commander-in-Chief) compelled Lee to retire, and, by

a flank movement, carried his own forces to the other side of Richmond. There he obstinately maintained his position to the end of the war, though frequently baffled in his attacks on the enemy's lines. Continuing his southern march, Sherman obtained a complete mastery over Georgia, and entered Savannah on the 21st of December. General Sheridan obtained several successes in the Shenandoah Valley, and the Con-

The war was now almost at an end; but the satisfaction of the North was on the eve of being overshadowed by a terrible calamity. President Lincoln was shot, while sitting in the private box of a theatre on the night of April 14th, by a fanatical Southerner named Wilkes Booth, who escaped, but was ultimately hunted down, and killed while in the act of resisting the Federal troops. Very nearly at the same time, the Foreign



GENERAL GRANT.

federate cause looked so hopeless that, in February, 1865, offers for a peaceful arrangement were submitted to the Washington Government, but without effect. On the 1st of the same month, the Federal Congress abolished slavery in the United States, and on the 4th of March Mr. Lincoln entered on a second term of office. Lee was totally defeated by Sheridan on the 1st of April; Richmond and Petersburg were evacuated by the Confederates, and occupied by Grant, on the 2nd and 3rd of April; on the 6th, Lee was again defeated by Sheridan; and on the 9th the great Confederate general surrendered to Grant, with the whole army of Northern Virginia.

Secretary, Mr. Seward, and his son, were wounded in their own house by a man named Payne, who also got off in the agitation of the moment, but afterwards suffered death. Both the Searwards recovered, but Lincoln expired on the following day, and Mr. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, succeeded to the chief office. Jefferson Davis was captured on the 10th of May, and by the end of the month the war was completely at an end. During the whole of this tremendous struggle, the sympathies of a large number of Englishmen, though certainly not of all, were given to the South, and several Confederate vessels were built at Liverpool, which inflicted enormous losses on the

commerce of the United States. Compensation was afterwards claimed by the Washington Government, and, the questions in dispute having been submitted to arbitration at Geneva, Great Britain was compelled to pay more than three millions for the satisfaction of helping an immoral cause to a temporary but illusive success. On the other hand, the Americans nearly drew upon themselves a war with England, by the seizure of two Confederate envoys on board a British vessel, in No-

possesses the buoyancy of youth, and has since recovered her prosperity and strength.

The next war in Europe, after those of Italy, occurred in the two Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, occupying what was then the lower part of the Danish peninsula. The territory was originally German, and it was from this region that the progenitors of the modern English issued forth to subdue Britain. But when the last of the independent Counts died without issue, in 1459, the



VICTOR EMMANUEL.

vember, 1861; but the surrender of those persons brought the matter to a close. The reconstruction of the Union was necessarily a troublesome work, and one which called forth all the passions of opposing parties. Mr. Johnson was considered too favourable to the South; but in time the seceding States were readmitted to the Union, while the negroes were conciliated by an Act conferring on them the right to vote. General Grant became President in 1869, and the Federal Government acquired firmness under his rule. The losses of the United States, both in men and money, during the civil war of 1861-5 were such as would have overwhelmed most other countries; but America

States of Holstein and Schleswig elected Christian I., King of Denmark, his nephew, as their Duke. In 1848, the States-General of the Duchies voted their annexation to the German Confederacy—a course in which they were supported by Prussia; but, after a war terminating in 1850, they submitted to Denmark. Nevertheless, the Prussian Government continued to promote agitation amongst the people, who seem, indeed, to have had just cause of complaint against the Danes, for the harsh and imperious disregard of their national feelings as sections of the German race. Holstein was already a member of the Germanic Confederation; Schleswig desired to be similarly included; and both

Duchies demanded the privileges of local self-government. After the death of Frederick VII. of Denmark, and the accession of Christian IX., in the latter part of 1863, Prince Frederick of Augustenburg claimed the Duchies. The German Powers, especially Austria and Prussia, took up his cause, insisted on the union of the two provinces, and threatened Federal execution if their views were not adopted. The Danish King refusing to make any concessions, Holstein was occupied by German troops on the 21st of January, 1864. The war was conducted chiefly by Prussia, and the Danes, after a gallant defence, were obliged to yield. An armistice was agreed to on the 18th of July, and a treaty of peace signed at Vienna on the 30th of October. Schleswig and Holstein were then placed under the rule of Prussia and Austria, and Denmark ceased to have any share in the Duchies.

This, however, was only a provisional arrangement, and discussions soon arose between the victorious Powers as to the ultimate disposal of the conquered territories. By the convention of Gastein, signed on the 14th of August, 1865, Austria was to have the temporary government of Holstein, and Prussia that of Schleswig; but no final settlement was arranged even then, and the mutual jealousies of Austria and Prussia began to threaten serious consequences. A decree, issued on the 11th of March, 1866, asserted Prussian jurisdiction over Holstein as well as Schleswig, and preparations for war immediately followed. A brief period of mutual recrimination ensued, each party demanding of the other that he should disarm. But the Prussian Government was under the control of Count Bismarck, a man of iron will and unusual ability. The King, William I. (afterwards the Emperor of Germany), who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother in January, 1861, was equally resolved to maintain the predominance of Northern Germany. An alliance was formed with Italy in May, 1866, and the Prussians entered Holstein on the 7th of June. In the brief but sanguinary war which attracted the attention of all Europe during the summer of 1866, the Austrians appear to have had no chance of success, although commanded by Benedek, a very accomplished and experienced general. The fighting was chiefly in Bohemia, where Prince Frederick Charles and the Crown Prince of Prussia distinguished themselves by their mastery of the art of war. On the 1st of July, the supreme command of the Prussians was assumed by the King, and on the 3rd of the same month the Austrians were totally defeated at the battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa. The war still continued, but under conditions entirely hopeless to Austria and

her allies of the German Confederation. Frankfort was occupied by Falkenstein on the 16th of July, and preliminaries of peace were signed at Nikolsburg on the 26th.

The war altogether lasted about six weeks; but it ended with the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, the exclusion of Austria from Germany, and the annexation by Prussia of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort, together with the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. A North German Confederation was now established under the predominance of Prussia, and even the Southern States were obliged to acknowledge the pretensions of that Power. Yet these were not the only results of the brief spasm of war which had convulsed the central parts of Europe. Italy had fought as the ally of Prussia, but with a marked absence of success, the only triumphs of the Austrians being over the land and sea forces of Victor Emmanuel. Nevertheless, Italy benefited by the good fortune of Prussia, and, at the peace of Prague, concluded on the 23rd of August, 1866, it was agreed that Venetia and the remaining portions of Lombardy should be transferred to the Emperor Napoleon, that they might, by him, be passed over to the Italian kingdom. Austria was completely humbled by the events of the war; but this painful trial was not without its attendant benefits, since it induced the Emperor Francis Joseph to ameliorate his system of internal government, and particularly (in February, 1867) to confer on the Hungarians the autonomy for which they had fought in vain during the disastrous days of 1849.

The aggrandisement of Prussia had been regarded with great disfavour by the Emperor Napoleon III. and the French people generally. At the time of the war, the French sovereign made some demands for a rectification of the frontier towards Germany; but his proposals were disregarded, and not further pressed. The memory of this check, however, rankled a good deal in the breasts of Frenchmen, and it is probable that most political parties looked forward to the eventuality of a collision with Prussia. The popularity of Napoleon had to some extent decreased of late years; so also had his vigour and good fortune. The ruin of his attempt to establish an Empire in Mexico, under the rule of the Archduke Maximilian, brother to the Emperor of Austria—who, on the triumph of the Republicans, was shot on the 19th of June, 1867, after the withdrawal of the French armies—inflicted on the Napoleonic Empire the double stigma of a failure and a crime. But the author of the *coup d'état* had recently given a more liberal character to his

government, and had again, by a direct appeal to the people, obtained an overwhelming majority in support of his rule. Personally, he was not in favour of a war with Prussia. His health was infirm; age was stealing upon him; and he knew that the French army, reconstructed by a law passed in 1868, was in no proper condition for encountering the martial hosts of Germany. Nor can it be said that there was any strong desire for war on the part of the French provincials; but there was a party at Paris, and in the other large cities, which was perpetually harping on the humiliation France had undergone in 1866, when Prussia absorbed more than half of Germany, and the Empire obtained nothing in compensation. Added to this, there was an old feeling of antagonism between the two countries, dating from the time of Napoleon I., if not from an earlier epoch; and there was undoubtedly a very strong desire on the part of the Germans to repossess themselves of Alsace and Lorraine. Such, then, were the inflammable materials which an apparently trivial incident, in 1870, kindled into a devouring fire.

On the 5th of July, it became known in France that the crown of Spain—rendered vacant by the revolution of September, 1868, when Isabella II. was deposed, and a Provisional Government established—had been offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern, the eldest son of a prince who, some twenty years before, had abdicated his sovereign rights in favour of his relative, the King of Prussia. The French Government regarded this appointment (for the young Prince immediately signified his readiness to accept the honour) as an attempt on the part of the Prussian sovereign to create for himself a position similar to that of Charles V., who combined in his own person the Empire of Germany and the Monarchy of Spain. This view was not entirely without justification; for the Spanish throne, occupied by a German prince related to the King of Prussia, would doubtless have fallen very considerably under the influence of Berlin. Diplomatic communications, of a somewhat heated character, passed between France and Germany, and the father of Prince Leopold, apprehending mischief, advised his son to decline the offer of the Spanish crown. King William approved of this course, but only in his private capacity as head of the House of Hohenzollern—not in his public capacity as the sovereign of Prussia. Moreover, he distinctly refused to use his authority against any future renewal of the candidature. In the meanwhile, the press of both countries—even including the semi-official press—

was busily engaged in stimulating national susceptibilities to the utmost; and when the evasive replies of King William were known in Paris, all hope of peace was at an end. The French Prime Minister, M. Emile Ollivier, made a speech in the Corps Législatif on the 15th of July, which amounted to a virtual declaration of war; and the actual declaration was delivered at Berlin on the 19th. The conflict was undoubtedly popular with the people of both countries; but it is now well known that the French ruler entered upon it with great misgiving.

The Emperor Napoleon and the King of Prussia placed themselves at the head of their respective armies, and on the 2nd of August the French, under Frossard, bombarded and took Saarbrück, in Rhenish Prussia, in presence of the Emperor and his son. The war, consequently, began with a slight success on the part of the French; but this was speedily followed by a long and fatal series of reverses. The Crown Prince of Prussia crossed the Lauter, the boundary of France in that direction, defeated the French under Frossard, and stormed the lines of Weissenburg and Geisberg on the 4th of August. Marshal MacMahon and the army of the Rhine were discomfited on the 6th at Wörth, after a desperate encounter, and the French general retired to Saverne, so as to cover Nancy. Inspired by their success, the Germans (for all the States of Northern Germany had been obliged to act with Prussia) redoubled their blows, snatched Saarbrück from the grasp of the French, and took Forbach, in France. The French were now in full retreat from the frontiers, and matters began to look alarming. On the 7th of August, the Emperor sent five telegraphic messages from Metz to Paris, in one of which, while confessing the reverses that had overtaken his arms, he observed that "all might yet be re-established"—a sentence more ominous than reassuring. The Germans continued to advance, and on the 8th of August Marshal Bazaine was appointed to the chief command of the French army at Metz. The Ollivier Ministry were compelled to resign on the 9th, and a new Government was formed next day under General Montauban, Count de Palikao. The army of Marshal MacMahon soon afterwards retreated on the Moselle, and Nancy was occupied by the Germans without resistance. The bombardment of Strasburg, which had been invested by the Germans on the 10th of August, began on the 14th. On the 14th, 16th, and 18th, Bazaine was defeated in three prolonged and sanguinary battles in front of Metz, and before the end of the month was completely shut up within the walls of that fortress.

MacMahon endeavoured to march to his relief, but was unable to accomplish the purpose.

The chief fortresses in the eastern parts of France were invested by the Germans, and two of the invading armies, amounting to 220,000 men, directed their march on Paris towards the end of August. Accompanied by the Emperor, MacMahon retreated northwards, and on the 31st retired to Sedan. A more injudicious movement could not have been executed; for Sedan is situated on the borders of Belgium, and, in the event of a reverse, no retreat was open to the forces of the Emperor. A terrible struggle took place on the 1st of September, ending in the defeat of the French, who were forced to take refuge in the town. In the course of the action, MacMahon was seriously wounded, and compelled to resign the command into the hands of General de Wimpffen, who refused to accept the terms offered by the King of Prussia. On the following day, however, the Emperor Napoleon saw that there were only two courses left open to him: either to capitulate at once, or to expose his army to a frightful and unavailing massacre. The town was surrounded; the hill-tops bristled with batteries in position; escape was impossible, and preparations were being made to bombard the place. The Emperor therefore determined to seek an interview with Count Bismarck, and arrange the best terms he could. The result was the surrender of Sedan and the captivity of the Emperor, who was removed to the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, in Cassel, where he remained to the close of the war.

At this stupendous misfortune, the wrath of the French people, which had been rising during the last three weeks, burst through all bounds, and occasioned a revolution at Paris on the 4th of September, when the Third Republic was inaugurated. General Trochu, the military Governor of the capital, who had promised a little time before to protect the Empress-Regent with the last drop of his blood, abandoned her in the hour of trial, and accepted the position of President of a Government of Defence, the principal members of which, after himself, were Léon Gambetta, Jules Simon, Jules Favre, Isaac Cremieux, and Etienne Arago. The Empress, the Count de Palikao, and the other Imperial Ministers, left Paris in the evening, and fled to Belgium and England. Jules Favre, the new Foreign Minister, issued a circular to the diplomatic representatives of France, in which he declared that his countrymen would not cede an inch of their territories, or a stone of their fortresses. Thenceforward, a tone of general vaunting was adopted, which contrasted ignominiously with

the continual reverses of the French; but all idea of an aggressive war was at an end. Misfortunes continued to increase. On the 20th and 21st of September, Jules Favre ineffectually endeavoured, in an interview with Count Bismarck, to arrange terms of peace. Paris was by this time isolated from the rest of France by a cordon of German troops, and a Provisional Government was formed at Tours, for conducting the war in the provinces. M. Gambetta, who escaped from Paris in a balloon, on the 7th of October, was the soul of this delegate administration, which at a later date was removed to Bordeaux. His enthusiasm maintained the spirit of the nation for some months; but it would doubtless have been wiser to come to terms before the exhaustion of the country had been carried almost to its extremest point. In the opinion of Trochu, Gambetta did an injury to the national defence by subordinating the interests of France to the interests of his party, and by trusting too much to the enthusiasm of mobs. Yet his genius can hardly be doubted.

The siege of Paris began on the 15th of September, and the capital is said to have been completely invested by the 19th. The King of Prussia fixed his headquarters at Ferrières, near Lagny, but on the 5th of October removed to Versailles, which, with all the French troops stationed there, had surrendered to the enemy. Strasburg capitulated on the 27th of September, and was entered by the Germans on the following day. The city had suffered greatly from its prolonged bombardment; many of its public buildings were much damaged, and its noble cathedral was struck in several places. In the meanwhile, Metz was being subjected to extreme pressure, and the sorties executed by the garrison were wholly ineffective. The defence appears to have been feebly conducted by Marshal Bazaine, who was afterwards accused of treachery, tried by court-martial, and condemned, first to death, and afterwards to an imprisonment from which he escaped. The great fortress of Lorraine at length surrendered on the 27th of October, when 66 generals, about 6,000 officers, 173,000 men (including the Imperial Guard), 400 pieces of artillery, 100 mitrailleuses, and 53 eagles or standards, passed into the hands of the Germans. The garrison and the citizens had suffered the tortures of famine; but it has always been an inexplicable mystery why so large and well-appointed an army did not break forth in the earlier days of the siege, and join hands with the other armies then engaged in the common defence. The fall of Metz was one of the greatest misfortunes of the war; but in every direction the Germans were penetrating into the heart of the

land, taking city after city, defeating whatever forces remained in the field, and establishing their power almost without dispute.

The Republican Government, however, showed great energy and spirit in the hasty raising and equipment of new corps, to supply the place of those which had already laid down their weapons. The Army of the Loire did its utmost to resist the advance of the Bavarians under Von der Tann, who, however, captured Orleans on the 11th of October, and obliged the French to retire beyond the river. By this time, Garibaldi had placed his sword at the disposal of France, and was appointed commander of the French irregulars; but, though he managed to avoid defeat, he was unable to achieve any remarkable success. Towards the close of 1870, the French had to some extent recovered from the depression of earlier months. Three large armies were in the field: those of the North, of the East, and of the Loire. On the 9th and 10th of November, General d'Aurelles de Paladines inflicted a severe defeat on the Bavarian commander, Von der Tann, in the neighbourhood of Orleans, and that city was retaken by his forces. A momentary gleam of hope shot up in the minds of all Frenchmen. It was thought that de Paladines would at once unite with General Chanzy and the Army of the Loire, advance on Paris, and form a junction with Trochu, who would be ready to sally forth, break up the investment, and save the capital. But de Paladines appears to have been alarmed by his own success. He hesitated and delayed, and in a little while the Bavarians recovered their lost confidence, and, having received reinforcements, placed themselves in such a position as to render a hostile movement very precarious. The Army of the Loire, though skilfully commanded, and showing considerable courage, was defeated on several occasions, and Orleans was again taken by the Germans on the 4th of December. Nevertheless, Chanzy held the enemy in check for some weeks, and General Faidherbe, in the North, evinced equal heroism and ability. In the early days of 1871, however, misfortune again settled heavily on the French arms. Neither Chanzy nor Faidherbe (the two best generals the war produced) could make head against the overwhelming legions of the enemy, who reached the very shores of the English Channel. Paris also was suffering from an appalling scarcity of food—a scarcity so extreme that rats were caught in the sewers, to satisfy the hunger of the people. Every sortie of the garrison was driven back with enormous loss, and it was certain that the unequal struggle could not be maintained much longer.

Before the conclusion of the war, a step had been taken with respect to the Prussian monarch, which it is difficult to believe was not contemplated from the first, as one of the results of military success. At the beginning of December, the King of Bavaria, in a letter to the King of Saxony, proposed that William I. of Prussia should be nominated Emperor of Germany. The Prussian Parliament supported the proposal by an address to the King, begging of him to accept the higher title; and this address was presented to the monarch, in an assembly of princes, on the 18th of December. The re-establishment of the German Empire was sanctioned, on the 1st of January, 1871, by the sovereign princes and the free cities; and on the 18th—the anniversary of the creation of the Prussian kingdom in 1701—King William was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles. In this splendid gallery, built by Louis XIV., and adorned with a picture on the ceiling representing France triumphing over Germany, detachments of various regiments were drawn up, while large numbers of staff officers, regimental officers, and Government officials, awaited the event of the day. After a religious service, the King delivered a brief speech, at the close of which the Crown Prince made some observations, concluding with a loud cry of "Long live Kaiser Wilhelm!" The excitement was intense, and the newly-made Emperor appeared deeply agitated. It was, indeed, one of those supreme moments which occur but seldom in the life of nations.

Amongst the latest misfortunes of France were a series of defeats inflicted on General Bourbaki, the commander of the Eastern Army, who, at the close of January, 1871, was driven into Switzerland. The sufferings of his men from cold and famine were amongst the saddest incidents of the struggle. But the contest was now virtually at an end. After seven hours' fighting, Faidherbe had been defeated near St. Quentin on the 19th of January, and on the same day Trochu sent out his last sortie from Paris, when 100,000 men were repulsed, with the loss of 1,000 killed and 5,000 wounded. Scarcely any food now remained within the capital, which had also suffered in no slight degree from the German bombardment; and although M. Gambetta, in the provinces, still talked of resistance, it was obvious to all cooler minds that the climax was near at hand. M. Jules Favre opened negotiations with Bismarck on the 24th of January; the inevitable capitulation of Paris followed on the 28th; and next day the forts were occupied by the Germans. Negotiations for peace were discussed by M. Thiers and Count Bismarck

on the 22nd of February and the two following days, and the preliminaries of a treaty were signed on the 26th. By the terms then settled, France ceded to the German Empire the province of Alsace (excepting Belfort and its territory), together with that part of Lorraine which includes Metz and Thionville. The conquered nation thus lost 4,700 square miles, with a million and a half of inhabitants. She had also to pay five milliards of francs (equal to £200,000,000 of English money), the discharge of which was spread over a period of three years, and secured by an occupation of French territory. The greatest humiliation of all, however, was the entry of the German troops into Paris on the 1st of March—an unnecessary exhibition of power, which seems to have been prompted by the ignoble desire to insult a fallen adversary. They remained not longer than two days; but their presence rankled in the hearts of the Parisians as an intolerable affront. The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Frankfort on the 10th of May, and the French National Assembly ratified its terms on the 18th.

Two events arising out of the Franco-German War must here be mentioned. The first occurred in the early autumn of 1870, when, the French troops having been withdrawn from Rome to aid in the national defence, the Government of Victor Emmanuel determined to take possession of the city which every patriotic Italian regarded as the historic capital of his country. An Italian force accordingly entered the Papal dominions, and Rome was occupied on the 20th of September. The Pontifical troops resisted with some determination; but, after a cannonade of four hours, a breach was effected in the walls, and the defenders, by order of

the Pope, refrained from further resistance. A *plebiscitum* of the Roman populations was taken on October 2nd, and resulted in the annexation of the Papal States to the Italian kingdom by a vote which was almost unanimous. On the 13th of the previous July, the personal infallibility of the Pontiff had been declared by an Œcumenical Council; but the aggrandisement of his ecclesiastical power was counterbalanced by the annihilation of his secular authority. The other event was the rescinding of those articles in the Treaty of Paris (1856) by which the waters and forts of the Black Sea, while left open to the mercantile marine of all nations, were formally and perpetually interdicted to ships of war of any nation whatever, with the exception of a few small Russian and Turkish vessels. On the 20th of October, 1870, Prince Gortschakoff addressed to the Russian Ambassador at London a despatch stating that the Treaty of 1856 had been broken in various ways to the detriment of Russia, and that his Imperial master had resolved to re-establish the balance founded in the East by that agreement. After considerable negotiations between Russia and England, the representatives of the chief Powers met in London on the 17th of January, 1871, and on the 13th of March signed a new Treaty, by which the neutralisation of the Black Sea was abrogated. The Russian Government had doubtless chosen a time when the hands of France were tied to bring forward this proposal for destroying one of the principal results of the Crimean War. The effects of the policy then adopted have since been traced in blood and fire, and may perhaps be fruitful in still greater calamities to the future of the world.

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